

ANNUAL
OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES
AT CEU



VOL. 22 2016

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 22 2016

Central European University
Budapest

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Edited by
Judith A. Rasson and Zsuzsanna Reed



Central European University
Budapest
Department of Medieval Studies

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Copies can be ordered at the Department, and from the CEU Press

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Volumes of the Annual are available online at: <http://www.library.ceu.hu/ams/>

ISSN 1219-0616

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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori Salutem!

Volume 22 of the *Annual* of the CEU Medieval Studies Department offers a report of the year's activities for the academic year 2014–2015. A central focus for students in both MA programs (one- and two-year) is to research and write an MA thesis. The articles in the first section of this volume are based on successful theses completed in the two programs. As usual, the chronological spread is wide – the articles are arranged from oldest to youngest – from the Late Classical (some call it Late Antique) period to the sixteenth century. The geographical reach is equally broad, from Western, Central, and Eastern Europe to Asia Minor and Asia itself (the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Chinese empires). The analytical approaches and primary sources are equally diverse, from archival documents in historical contexts through art historical approaches to medieval art and material culture.

The second group of articles features a long-term interest of the Medieval Studies Department and present solid research results on medieval cults of the saints arrived at in the context of a research consortium that was originally funded from 2010 to 2014. The expiration of the research grant did not mean the end of research! Three articles about cults of saints continue and extend the work of the original research group, with an introduction by Gábor Klaniczay, who spearheaded the original Saints' project.

The third block of articles is something of a departure for the *Annual*, which is usually devoted to medieval-period topics that sometimes verge into the Early Modern Period. The papers in this group were presented at an undergraduate conference called "Empire and Nation" that was organized by the Department of History and the Department of Medieval Studies and held at CEU from August 4 to 7, 2016, sponsored by CEU. The novelty here is not the student authors, but rather the large geographical space and time range covered. The topics addressed mark a broad geographical sweep from Western and Eastern Europe and Turkey to European colonies in the Americas from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Besides the broad time span, the research orientations range from political history through archival investigation to art history.

The *Annual*, as usual, offers information about departmental activities through various types of summary data. Abstracts of all the MA theses and PhD dissertations that were defended this year appear in the final block. The departmental head's report, contributed by the head, Daniel Ziemann, describes the events and developments of the year in the department. This year we also

include a report on the new Cultural Heritage Studies Program, a two-year MA program that will soon graduate its first group of MAs.

In conclusion, we would like to thank all the contributors, who answered our questions about their manuscripts and worked with us to arrive at the most effective presentation of their work, and Kyra Lyubyanovics, research assistant, who resolved many background production problems. Archaeolingua has once again turned the straw of our manuscripts into published gold.

PART 1
Articles and Studies



TO BURY AND TO PRAISE: THE LATE ANTIQUE BISHOP AT HIS PARENTS' GRAVE¹

Johanna Rákos-Zichy 

How often does one hear modern bishops offering homilies and panegyrics for their deceased family members? While such events must undoubtedly happen in today's Christian Churches, these commemorations remain strictly relegated to the realm of private grief, far from the public limelight. In contrast, late antique bishops were eager to praise their deceased family members in public. A set of texts pronounced by bishops at the burials of their parents attests the rise of the commemoration of relatives in the fourth-century Church. These "family commemorations" by bishops form a unique and intriguing corpus in the textual sources of the early Church. Why did these bishops bring their private loss onto the public scene by communal commemoration in the Church?

This paper examines episcopal burials and the commemoration of family members in the Latin West in the context of the reform of Christian funerary cults undertaken by Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo. I argue that the form of commemoration these influential bishops chose to advertise by their epigrams, treatises, and homilies reflects their ideas about the ideal form of Christian care for the dead that they sought to introduce and propagate in their congregations. Christians buried and remembered their dead according to age-old traditions. At the end of the fourth century, however, these very bishops undertook a spectacular transformation of Christian burial practice and funerary commemoration. This is exactly when the set of family commemorations suddenly emerged. I suggest that the reform of Christian burials and the eulogies for defunct parents are not unrelated. These were meant to be prescriptive texts that displayed the "proper" form of Christian commemoration to be emulated not only by the bishop's congregation locally, but also "globally," in churches all over the Roman Empire.

¹ This paper based on, "Bishops and Burials between Public and Private in Late Antiquity: The Episcopal Construction of the Care for the Dead (366–430 AD)," MA thesis, (Budapest, Central European University, 2015) (www.etd.ceu.hu/2015/rakos-zichy_johanna.pdf). I would like to thank my supervisors, Marianne SÁghy and Volker Menze, for valuable criticism and helpful comments and Claudia Rapp, the chair of my MA thesis examination committee, for her thought-provoking questions. Special thanks to Marianne SÁghy for unfailing help with this article.

Peter Brown first raised the issue of the clash of private and public and the reform of burials and funerary cults in his seminal essay on the cult of the saints.² In recent scholarship, Kim Bowes³ and Christina Sessa⁴ have examined the attitude of the clergy to private religious practice and public devotion. Éric Rebillard in his much-debated *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* argued that there was no institutional care for the dead in the early Church since the funeral and the rituals of commemoration remained a private, family affair.⁵ Bishops, however, did not avoid the care of the dead. The lack of an established practice in the institutional Church created an opportunity for bishops to be creative, invent new rules, and implement new practices. Three celebrated bishops from the fourth-century Latin West – Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo – offer examples of how to mourn family members. Each bishop dealt with death differently according to his own personal circumstances and convictions.⁶

Taking Care of the Dead in the Late Roman World

To understand the attitudes of bishops towards ancient funerary customs, it is necessary to examine the traditional forms of taking care of the dead in the Roman world, with particular attention to the burial customs and patterns of commemoration in Late Roman Christianity. Funerary inscriptions from all around the Mediterranean attest a strong connection between the living and the dead.⁷ The funeral activities – from the moment of death until the post-burial ceremonies – were described by the term *funus*.⁸ The organization of the funeral and the post-burial commemorations was entirely a private matter, carried out by the legal heirs of the dead person.⁹ While the obligation of piety toward the

² Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

³ Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁴ Kristina Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁵ Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 130–34.

⁷ Brent D. Shaw, “Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 33, no. 4 (1984): 457–97.

⁸ For a detailed account of the *funus* see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World: Aspects of Greek and Roman Life* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 43–61.

⁹ Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 95–98.

departed belonged to the domestic sphere, burials had a public aspect, too. The funeral procession, the last journey of the dead on earth, was a public event; it was part of city life.¹⁰ The funerary oration affirmed the role of the deceased in society and drew attention to the family and its loss. The public part of the burial was also meant to display the ideal behavior of Roman citizens: Only women were allowed to cry, male relatives were expected to keep their composure.¹¹ The funeral process ended outside the city, where the body was placed in its tomb. After the funeral, the family returned regularly to the grave to have a meal in the company of the dead.

Given the lack of specific Christian regulation of burial, one might assume that early Christians must have followed similar patterns in funeral commemoration¹² and have shared the same funeral practices as the rest of society.¹³ Bishops dealing with the question of how to take care of the dead had to operate within an established framework of ancient rituals and revered practices. The place of burial and the funeral itself seem to have held little interest for the Church.¹⁴ Cemeteries owned by the Church, such as the catacomb of Callixtus in Rome, were not reserved exclusively for Christians. Several tombs are known to have been shared between polytheists and Christians, and it is impossible to say whether they belonged to a Christian or pagan individual. The Christian sanctification of burial places started only in the sixth century with Gregory of Tours; until then, Christians not only shared their tombs with pagans, but it seems that they were attached to the traditional way of celebrating their dead.¹⁵ The *Apostolic Constitution* mentions the prayer for the dead and the celebrations on the

¹⁰ John Matthews, "Four Funerals and a Wedding: This World and the Next in Fourth-Century Rome," in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, ed. Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papostakis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 129–147.

¹¹ Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 218–26.

¹² Michele Renée Salzman, "Religious *Koine* and Religious Dissent," in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. Jörg Rüpke, (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 114–16.

¹³ Even the strict Tertullian exhorted Christian wives to offer sacrifices on the anniversary of their husbands' deaths in *On Monogamy* 10, in *Fathers of the Third Century*, Ante-Nicene Fathers 4, ed. Philip Schaff (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1885.) accessed May 9 2015 <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.pdf>. See Robin M. Jensen, "Dining with the Dead: From the Mensa to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity," in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*, ed. Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 120–23.

¹⁴ Mark Joseph Johnson, "Pagan-Christian Burial Practices of the Fourth Century: Shared Tombs?" *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5, no. 1 (1997): 43–49.

¹⁵ Johnson, "Pagan-Christian Burial Practices of the Fourth Century," 49.

third and ninth day¹⁶ as a Christian custom of commemoration. The rites were Christian, but they were also polytheistic, so much so that the Christian funerary banquets also included serving food to the departed. During the fourth century, Christian bishops showed no interest in regulating the traditional commemorations for private burials. They sought to emphasize the Christian elements in the rites and the importance of proper Christian behavior.

Exemplars of Christian Life and Death: Family Members as Models

Although there is no trace of an official liturgy of the dead, burial of the family members of bishops may be taken as many “case studies” of how bishops influenced their communities through the personal examples of their mothers, sisters, and brothers. Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo provide insights into the proper Christian burial. Their epigrams, homilies, and treatises constructed the ideal types of Christian mourning and commemoration for their congregations. These texts also reveal the lack of established Christian funeral commemoration at the end of the fourth century. This provided the opportunity for bishops to act as creatively as their position and community allowed them to do.

Damasus of Rome and His Sister Irene

Damasus inscribed himself in history as the caretaker of the memory of the martyrs and formed the Christian topography of Rome.¹⁷ The bishop wrote epigrams not only for the martyrs of Rome, but also for his family. Were these epigrams part of the bishop’s ideological program or simply a manifestation of family affection?

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Damasus built a basilica on the Via Ardeatina, where he buried his mother, Laurentia,¹⁸ and his sister, Irene, and

¹⁶ “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles,” in *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries: Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, Homily, and Liturgies*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Fathers 7 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886), chap. 8.42, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.ix.ix.iv.html>.

¹⁷ Dennis Trout, “Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33, no. 3 (2003): 521.

¹⁸ Damasus, Epigram 10.

where he himself was buried.¹⁹ Damasus' epigrams on his mother and his sister praise their service of the Lord. While his mother's epitaph mentions only that she lived for almost a hundred years, of which sixty were spent as a widow of the Church, the eulogy of Irene reveals not just more about the deceased, but also offers a theological interpretation of her role in the netherworld:

In this tomb now rest limbs consecrated to God.
 Here is the sister of Damasus, Irene if you seek her name.
 She had vowed herself to Christ while she lived
 so that holy chastity itself might sanction a virgins' merit.
 Her life not yet fulfilled twice ten winters;
 Her age highlighted the excellent mores of her life;
 Her resolution of mind, the girl's venerable piety,
 Had produced splendid fruits in her happy years.²⁰

Irene was a consecrated virgin and the bishop praises her merits and wisdom. Virginité had a great attraction not only for the female members of ecclesiastical families, but also for high-born women in general, best shown by the circle of ascetic women friends of Jerome in Rome. Irene's epitaph shows that Damasus promoted and praised this type of life.²¹

Did Damasus wish these family epigrams to inscribe his family "into" the history of the martyrs of Rome? Irene is represented as an intercessor and mediator. Damasus asks her to intervene for him with God:

Now, when God comes, remember us, maiden,
 So that by the Lord your little torch may furnish light for me.²²

This plea conveys the idea that the bishop of Rome treated virginité as a road to sanctity. He supplicated his sister to intervene for him, just as he supplicated the martyrs. Irene's dedication, her self-sacrifice, granted the desired protection that a saint was supposed to grant for the soul of the departed. Irene was not

¹⁹ These tombs and the Damasan basilica have not yet been found. An anonymous basilica was unearthed on the Via Ardeatina, Arnaldo Nestori, *La basilica anonima della via Ardeatina* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1990), but it is not identical with Damasus' funerary church.

²⁰ Damasus, Epigram 11, trans. Dennis Trout, in *Damasus of Rome. The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 103–105.

²¹ Marianne Sághy, "Martyr Bishops and the Bishop's Martyrs in Fourth-Century Rome," in *Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints*, ed. Trpimir Vedris and John Ott (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012), 31–45; idem, *Versek és vértanúk* [Poems and Martyrs] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2003), 227–28. Damasus wrote a tractate (now lost) on virginité.

²² Epigram 11, English trans. Dennis Trout.

simply the beloved sibling of the bishop of Rome, but an exemplar of a new type of saint: the consecrated virgin.²³

If Damasus prayed for the protection of Irene before the throne of God, he seems not to have approved of deposition *ad sanctos* (burial in a church), the most popular practice among the Christian flock, which led to the success of the great funerary basilicas of Rome.²⁴ In the eulogy of his predecessors, he proclaims that he did not disturb the holy ashes of the bishops, but rather chose another location for his own final resting place.

Here, I confess, I Damasus wished to set my limbs
But I feared to disturb the holy ashes of the pious.²⁵

Instead of being buried next to the saints, Damasus founded his own family mausoleum. It might be that the bishop disapproved of the tradition that made access to the saints' protection possible for wealthy Christians by burying their family in the same shrine.

Outside of his family circle, the bishop of Rome also commemorated members of his flock. Damasus's only "social" epigram commemorates the young wife Proiecta²⁶ and positions the figure of the bishop next to close family members.²⁷ Damasus' presence at a private burial and in funeral commemoration seems to indicate the growing influence of the bishops of Rome in households. The inscription attests that Damasus became increasingly sought after in senatorial circles at the public burials of private persons. The Christian elite of Rome, together with Damasus and his clergy, promoted not only the cult of the martyrs, but also the proper Christian commemoration of their members.²⁸

²³ Marianne Sághy, "The Bishop of Rome and the Martyrs," in *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, ed. Geoffrey D. Dunn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 48–49.

²⁴ Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 34–36.

²⁵ *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 16, "Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra/ sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum."

²⁶ *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 51, "Quid loquar aut silenam? Prohibet dolor ipse fateri./ Hic tumulus lacrimas retinet, cognosce, parentum/ Proiectae, fuerat Primo quae iuncta marito, / pulcra decore suo, solo contenta pudore,/ heu dilecta satis miserae genetricis amore. / Accipe – quid multis? – thalami post foedera prima/ erepta ex oculis Flori genitoris abiit/ aetheriam cupiens caeli conscendere lucem./ Haec Damasus prestat cunctis solacia stetus./ Vixit ann. XVI m IX dies XXV dep. III Kal. Ian. Fl. Merobaude et Fl. Saturnini cons." English trans. Dennis Trout, "Damasus of Rome," 115.

²⁷ Nicola Denzey, *The Bone Gatherers: The Lost World of Early Christian Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 198.

²⁸ Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome and the Making of Christianity in the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 250–252.

In these epigrams, the bishop presents his family as models of the Christian ascetic lifestyle. They became part of Damasus' program as examples of holiness in everyday life. Damasus' mother and sister promote ascetic models of the ideal Christian life. By asking for his sister's heavenly protection, Damasus put chastity on an equal footing with the sacrifice of the martyrs. Proiecta's case is even more intriguing. Damasus is mentioned along with the family members of the deceased in the epitaph, attesting that the bishop entered the private sphere, allowing the family to bury their dead in a territory now safely under the control of the bishop, in proximity to saints.

Ambrose of Milan and His Brother Satyrus

Ambrose of Milan gave his brother, Satyrus, a privileged burial place next to the martyr Saint Victor. The bishop's eloquent farewell oration illustrates the extent to which public and private overlapped at the funeral. Ambrose mourns his brother, but as bishop of Milan, he teaches his congregation, giving a personal example of proper Christian grief and care for the departed.

Satyrus' life is known only from Ambrose's homily. Their family belonged to the Roman aristocracy,²⁹ with its influential network system of patrons, clients, relatives, and friends.³⁰ Following Ambrose's election, Satyrus left the civic government and devoted his life to assisting his brother.³¹ As McLynn notes, Satyrus annihilated himself socially, living a life considered "unmanly."³² He administered Ambrose's household, a duty that required financial talent and ethical responsibility.³³ Satyrus died unbaptized,³⁴ yet he was buried next to the shrine of Saint Victor. Closer examination reveals that Satyrus' place of honor

²⁹ McLynn, *Ambrose*, 31–37.

³⁰ T. D. Barnes, "Augustine, Symmachus and Ambrose," in *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWilliam (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 7–15.

³¹ *De excessu fratri Satyri*, in *Sancti Ambrosii: Opera Omnia* Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina 16. ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1845). I. 25. Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, English trans. H. De Romestin, in *Ambrose: Select Works and Letters*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 2–10 Last accessed 10 January 2016, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf210.iv.iii.html>. In the following I will quote from this translation.

³² McLynn, *Ambrose*, 69–70.

³³ For the household of the bishop, see Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy*, 88–98. Assisting the bishop might have been another reason for Satyrus' celibacy; as a guardian of the material properties of the bishop and the Church of Milan he had to be a moral exemplar.

³⁴ Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, I. 52.

served the honor of Ambrose; he buried his beloved brother in a tomb that he had originally chosen for himself. Satyrus, so similar to Ambrose that they were often mistaken³⁵ for each other, was laid to rest in the grave of the bishop.

At the funeral, Ambrose performed his private duties as a brother and his public duties as the leader of the church. Appreciating the merits of the deceased and confirming his place in the community were traditional elements of funerals.³⁶ Ambrose, the bishop acted as the customs of civic life required; he chose the burial place, delivered the eulogy at the funeral, and revisited the grave on the seventh day after the funeral.³⁷ He conformed to tradition, but he also innovated in that his eulogy was now incorporated in the liturgy.³⁸ Ambrose acted both as the closest relative and as the officiating priest. Expressing his personal grief, he reminded himself of his public duties and his duties as a Christian:

But whither am I going, in my immoderate grief, forgetful of my duty, mindful of kindness received? The Apostle calls me back, and as it were puts a bit upon my sorrow, saying, as you heard just now: 'We would not that ye should be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that sleep, that ye be not sorrowful, as the rest which have no hope.'³⁹

Ambrose contextualized the loss of his brother as a result of the barbarian invasion, and offers his grief and sorrow as a sacrifice for the whole community. With this, he shares his personal grief and transforms it into the grief of all.⁴⁰ At the beginning, he speaks as a leader; putting aside his private pain, he takes part in the shared sorrow of his flock. Then he goes on to offer his loss as a sacrifice, making a strong connection between himself and his audience. From this point on, Ambrose ceased to be an outsider and became one of the Milanese Christians:

I feel, indeed, the deepest gratitude to you, dearest brethren, holy people, that you esteem my grief as no other than your own, that you feel this bereavement as having happened to yourselves, that you offer me the tears of the whole city, of every age, and the good wishes of every rank, with unusual affection. For this is not the grief of private sympathy, but as it were a service and offering of public good will. And

³⁵ Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, I. 38.

³⁶ McLynn, *Ambrose*, 72, J. Warren Smith, *Christian Grace and Pagan Virtue: The Theological Foundation of Ambrose's Ethic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 129–30.

³⁷ On this occasion he delivered another speech on the topic of the resurrection of the body. Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus* II. 2.

³⁸ McLynn, *Ambrose*, 73.

³⁹ Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, I. 9.

⁴⁰ Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, I. 5–6.

should any sympathy with me because of the loss of such a brother touch you, I have abundant fruit from it, I have the pledge of your affection.⁴¹

According to Neil McLynn, Satyrus' burial was part of Ambrose's consolidation of power and established the bishop's position in the city. Rather than simply giving an example of Christian consolation, Ambrose transformed himself into an exemplar for his community.

Satyrus' final resting place fitted Ambrose's remarkable organization of the burial. By placing his dear brother next to Saint Victor, Ambrose linked his family and himself to the saint. Ambrose chose the shrine of Victor, a martyr "imported" from Mauretania by Ambrose's predecessor.⁴² In so doing, Ambrose adjoined his family not only to the saint, but also to the line of the bishops of Milan. By burying his brother next to the saint, the bishop "legalized" *ad sanctos* burials in Milan.⁴³ He expressed his hope that the physical proximity of the martyr would help his brother's salvation.⁴⁴ Indeed, recent archaeological excavations have ascertained that Satyrus' grave was literally attached to the saint's.⁴⁵ Victor actually shared his sanctity with Satyrus, who, in turn, also came to be venerated as a saint.⁴⁶

Augustine of Hippo, His Mother Monica and Son Adeodatus

Augustine's moving reminiscence on his mother's death and funeral offers a glimpse into lay Christian burials.⁴⁷ Monica died before Augustine was elected bishop, but it was Augustine the bishop who remembered her burial. She died in

⁴¹ Ambrose of Milan, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, I.28.

⁴² Gillian Mackie, "Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: The Case of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan," *Gesta* 34 (1995): 91. See also Jean Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), 39–40.

⁴³ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 65.

⁴⁴ Jean-Charles Picard, "L'Évolution des lieux de sépulture au haut Moyen Âge," in *Évêques, saints et cités en Italie et en Gaule* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998), 312–13.

⁴⁵ Mackie, "Symbolism and Purpose," 99.

⁴⁶ Jean Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des évêques*, 38.

⁴⁷ Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead*, 128.

Ostia in 387 on her way back to Africa.⁴⁸ Ten years later, Augustine the bishop described vividly the deathbed scene in the *Confessions*.⁴⁹

Augustine incorporated the death of Monica into his *Confessions*, the ninth book of which enumerates a long list of personal losses. Four deaths are scattered through the narrative, not in chronological order but in subjective importance.⁵⁰ Monica's death is meant to be a turning point in the narrative: Augustine overcomes loss and praises the Lord:⁵¹

What was it, then, that hurt me so grievously in my heart except the newly made wound, caused from having the sweet and dear habit of living together with her suddenly broken? I was full of joy because of her testimony in her last illness, when she praised my dutiful attention and called me kind, and recalled with great affection of love that she had never heard any harsh or reproachful sound from my mouth against her. But yet, O my God who made us, how can that honor I paid her be compared with her service to me? I was then left destitute of a great comfort in her, and my soul was stricken; and that life was torn apart, as it were, which had been made but one out of hers and mine together.⁵²

Monica's burial place acquired real significance in the ascetic program of the *Confessions*.⁵³ "Lay this body anywhere, let not the care for it trouble you at all. This only I ask, that you will remember me at the Lord's altar, wherever you be."⁵⁴ She renounced her desire to be buried together with Patricius and unite with him in death and did not care about the fate of her dead body. In calling attention to Monica's change of heart, Augustine made his mother the spokeswoman for his

⁴⁸ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9.8, Latin edition: CSEL [Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum] 33, ed. Philip Khöll, English trans. Alber C. Outler, Vienna: Tempus, 1896.

⁴⁹ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9. 11. 29, trans. Albert C. Outler, last accessed 10 January 2016 <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/augustine/confessions.xii.html>.

⁵⁰ Ezio Gallicet, "Nec omnino moriebatur (Aug. Conf. 9, 12, 29): la fine è un inizio," *Rudiae* (Rudiae. Ricerche sul mondo classico - Lecce), 12, (2000): 135–151.

⁵¹ Marjorie Suchocki, "The Symbolic Structure of Augustine's *Confessions*," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50, no. 3 (1982): 365–78.

⁵² Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9. 11. 29–30, trans. Albert C. Outler, last accessed 10 January 2016 <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/augustine/confessions.xii.html>

⁵³ About the figure of Monica in the *Confessions* as an ascetic, see Marianne Sághy, "Monica the Ascetic," forthcoming in *Studia Patristica*. I would like to thank the author for allowing me to use her paper .

⁵⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9.11.27–28.

views on Christian burial. Later, however, Monica's final resting place in Ostia was honored by an eloquent epitaph praising her and her son's merit.⁵⁵

Augustine plaintively recalls his lack of tears during his mother's funeral.⁵⁶ Would the tearless Augustine stand for the Christian ideal of mourning? Like Ambrose, Augustine prescribes a modest display of grief with no tears shed in public. As a rhetor and a bishop, Augustine must have been aware of the importance of public rites. The only element of Monica's funerary ritual (held in the cemetery) that Augustine mentions is the placing of the body beside the grave during the funeral.⁵⁷ Did the funeral liturgy consist of the Eucharistic communion? Did the "sacrifice of our redemption"⁵⁸ take place at the funerary mass or later?⁵⁹ Christian tradition included prayers and the Eucharist at the funeral or after, but Augustine does not mention the presence of clergymen at Monica's burial.

A piece of evidence for the role of the Eucharist and prayer is to be found in Augustine's treatise *On the Care of the Dead* written around 422 as a letter to Paulinus of Nola.⁶⁰ In this letter, Augustine refutes the idea that the burial of a body next to a saint guaranteed salvation, unless the departed had lived a life which allowed any kind of intercession, namely, prayer, almsgiving, and the Eucharistic communion.⁶¹ Augustine emphasizes the difference of the ecclesiastical and private spheres and delimits the participation of the clergy in the care of the dead. Paulinus' question to Augustine also shows that bishops were eager to participate in burials in order to promote their local saints. Augustine's warning that burial *ad sanctos* is useless in itself addressed the practice of powerful members of the elite requesting privileged burial places for their family.⁶² For him, the care for the

⁵⁵ Douglas Ryan Boin, "Late Antique Ostia and a Campaign for Pious Tourism: Epitaphs for Bishop Cyriacus and Monica, Mother of Augustine," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 100 (2010): 195–209 argues that Monica's epitaph was created around the sixth century to increase the number of pious pilgrims to Ostia.

⁵⁶ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9.12.30.

⁵⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9.12.32, "The dead body being now placed by the side of the grave, as the custom there is, prior to its being laid therein," trans. Alber C. Oulter.

⁵⁸ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9.12.31: *cum offeretur pro ea sacrificium pretii nostril*.

⁵⁹ Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead*, 130.

⁶⁰ For the correspondence between Paulinus of Nola and Augustine, see Pierre Courcelle, *Les Confessions de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1963), 570–75.

⁶¹ Augustine of Hippo, *On the Care of the Dead*, 20, CSEL 41 ed. Joseph Zycha (Vienna: Tempsky, 1900); English trans. H. Browne, in *Augustine On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 1–3, last accessed 10 January, 2016, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf103.v.ix.html>

⁶² *On the Care of the Dead* 6 trans. H. Browne.

dead means that the living pray for the soul of the departed, but the forms of this help do not concern the body. The responsibility of Christians is to help the souls of the departed – through prayer, communion and almsgiving – means that Augustine approved.

In Augustine's references to his lost beloved there is a remarkable gap: his son, Adeodatus. In the *Confessions* Augustine recalls the memory of times spent together; the philosophical debates at Cassiciacum in which he proudly involved his son⁶³ and their baptism together.⁶⁴ In the same passage he briefly mentions that Adeodatus died at a young age: "And thou didst quickly remove his life from the earth, and even now I recall him to mind with a sense of security, because I fear nothing for his childhood or youth, nor for his whole career."⁶⁵

Was Augustine present at his deathbed? Kate Cooper notes that this almost unnoticeable note of the loss of his son marks the deep grief of Augustine.⁶⁶ In the *Confessions* Adeodatus is seen for the last time crying at the deathbed of Monica; this scene thus represents not just Augustine's raw pain and mourning of Monica, but is also a silent commemoration of his son.

Conclusion

This paper has surveyed a special set of textual evidence, the epigraphic and homiletic works of fourth-century bishops mourning their family members. Bishops present a great range of personal examples of the commemoration of dead relatives, from virgin sister to widowed mother, from manager brother to young wife. "We have met a group of impresarios, taking initiatives, making choices, and, in so doing, coining a public language that would last through Western Europe deep into the Middle Ages."⁶⁷ The bishops reveal their personal grief and pain, testifying that these feelings were allowed for Christians even though classical behaviour required solemn and quiet behavior. This appeal to emotions not only created a strong link between the bishop and his audience, but also a new discourse on burial.

These texts are not simply moving. Pronounced by prelates, they had a prescriptive, normative function. The way prelates buried and mourned their

⁶³ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9.4.7.

⁶⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9. 6.14.

⁶⁵ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 9. 6.14.

⁶⁶ Kate Cooper, "Love and Belonging, Loss and Betrayal in the Confessions," in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 79

⁶⁷ Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 49.

relatives was perceived as an exemplary model of Christian burial. These texts, therefore, helped the bishops pursue their reform of Christian burials and mourning. The descriptions of their pious lives reinforced the bishops' program to promote their ideas about proper Christian behavior. In this way, the personal family of the bishops became "accessible" to the entire Christian community. Opening up their family sphere for the congregation, bishops reinforced their emotional connection with their flock. Although the authority of bishops was limited in family affairs, they extended the meaning of family when they laid bare their personal loss to their community. This personal connection offered a further opportunity to form and promote liturgical commemoration and to reform the remembrance of the dead by emphasizing the communal aspect of family grief.

DE VELITATIONE BELLICA AND BYZANTINE GUERRILLA WARFARE

Lucas McMahon 

By the death of Emperor Herakleios in AD 641, the armies of Islam had deprived the eastern Roman Empire of its easternmost provinces, forever changing its capacity to wage war.¹ A paucity of Greek sources and scattered and difficult eastern materials have led scholars to a tenth-century Byzantine military manual known by the modern Latin title *De Velitatione Bellica*.² This manual contains a great deal of seemingly plausible advice on how to engage in low-intensity warfare along the Byzantine-Islamic frontier across the Tauros and Anti-Tauros Mountains.³ In the opening lines it purports to set down a system of skirmishing warfare (τὴν τῆς παραδρομῆς μέθοδον) but also claims that in the present it is no longer relevant since the danger of the Muslim states to the east has been broken.⁴ The author indicates that these skirmishing tactics are being written down in case they will be needed in the future.⁵ *De Velitatione* has frequently been invoked as a

¹ This article is based on: Lucas McMahon, “The Past and Future of *De Velitatione Bellica* and Byzantine Guerrilla Warfare,” MA thesis (Central European University, 2015).

² Pseudo-Nikephoros II Phokas, “On Skirmishing,” in *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. and trans. George T. Dennis (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), proem.3–7. See also Gilbert Dagron and Haralambie Mihăescu, *Le Traité sur la guérilla (de velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)* (Paris: CNRS [Centre national de la recherche scientifique], 1986). For the titles of works in Greek I have attempted to follow the names applied in recent scholarship for ease of use even if some are artificial Latin translations like *De Velitatione*. When possible, references are to section numbers rather than page numbers to facilitate finding the passages in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. I have not attempted to be entirely consistent in citing primary texts, since the editions themselves are not consistent and ease of reference is more important.

³ The terms “Arab”, “Muslim”, and “Islamic” are frequently conflated here, in full recognition that early Islamic armies were not so homogeneously Arab or even Muslim as the ninth- and tenth-century historians would have liked them to be. Even in the Abbasid period Zoroastrians were serving in the army. See, for example, *The Chronicle of Zuqin Parts III and IV, A.D. 488–775*, trans. Amir Harrak (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999), 206. The terms guerrilla, Vegetian, and irregular warfare are used here synonymously to refer to the sort of tactics in *De Velitatione*. For a broader recent treatment of guerrilla warfare in Byzantium see Gastone Breccia, “Grandi imperi e piccolo guerre: Roma, Bisanzio e la guerriglia II,” *Medioevo greco* 8 (2008): 49–131.

⁴ *De Velitatione*, proem.3–7.

⁵ *De Velitatione*, proem.7–12.

description of how Byzantium fought its Muslim neighbors during the so-called “dark ages” and has recently been examined for its place in the tenth century. Here I will examine the historical background to *De Velitatione*’s claims: What evidence is there for a system of warfare that seeks to defeat the enemy while avoiding facing them in risky straightforward engagement?

The historical beginning of the sort of tactics described in *De Velitatione* has received differing responses. On the one hand, Eric McGeer sees it alongside other tenth-century military manuals and as a piece that recorded the sort of tactics developed in response to Sayf ad-Daula’s raiding, whereas Catherine Holmes raises the possibility that it was a tenth-century piece of propaganda for the Phokas family.⁶ On the other hand, John Haldon and Hugh Kennedy see the tactics as applicable to a much longer period of time.⁷ While Haldon and Kennedy give some examples, their argument for this point is brief and a more systematic examination is needed. Although the material for the annual campaigns between Byzantium and the Muslim states it bordered is often late, chronologically problematic, and short on details, the campaigns themselves deserve more attention than they have been given.⁸ This short survey will provide a number of examples to demonstrate that while Byzantine eastern frontier policy is more complex than a purely defensive guerrilla strategy might suggest, some evidence does suggest that tactics akin to those in *De Velitatione* were employed during the so-called “Byzantine Dark Age.”

Vegetian tactics appeared around the time of the siege of Constantinople in 717/8. The eighth-century Armenian historian Lewond states that in the year prior to the siege of Constantinople orders were given for the population to move into fortresses following the approach of an Arab army.⁹ Byzantine forces that responded to the raid were ordered to avoid battle, but when they saw the Arab host split apart in order to raid the countryside, they could not resist the

⁶ Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon’s Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 172–78, 226–28; Catherine Holmes, “Byzantine Political Culture and Compilation Literature in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64 (2010): 74–6.

⁷ Hugh Kennedy and John Haldon, “The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization and Society in the Borderlands,” in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Aldershot: Variorum, 2006), 84, 97.

⁸ Chronological problems in the Muslim sources can be attributed to the beginning of the ordering of historical materials, which really only began in the 730s: Chase Robinson, *Early Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 24–25.

⁹ Lewond, *The History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, trans. Zaven Arzoumanian (Wynnewood, PA: St. Sahag and St. Mesrob Armenian Church, 1982), 108–9.

temptation to attack. In this, however, the Byzantine troops were driven back by Arab ambushes.¹⁰ Although this action does not appear in Greek sources, several of the salient elements of defense as presented in *De Velitatione* can be seen: The concern about being ambushed in retaliation, an attempt to take advantage of the enemy dispersing to raid, and the withdrawing of the population into fortresses.¹¹ The first Byzantine victory during the siege came with Leo sending out ships bearing Greek fire against an Arab fleet at anchor in a sheltered bay. He had received information from Egyptian deserters, took advantage of it to avoid battle, and hit his enemy when they were unprepared. Around the same time, concealed Byzantine infantry was able to attack raiding Muslims in northwestern Asia Minor at Libos and Sophon, forcing the Arabs to limit their activities in the Asian hinterland of Constantinople.¹² Curiously, this sort of warfare is described as “in the manner of the Mardaites.”¹³

While campaigns are listed as taking place almost annually, the next mention of Byzantine resistance is in 731, in which ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht is noted as having been killed after charging into Byzantine forces after a retreat, and in the following year Byzantine forces advanced against the invading Muslims but were defeated.¹⁴ Only later in the 730s, during an attack on Synnada, does guerrilla warfare make an explicit appearance. The emir of Melitene, Mālik b. Shabīb, along with the frontier warrior ‘Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl are listed as present, allegedly bringing some 50 000 troops. While encamped at Synnada, Byzantine soldiers surrounded them on all sides and attacked, with only some 5000 making an escape.¹⁵

In an entry dated to 735, al-Tabari reports that two raids departed that year for Byzantine territory. The leader of one, Sulaymān, departed from Mesopotamia, and the text says that when he arrived in Byzantine lands he spread out his raiding parties.¹⁶ This is notable for matching a detail in *De Velitatione* of

¹⁰ Lewond, *The History of Lewond*, 108–9.

¹¹ *De Velitatione*, 8, 9, 10.

¹² Rodolphe Guiland, “L’expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople (717–718),” in *Études Byzantines*, ed. Rodolphe Guiland (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959), 122.

¹³ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 397. This note is unique to Theophanes.

¹⁴ Al-Tabari, *The History of Al-Tabari*, vol. 25, *The End of Expansion*, trans. Khalid Yahya Blankinship (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 95–96.

¹⁵ Al-Tabari, *End of Expansion*; 102; *The Chronicle of Zuqin*, 162. This event may have taken place any time between 733 and 740 and is placed by Petersen ca. 740, see Leif Inge Ree Petersen, *Siege Warfare and Military Organization in the Successor States (400–800 A.D.): Byzantium, the West, and Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 717.

¹⁶ Al-Tabari, *End of Expansion*, 111.

small parties separating out from the larger raid force and thus provides some support for the manual's claim to be preserving the past.¹⁷

The sources are relatively quiet for the middle years of the eighth century. Although they are typically taciturn when discussing frontier warfare, the Abbasid Revolution appears to have limited Muslim campaigning; Constantine V took advantage of this to dedicate his efforts to fighting the Bulgars and to making a couple of high-profile attacks on Melitene and Germanikeia. In the late 760s some further details surface with a Muslim attack on Kamakhon. While this elicits only a brief acknowledgement in Theophanes, the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* provides an extensive siege narrative. Two particularly salient details emerge from *Zuqnin's* account. The first is that the leader of Kamakhon, a certain Sergios, permitted Syriac Christians to cross the border in search of madder (ܥܘܕܝܪ) after catching some of them.¹⁸ This attests both to Roman border intelligence and its limits; individuals or small groups could evidently cross without detection, but at risk of capture.¹⁹ It also gives a glimpse into frontier life. There may have been an attempt to create something akin to a hard frontier zone, or at least one that was regularly monitored, as indicated by the apprehension of those trying to cross the frontier.²⁰ The Syriac term used by the chronicle is rather elusive but perhaps points to some degree of transhumance in the region.

¹⁷ *De Velitatione*, 10.1–48.

¹⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 208. Robert Payne-Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 440. Unfortunately, the Payne-Smith dictionary does not provide any references to other uses of the word or how the author arrived at such a precise definition as *rubia tinctorum*. This particular plant is associated with the creation of dyes: D. J. Mabberley, *Mabberley's Plant Book: A Portable Dictionary of Plants, their Classifications and Uses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 750. Harrak suggests that it was eaten by the poor and animals in times of need (*The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 208n3). If indeed this plant was used as fodder for animals, or if ܥܘܕܝܪ is less specific than the dictionary suggests, then perhaps this is a direct reference to cross-border transhumance. Until further research can be carried out, however, nothing can be said for certain. For the siege narrative see Petersen, *Siege Warfare*, 732–738. For some of the historical problems see Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jibad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1996), 62–64; A. Asa Eger, *The Spaces Between the Teeth: A Gazetteer of Towns on the Islamic-Byzantine Frontier* (Yayınları: Istanbul, 2012), 80–81.

¹⁹ Nora Berend, “Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier,” *The Medieval History Journal* 2, no. 1 (1999), 59–61.

²⁰ Hugh Kennedy and John Haldon, “The Arab-Byzantine Frontier,” 114–16 find an interesting reference in an Arabic text to jihad requirements being fulfilled if one's animals ate Byzantine grass, hinting at transhumance in the border regions. Seasonal transhumance also occurred between the Cilician Plain and the mountains in other periods, see Scott

The second interesting item from the chronicle is that during the siege a group of Arabs departed after the fortress had been besieged and moved into Byzantine lands to raid. *Zuqnin* reports that the raiders passed through difficult, arid, and mountainous terrain in order to avoid detection.²¹ Although they suffered privation, the march was successful for the raiders, who then entered the lands around Kaisareia in Cappadocia, where they apparently found a lack of resistance and available plunder. Having taken much loot, the Muslims retreated, encamped in a meadow, and set their horses to pasture but did not adequately prepare defenses. *Zuqnin* claims that they believed themselves to already be in Syria.²² According to *Zuqnin*, a Roman force allegedly composed of 12 000 cavalry just happened to stumble upon the encamped Muslim army. The chronicler then presents a scene in which the unnamed Roman commander cannot believe that the Muslim force is so vulnerable. Once the commander realizes that the situation is real he immediately occupies the pass out of the meadow. The Muslims then begin negotiations and the prisoners and the loot are given up, but during this time Roman messengers summoned a great army which surrounded the meadow and made a simultaneous night assault which destroyed the invaders and left only a few to escape to Melitene.²³

A few details from this story raise questions. *Zuqnin* has no idea where the Roman army came from, merely that it was marching from a victory. However, no other Byzantine activity is mentioned in other sources.²⁴ *Zuqnin's* information on the Roman army should be treated carefully. He is able to name the commander in Kamakhon (Sergios) and two Muslim leaders, Radād and Mālik b. Tawq, but the Roman general is never named. Given the other information, it seems plausible that if *Zuqnin* knew the general's name he would have included it and that the story of the general just happening to discover the Muslim force on his way back

Redford, "Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the 12th-13th Centuries," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. Cécile Morrisson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012), 301.

²¹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 209–10. Presumably this raid passed through the mountains somewhere between the Halys and Euphrates rivers and the settlements of Sebasteia, Tephrike, and Tzamandos.

²² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 211.

²³ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 211–13.

²⁴ The siege and raid are barely mentioned elsewhere. Theophanes only states that the siege lasted for a whole summer (Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 444) and nothing remarkable is noted in al-Tabari other than that some Muslims died in the raid (Al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 29, *Al-Manşūr and al-Mahdī*, trans. Hugh Kennedy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 42.

from some unnamed victory is questionable. The other issue is the timing. *Zuqnin* explicitly states that the general sent for reinforcements while negotiating with the Muslims and that the troops that arrived were a substantial body broken into four divisions. The given figure of the 50 000 men on the raid is probably excessive, but the 12 000 Byzantine cavalry is not, even if it is rather on the large side.²⁵

Whether significant additional bodies of troops came or not is unknown, but another course of action is plausible. The Muslims, caught unaware, perhaps entered negotiations to buy themselves time to get their military equipment in order and prepare to break out. Presumably this is when the captives and loot were returned, but whether they were given as a bribe to let the Muslims return home or whether the precariousness of their position became evident and such additional baggage would have limited the hard fighting to come is unclear.²⁶ The Roman commander may have used the negotiations in order to buy time to get his army in place around the Muslim encampment. While the numbers are not believable, they are large enough to suggest that significant forces were present on both sides and that the mountainous terrain likely limited the ability of both groups in their search for pasturage and supplies. It seems unlikely, then, that these negotiations were carried out over the course of weeks, but rather a day or a few days. The surprise arrival of the Muslims in Byzantine territory is a good explanation for why they do not seem to have been harried in their raiding around Kaisareia. Forces were assembled during the raid and only encountered the raiders as they were returning home through the Tauros Mountains.

Once the Roman forces were in position, they attacked. Although this reconstruction of the battle is hypothetical, the surviving evidence is more easily reconstructed into an understandable battle than some other more famous clashes.²⁷ The injunctions that appeared later in *De Velitatione* seem to have been

²⁵ An estimate for the late eighth century puts total Byzantine troop numbers around 80 000 see Warren Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army 284–1081* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 67–69. John Haldon, *Warfare, State, and Society in the Byzantine World 565–1204* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), 81–83 is generally in agreement.

²⁶ A Roman general was criticized for allegedly accepting a bribe and diverting his army a few decades later, see Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 451. Collusion and bribery were apparently plausible enough that Leo VI advocated leaving the property of certain Muslim border landlords alone so that they would fall under suspicion, see Leo VI, *The Taktika of Leo VI: Revised Edition*, ed. and trans. George T. Dennis (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014), 20.22.

²⁷ Yarmūk, for example, is deeply problematic, as are the differing traditions on what happened after the Battle of the Masts in 654. The historical issues surrounding Yarmūk are highlighted (but far from solved) in David Woods, “Jews, Rats, and the Battle of

closely followed to the extent that this may have been nearly a model response. Of course, this all assumes that *Zuqnin* preserves some semblance of reliable military data. How much shadowing was conducted is unknown, but the Roman force did manage to assemble with something approaching its full strength at a point and time where the Muslims were unprepared, suggesting a degree of coordination and intelligence unless one is inclined to believe *Zuqnin*'s story that a battle-ready force just happened to stumble upon the raiders. The Byzantines also occupied the pass that the Muslims were planning to take on the way out and they may have held it successfully since those who escaped went eastward rather than south into Syria.²⁸ The Roman force also seems to have been heavily cavalry-based, something suggested by Phokas in the tenth century as ideal for fighting on the eastern frontier.²⁹ An effort to recover captives and loot taken is also noted by both Phokas and *Zuqnin*.³⁰

The success of these sorts of tactics evidently led to them being attempted again shortly thereafter. Theophanes reports a Muslim attack on the coastal fortress of Syke.³¹ Michael Lachanodrakon, then *strategos* of the Anatolikon, joined forces with the Boukellarion, the Armeniakon, and the Kibyrrhaiotai and blocked the path of the Muslims out. Perhaps having learned from the earlier defeat, the Muslim general went on the offensive. What exactly he attempted to

Yarmük," in *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest*, ed. Ariel S. Lewin and Pietrina Pellegrini (Oxford: Archaeopress), 367–376. See also John Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars* (Stroud: The History Press, 2001), 58–65.

²⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 213.

²⁹ *De Velitatione*, 17.21–23.

³⁰ *De Velitatione*, 14.17–108. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 210.

³¹ F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 3.1: *Kilikien und Isaurien* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 421–3; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 445; Petersen, *Siege Warfare*, 738–39. Syke has been identified as the modern Softa Kalesi, a spectacular and well-preserved castle just east of Bozyazı on the south coast of Turkey. How this identification was made is unknown. Cyril Mango, Roger Scott, and Geoffrey Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 616, n.1 identify this castle as Syke. They cite W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London: John Murray, 1890), 381, which does not attempt to place the castle. This reading has been taken up elsewhere, such as in Emilie Savage-Smith, "The Book of Curiosities: An Eleventh-Century Egyptian View of the Lands of the Infidel," in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J.A. Talbert (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 308, n. 33. The *Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire* is less sure: "The Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire: Softa Kalesi," created July 1, 2008, imperium.ahlfeldt.se/places/22663 [last accessed May 2015].

do is obscured by Theophanes' claim that he attacked the troops of the cavalry *themata* (the Kibyrrhaiotai not having joined forces with them) and defeated them, which then permitted the Muslims to raid and march home unmolested. Several of the same elements of the previous action are visible here, such as the Byzantine forces grouping together when they have the advantage to prevent the invaders from leaving easily and the use of the terrain. That it was ultimately unsuccessful does not detract from what was broadly a Vegetian guerrilla strategy for dealing with invaders on the mountainous frontier.

The importance of these passages for understanding Byzantine guerrilla warfare on the eastern frontier should not be understated. What *Zuqin* provides is apparently the earliest full account of tactics akin to those in *De Velitatione* being applied. Notably, it takes place a decade earlier than the commonly accepted "early" account of guerrilla tactics in the east. Mark Whittow sees the first evidence of this sort of strategy applied by Leo IV in 778 in a passage in Theophanes and then goes on to claim that this type of warfare developed into a sophisticated military doctrine in the ninth and tenth centuries.³² Breccia followed this despite noting earlier the importance of the Kamakhon raid.³³ The case of the raiding party that left the siege of Kamakhon does point to a sophisticated defensive system that seems to have already been in place at least by the middle of the eighth century.

Theophanes's account of Leo IV's orders to defend Byzantine territory in such a manner does require some explanation if the orders were not representative of a new strategy. Leo ordered his generals to avoid meeting the Arabs in the field but rather to take parties of around 3000 men to trail the Arab raiding parties so that the invaders could not raid effectively, while also burning pasturelands so that the Muslim's animals would have nothing to eat.³⁴ Other events explain Leo's strategy. In the previous year, Leo had sent a major campaign into Syria which attacked Germanikeia. Although failing to take the fortress, Michael Lachanodrakon seized the camel herds of the Caliph Mahdi's uncle and devastated the surrounding territory.³⁵ Lachanodrakon defeated the raid reported in al-Tabari

³² Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 176. Whittow's argument has been adopted in recent scholarship, see Panos Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–813* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 145.

³³ Breccia, "Piccole guerre," 93, cf. 55–59.

³⁴ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 452. Ioannis Stouraitis, *Krieg und Frieden in der politischen und ideologischen Wahrnehmung in Byzanz (7.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2009), 56–7.

³⁵ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 452.

for 777/8.³⁶ This failure is attributed to the raid commander's unwillingness to listen to his scouts. Ibn Wadhih adds that the Muslims were surrounded and defeated on this campaign.³⁷ Together this hints at guerrilla tactics and suggests that Lachanodrakon probably did not engage the raiders directly in a set-piece battle. These defeats undoubtedly undermined Abbasid prestige and forced Mahdi to respond with a major campaign against Byzantium.³⁸ Leo may have been wary about directly engaging a Muslim force sent by the caliph himself, but he may also have wished to conserve his forces. In 776/7 the ousted Bulgarian khan, Telerig, arrived in Constantinople amid unrest in the khanate.³⁹ If Leo was intending to take advantage of this by continuing his father's campaigns in Bulgaria, he never did so, but the possibility must have been kept in mind given Constantine V's long-standing strategy of breaking the Bulgar state.

Nonetheless, Constantinople must have recognized the danger to the army and the regime in directly confronting a caliphal raiding army and the possibility of continuing Byzantine intervention in Bulgarian politics and wisely chose to avoid any serious risks. Another danger came from inside, from the most experienced military man in the east. Recent history had seen military men from the provinces usurping power in Constantinople, with Leo's own grandfather taking the throne in 717 and Leo's father, Constantine, fighting a rebellious general of the Armeniakon, who actually managed to oust him from Constantinople.⁴⁰ Theophanes claims that Lachanodrakon took bribes from the

³⁶ Al-Tabari, *Manşūr and al-Mahdī*, 198. This "raid" was probably a response to Lachanodrakon's campaign, see Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 72.

³⁷ Brooks, "Early Abbasids," 735.

³⁸ Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 71–75. The Byzantine frontier was a source of prestige for rulers and aspiring rulers alike, see Robert Haug, "Frontiers and the Early Islamic State: Jihād between Caliphs and Volunteers," *History Compass* 9, no. 8 (2011): 638–640; Hugh Kennedy, "The Mediterranean Frontier: Christianity Face to Face with Islam, 600–1050," in *Cambridge History of Christianity: Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 181–184. The use of the Byzantine frontier for political purposes is nicely highlighted by al-Tabari's claim that Caliph al-Manşūr planned to get the unreliable Khurasani army away from a rebellion by sending them on a raid against Byzantium, see Al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 28, *Abbasid Authority Affirmed*, trans. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 69.

³⁹ Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 148–49

⁴⁰ Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997), 357–59.

Muslims at Germanikeia in order to stave off his assault on the city.⁴¹ Perhaps Leo had to walk carefully around his most able general, who had recently demonstrated that his loyalty to the regime was an open question, assuming, of course, that Theophanes's claim is valid. Should Lachanodrakon's loyalty have been suspect, removing him from his post might have been dangerous to Leo, but so might have been giving him the sort of campaign army necessary to fight Mahdī's forces. Ultimately, this theory is entirely based upon one potentially spurious statement in Theophanes and precedent from earlier in the eighth century, although in this case Leo did have professional imperial troops (*tagmata*) that his grandfather and father did not have to face when attacking Constantinople.⁴² Another possibility entirely is that Theophanes' account is a reflection of an attempt by Leo to achieve military legitimacy. Like Leo VI with his military works, Constantine VII with his treatises and harangues, or Herakleios sending dispatches back to Constantinople from the east, Leo IV could have been giving orders for the purpose of making his reign known and making his concern for the provinces and the army clear.⁴³ That Theophanes happened to select a communiqué designed for those purposes that has subsequently been viewed as part of a long-term military strategy is not impossible nor is the possibility that such a dispatch could have served both military and political purposes. Nonetheless, the overall picture is one in which Leo has several convincing reasons not to take the field. This passage in Theophanes should not be seen as the creation or application of a new strategy but rather as a specific response to a particular problem that was approached in a way that made sense in the current political climate in Constantinople.

Despite these examples, good evidence of guerrilla warfare on the frontier becomes more shadowy than earlier in the eighth century. In 779/80,

⁴¹ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 451. This could just be an attempt by the hostile Theophanes to blacken his character, see Ioannis Stouraitis, "Michael Lachanodrakon," in *Encyclopedia of the Hellenic World*, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.ehw.gr/1.aspx?id=6939>. This story is, however, accepted elsewhere, see *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* III, s.v. "Μιχαήλ 5027."

⁴² Haldon, *Warfare, State, and Society*, 78.

⁴³ John Haldon, *A Critical Commentary on the Taktika of Leo VI* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014), 26, 73; Dagron and Mihăescu, *Le Traité*, 137–38; Eric McGeer, "Two Military Orations of Constantine VII," in *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, ed. John W. Nesbitt (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 115; Athanasios Markopoulos, "The Ideology of War in the Military Harangues of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," in *Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion*, ed. Johannes Koder and Ioannis Stouraitis (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 55–56.

Lachanodrakon intercepted and destroyed what is said to have been a large Muslim raiding party, but no further details are available.⁴⁴ In the following year, Eirene deployed the Asian *themata* to guard the Tauros passes.⁴⁵ What happened next is unclear. Theophanes claims that the Muslims attempted to raid and were defeated, whereas al-Tabari says that no effort was made to force the passes and the raid returned home.⁴⁶ This marshalling of the *themata* was unusual and reflects the heightened state of war between Constantinople and Baghdad in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.

In 781/2 Eirene is reported to have sent *tagmata* to Bane for the purpose of hindering the movement of Harun al-Rashid's invaders, which is a clear example of an attempt to use guerrilla tactics against a superior force.⁴⁷ An effort may have been made in 788 to repeat Lachanodrakon's 779/80 success because forces from the Opsikion and the Anatolikon were defeated by a Muslim raid at what may have been Podandos, just beyond the Cilician Gates.⁴⁸ Presumably the Byzantines had some intelligence that Harun al-Rashid had ordered a more substantial raid that year, otherwise it seems unlikely that an important section of the officer corps of two western *themata* would have been present in the Tauros Mountains and brought forces to intercept invaders.

A failed expedition of Constantine VI in 796/7 against the Muslims has the detail that he desired to bring lightly armed troops (μονοζώνων στρατιωτῶν) from the *themata*.⁴⁹ This may indicate an interest in mountain warfare, although *De Velitatione*'s focus is on cavalry as the main operational arm in guerrilla warfare.

From this survey of the eighth century, Byzantium was no stranger to guerrilla tactics in its fight against the Muslims. Such things appear as early as the siege of Constantinople in 717/18. The raid that broke off from the siege of Kamakhon is notable for its rather close adherence to tactics that were only written down two centuries later in *De Velitatione*. This is important, since it lends credence to the manual's own claim that it preserves a manner of fighting from

⁴⁴ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 453.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 455.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 455; Al-Tabari, *Al-Mansūr and al-Mahdī*, 217; Warren Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 66–67, citing only al-Tabari and Theophanes, gives an account that includes details not found elsewhere, such as a battle taking place near Kaisareia.

⁴⁷ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 456; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 69.

⁴⁸ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 463; Mango, Scott, and Greatrex, *Theophanes Confessor*, 638, n. 1, point out that the reading of this name is uncertain. Podandos is, however, supported by Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 91.

⁴⁹ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 471.

a past time. It also helps to situate the manual more fully in scholarly opinion. McGeer's placement of *De Velitatione* in the corpus is thus revealed to be both correct and in need of a minor qualification – *De Velitatione* may well refer to the defensive sort of warfare practiced against Sayf ad-Dawla, but it also refers to a style of war going back centuries. A study of the eighth-century campaigns also reveals that Whittow's claim that the passage in Theophanes referring to Leo IV's strategy against the Arabs as the first clear evidence of guerrilla strategy in the east is not accurate. The raid that broke off from the siege of Kamakhon predated that by a decade and seems to preserve a believable case of guerrilla tactics. A full study of the eighth-century campaigns is still needed, but this short article fills in gaps in the oft-cited article by Haldon and Kennedy in which they assert the practicality and reality of *De Velitatione* but cover too large a chronological frame to devote attention to specific campaign detail. Guerrilla tactics appear to have been employed at a level no less sophisticated than those put forth by *De Velitatione* in the tenth century, vindicating the claim in the handbook that it preserves the past.

AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN PERSONAL PIETY AND IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY: THE CAPPENBERG HEAD AND FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

Vedran Sulovsky 

Ever since Philippi connected the Cappenberg head/bust to Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190) more than a hundred years ago, it has been repeatedly scrutinized for evidence of Frederick's ideology or piety.¹ Herbert Grundmann's 1959 milestone work *Der Cappenberger Barbarosakopf und die Anfänge des Stiftes Cappenberg* then opened a whole new plane of discussion, as he exhaustively investigated how the portrait features of the Cappenberg head correspond to Rahewin of Freising's description of Frederick Barbarossa. Rahewin continued Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, a work personally commissioned by Frederick.² After Grundmann finally placed the Cappenberg head in the correct Cappenbergian and Hohenstaufen context, Appuhn's work of 1973 then opened the question of similar phenomena in other places while discussing the iconography and function of the head in great detail.³ It was only Balzer's work of 2006 that actually solved the puzzle of the head's meaning connected to the Cappenberg baptismal basin within their own local context, even though she did not attempt to make sense of the imperial iconography.⁴ Horch's 2013 monograph on the head, however, opened the debate on the bust's position within an imperial program in Aachen.⁵ The purpose of this article is to approach the problem of personal piety and imperial ideology from a different point of view, that is, not to view them as different and opposing but as complementary and even essentially linked. Whether the bust wore a diadem or laurel wreath, the problem of the bust's intended location

¹ Friedrich Philippi, "Die Cappenberger Porträtbüste Kaiser Friedrichs I," *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* (Westfalen) 44 (1886): 150–61. For an exhaustive bibliography of the Cappenberg head, see Caroline Horch, "Nach dem Bild des Kaisers: Funktionen und Bedeutungen des Cappenberger Barbarosakopfes" (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013). This article is based on my MA thesis, "Holy, Roman, Frankish: A Sketch of the Political Iconography of Frederick Barbarossa" (Budapest: Central European University 2015).

² Herbert Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarosakopf und die Anfänge des Stiftes Cappenberg* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1959).

³ Horst Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa in Cappenberg," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973): 129–92.

⁴ Edeltraud Balzer, "Der Cappenberger Barbarosakopf: Vorgeschichte, Geschenkanlass und Funktionen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 46 (2012): 241–99.

⁵ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*.

remains, and the apparent display of a lack of personal piety due to the presence of the imperial program.

In terms of visual representation, the Cappenberg head (*Figs 1, 3*), a portrait bust of Frederick which can be dated to 1155–1156, is the greatest monument to Barbarossa's ideology in the early years of his reign. This dating is based on Balzer's argument that Wibald of Stavelot and Provost Otto of Cappenberg planned the iconography of the bust while accompanying Frederick on his Italian journey 1154 to 1156.⁶ To be more precise, the whole commission (in



Fig. 1. The Cappenberg Head. Horst Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa in Cappenberg," Aachener Kunstblätter 44 (1973).

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⁶ Not to be confused with Otto of Cappenberg (1156–1171?), his successor as provost, who was Godfrey of Cappenberg's brother. To distinguish between the two, I have resorted to using the word godfather whenever I mention the former Cappenberg count and brother of Saint Godfrey.



Fig. 2. Charlemagne's seal. Wilhelm Ewald, *Reinische Siegel III. Die Siegel der Rheinischen Städte und Gerichte* (= *Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde*, vol. 27) (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1931). Reproduced by permission.

1155) can be dated to between June 18, when Frederick was crowned emperor, and August, when Wibald left on a diplomatic mission to Byzantium. Frederick then gave the Cappenberg head to his godfather, Otto of Cappenberg, in March 1156 when they met in Muenster for Easter. The head's purpose in Cappenberg was, accordingly, to represent Frederick adoring the golden Byzantine staurotheke which Frederick's father had worn around his neck when going to war. Duke Frederick II then gave his staurotheke to the Cappenberg brothers in return for Otto of Cappenberg serving as his son's godfather. Frederick was baptized on December 27, 1122, the feast of Saint John the Evangelist, who was thus chosen as Frederick's patron and whose relics were kept in the staurotheke. According to this interpretation, the bust, with its two inscriptions referring to Saint John, lost its memorial function when Frederick drowned in 1190 and could no longer be represented as a live person. That Otto was Frederick's godfather and that this staurotheke served as payment, as Balzer believes, is sufficiently proven by an unusual depiction found on the baptismal basin which Barbarossa gave to Otto at the same time as the bust. The image shows a bishop baptizing a child,



Fig. 3. The back of the Cappenberg head. Horst Appuhn, “Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa in Cappenberg,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973). *Reproduced by permission.*

with the bishop depicted to the left, while the boy Frederick takes up the center of the image. Moreover, Frederick is shown wearing a cross around his neck, a clear reference to the cross given to the Cappenbergs. The right side of the image features Henry, future bishop of Troyes, and Otto, Frederick’s godfather.⁷ Thus far Balzer’s interpretation seems to explain the whole function of the Cappenberg head and baptismal basin.

The bust, however, is not a simple likeness of Frederick, even though it is in the portrait genre. Scholars such as Appuhn and Nilgen have attempted

⁷ Balzer, “Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf,” 253–56, 261, 263, 268, 274, 276, 280–94, 298–99. For a different view of the creation process of the Cappenberg head, see Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 212–15.

ideological interpretations of the imperial position which was depicted on the bust. This artifact, which has been called the first purpose-free portrait of an emperor, is a 32.4 cm tall gilded silver bust.⁸ The bust is mounted on four dragon feet, which are probably depictions of defeated evil now serving God's cause. An eight-sided crenellation lies directly on the legs, reflecting the eight-sided form of the palatine chapel of Charlemagne.⁹ The eight-sided crenellation has four towers, one in each of the four corners, and three merlons per side, altogether twenty-four angels holding the bust itself stand atop the crenellation. A fourth figure, which stood directly at the back of the bust, was most likely another angel. The angels have been interpreted as the angels guarding the twelve doors of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is depicted here in the octagonal shape of the palatine chapel of Charlemagne. By merging the images of Aachen and Jerusalem, the author of the bust's iconographical program implied not only that both spaces were holy, but that Aachen was an earthly representation of the heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁰

On the second level of the eight-sided crenellation held up by the angels thirteen merlons are preserved out of the original sixteen.¹¹ According to Horch, this level represents the inner octagon and outer hexadecagon of the Aachen chapel, which results in a significance similar to the first level: Aachen and Rome were the same, where Rome stood for the ancient Roman Empire and Aachen for Charlemagne's Roman Empire. On this level, finally, rests the bust itself. This structure has been interpreted as a depiction of *aurea Roma*, which had been used on both of Frederick's golden bulls and on which the emperor towers over the city of Rome from within.¹² The lower part of the bust shows a stylized depiction of a body clothed in symmetrical garments tied under the emperor's bearded chin. If one were to guess what kind of person this bust represented, it would undoubtedly have to be a cleric of priestly or episcopal status. However, this is misleading because, as Horch concluded, this knot represents the *purpure* (purple) mantle of the ancient Roman emperors and not the chlamys.¹³

⁸ Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I.," 129.

⁹ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 163.

¹⁰ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 145.

¹¹ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 41.

¹² Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 31; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit: 751–1190*, ed. Florentine Mutherich (Munich: Prestel, 1983), 260. Conrad III also used a golden bull, but it has not been preserved.

¹³ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 122–23.

Wreath or Diadem?

The head itself depicts a lop-eared bearded man with a long moustache, small mouth, and long nose, with large inlaid eyes which seem to be looking at the sky and hair divided into round locks.¹⁴ The head once carried some kind of headgear, but is not clear whether it was a diadem or a wreath. Horch declares that a wreath would not fit as the bust had another knot on the back and that the best possible answer to this question would be a diadem.¹⁵ Moreover, this has been interpreted as a return to the iconography of Constantine the Great, who was represented wearing the late antique *purpure* mantle and diadem with his hair arranged in locks, turning his eyes upward to the sky. Charlemagne, however, also imitated these same features on his coins, as he strove to represent himself as the new Constantine. As Charlemagne did not adopt Constantine's diadem, but only his laurel wreath, Horch states that it was Frederick I who finally introduced the diadem as an element in medieval iconography. She also adds that the diadem might have been topped by a cross, just as Constantine's had been.¹⁶ Appuhn, in contrast, seeing the Holy Trinity represented with laurel wreaths on a tympanum in the Cappenberg monastery, concludes that the author of the tympanum took his cue from the Cappenberg head, which was placed but a few meters away from the tympanum.¹⁷ The diadem or wreath dilemma, however, can be approached from another point of view.

Grundmann discussed exclusively the differences and similarities, between the Cappenberg head and Rahewin of Freising's description of Frederick Barbarossa at the very end of the fourth book of the *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, marking the bust's moustache as the greatest dissimilarity.¹⁸ Nilgen, comparing the Cappenberg bust to twelfth-century depictions of Charlemagne in Aachen, found that this moustache was only typical of Aquensian depictions of Charlemagne, such as the Carolingian depiction on the earliest Aachen seal, thereby disputing

¹⁴ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 35. The eyes were replaced in the late nineteenth century and the original state is hard to guess.

¹⁵ Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarosakopf*, 63–64; Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 34, 117.

¹⁶ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 122, 189–97. For a coin depicting a Western emperor wearing a diadem, which perhaps dates to the early Barbarossa years, see Hermann Fillitz, "Ein *Solidus* Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas," in *Thesaurus mediaevalis. Ausgewählte Schriften zur Schatzkunst des Mittelalters*, ed. Hermann Fillitz, Franz Kirchweyer, and Werner Telesko (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2010).

¹⁷ Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I.," 146.

¹⁸ Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarosakopf*, 54, 61, 104–8.

that the head could have represented Frederick.¹⁹ The argument can be resolved by applying Grimme's opinion that Frederick *representat Karolum* on the reliquary shrine of Charlemagne onto the Cappenberg bust: Frederick is likely to have been represented as the new Charlemagne.²⁰ Since it is certain that Frederick emulated Charlemagne in many of the works which he commissioned, it seems likely that he would have taken up a Carolingian model for his own depictions. The Cappenberg bust can be compared to Charlemagne's coins, which sometimes depict him wearing a laurel wreath. Horch's argument that a knot on the back of the head would have prevented a wreath being placed on the head can also be disputed; looking at Charlemagne's coins, one can note that his wreaths always have some sort of knot at the back.²¹ As the artists of the twelfth century had presumably never seen a golden laurel wreath, it is possible that they created a wreath which would be detachable like a regular crown while the knot itself could have functioned as support for the wreath. The wreath would, according to this interpretation, have been designed as a circlet with leaves and not as two branches with leaves. This kind of object seems to fit the imagination and artistic capabilities of twelfth-century Germany better than a Byzantine-style diadem lined with pearls. Connecting the questions whether the Cappenberg head wore a diadem or a wreath and whether it represented Frederick or Charlemagne leaves only one option, that Frederick was imitating Charlemagne's coins on the Cappenberg bust.

As for the original meaning, Horch rightly suggests that it was directly related to imperial politics and that it actually implies the emperor's rule over Rome.²² It is noticeable that the bust depicts Frederick as a Roman emperor (the *aurea Roma* motif) by the grace of God (the angels carrying the emperor). Moreover, the four angels seem to be carrying Frederick just like the tetramorphs carry Christ in his majesty.²³ Seemingly a confusing point, it actually stands for Frederick being the representative of God on earth, his anointed. Accepting Appuhn's opinion that the bust once had a laurel wreath over Horch's suggestions of a diadem, and

¹⁹ Ursula Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda: Legitimation und Selbstverständnis im Wandel," in *Die Staufer und Italien: Drei Innovationsregionen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Alfred Wiczorek, Bernd Schneidmüller, and Stefan Weinfurter, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2010), 88–89.

²⁰ Ernst Günther Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," in *Karl der Große und sein Schrein in Aachen. Eine Festschrift*, ed. Hans Müllejans (Aachen: Einhard, 1988), 127.

²¹ Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 273–76.

²² Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 225.

²³ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 153.

taking the bust's moustache into account, it seems clear that, for the first time in Frederick's career, a more definite connection to Charlemagne is being established here: Frederick Barbarossa is depicted as not only the holy emperor of Rome, but also as Charlemagne's heir *and* imitator. This latter motif became a mainstay of Hohenstaufen self-representation.

Frederick's ideology, however, was not only influenced by his Frankish predecessors, but also by his experiences in the Second Crusade. He had met Emperor Manuel (1143–1180), his main political rival in the period from 1152 to 1180, who claimed the same Roman legacy as Frederick, only from a different point of view. Traditionally for a Byzantine emperor, he claimed an uninterrupted Roman legacy since Augustus and the removal of the Senate and capital from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine the Great.²⁴ Furthermore, Byzantine emperors wore a state crown, the *kamelaukion*, only on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, the holidays of Christ, as God had allegedly sent the *kamelaukion* to Constantine the Great through an angel.²⁵ To put it bluntly, the emperors of Rome claimed to be crowned by God. Moreover, it was a long-standing tradition to call the emperor, the empire itself, and imperial agents holy.²⁶ This tradition, which was decidedly banned by Charlemagne in his *Libri Carolini*, was picked up by Wibald of Stavelot while he lived in Monte Cassino in the 1130s.²⁷ The sacralization of the empire progressed slowly under Conrad III as the term *sacer* was used to refer to things related to the empire, but not the emperor or the empire.²⁸ Schwarz suggests that the Bamberg school of notaries found the term in the work of Otloh of St. Emmeram, who cites a purported charter of Arnulf

²⁴ Ioannes Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 165–67.

²⁵ Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly James Heald Jenkins (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 67–69; Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 190. For a more detailed discussion of the *kamelaukion*, see Elisabeth Piltz, *Kamelaukion et Mitra: Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977).

²⁶ Otto Hiltbrunner, "Die Heiligkeit des Kaisers," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968): 1–7ff.

²⁷ Heinrich Appelt, "Die Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas," in *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 252, no. 4 (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1967), 16.

²⁸ Jürgen Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom in spätsalischer und staufischer Zeit: Romidee und Rompolitik von Heinrich V. bis Friedrich II* (Hannover: Hahn, 2010), 337–38.

of Carinthia (895–899) which uses the term *sacrum imperium* and that the Bamberg school finally introduced it into the imperial chancery.²⁹

Frederick and half the imperial court heard about this custom independently on the second crusade, however, where the Byzantines were willing to pledge anything for the benefit of “the holy empire,” according to Odo of Deuil, Louis VII’s chaplain and participant in the crusade.³⁰ As Görich notes, Frederick stayed in Constantinople for a while, so it is hardly likely that he would not notice these elements or at least be made acquainted with them by another participant in the crusade.³¹ To conclude, when Frederick used the term *sacrum imperium* for the very first time in a letter to Otto of Freising in March 1157, the sender, the writer, and recipient knew of the term’s Byzantine provenance, whence came the final impulse for the sacralization of the empire.³² As Weinfurter points out, the term *christus Domini* disappeared after the introduction of the *sacrum imperium*, meaning that the two terms had similar meanings. Following this interpretation, Frederick’s next step can be seen at the diet of Besançon, where he received a papal letter that claimed that he had received the crown of the empire from the pope as a *beneficium*.³³ The Germans were outraged at this statement, as Rahewin states, as they knew that people in Italy thought that it was the pope who granted the Kingdom of Italy to the emperors, but also because of a fresco cycle in the Lateran palace, where Lothair III was depicted receiving the crown from the pope, while an inscription stated *homo fit papae*.³⁴ When one of the legates asked, “*A quo ergo habet, si a domno papa non habet imperium?*”³⁵ this almost led to his violent death.³⁶

Frederick answered that the empire was given to him by God through election by the magnates. It was no longer only the emperor who was chosen by God, but the electors had a role in the divine plan. This idea is reflected in

²⁹ Jörg Schwarz, *Herrscher- und Reichstütel bei Kaisertum und Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 86–89.

³⁰ Odo of Deuil, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948), 56.

³¹ Knut Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011), 86.

³² Doc. in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 1, *inde ab 1152 usque ad 1158*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica [MGH] Diplomata [DD] 10* (Hannover: Hahn, 1975–90), 279–80.

³³ Stefan Weinfurter, “Wie das Reich heilig wurde,” in *Gelebte Ordnung, gedachte Ordnung: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu König, Kirche und Reich* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2005), 361–62, 376–82.

³⁴ Rahewin of Freising, “*Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*,” in *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson, *MGH Scriptores [SS] rer. Germ.* 46 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884; reprint 1997), 177.

³⁵ Rahewin of Freising, “*Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*,” 177.

³⁶ Rahewin of Freising, “*Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*,” 172–79.

several charters where the magnates are referred to as the *fideles domini dei ac sacratissimi imperii*. The magnates now became God's vassals, an idea which is a variation on the *christus Domini* where they were vassals of God's anointed. To sum up, the sacrality of the empire was needed as an ideological weapon against Byzantium, the papacy, and the *sacer senatus* of the Roman people, which claimed to have the authority to invest the emperor.³⁷ In Koch's opinion, the term *sacrum imperium* also came into existence as a part of the institutionalization of the state in the twelfth century, in contrast to the *christus Domini*, which was more in line with the less institutionalized kingship of earlier centuries.³⁸ Koch, in contrast, states that Charlemagne was considered *sancte memorie* as early as 1152 and that he was referred to as *sanctissimus* in 1158, just a year after the Cappenberg bust was completed.³⁹

In such an ideological background, for Frederick, Charlemagne was the obvious choice to counter the ideological consequences of Manuel's restoration of the empire as his ideal. The Byzantines believed that only barbarian tyrants ruled Italy after the Langobards had conquered Italy from Justinian's successors.⁴⁰ The Latin opinion was markedly different, as neither the empire nor the papacy could force the other to accept their version of what had transpired under Constantine the Great, thereby leading to a stalemate in the struggle between the claims that "God crowned Charlemagne" and "Leo III crowned Charlemagne."⁴¹ In spite of this point, however, the two universal powers were in agreement that there had been a Roman Empire in the West since Charlemagne and that Frederick Barbarossa was its current head. Bishop Otto of Freising, who was a relative of Frederick's and wrote the revised version of his *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* for Frederick, stated that Charlemagne transferred the Roman Empire from Constantinople to the Franks. He claimed that this was legitimately done as Charlemagne and his people, the Franks, were more virtuous than the Greeks.⁴²

³⁷ Weinfurter, "Wie das Reich heilig wurde," 361–62, 376–82.

³⁸ Gottfried Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium: Studien zur ideologischen Herrschaftsbegründung der deutschen Zentralgewalt im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972), 246–68.

³⁹ Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium*, 279.

⁴⁰ Ioannes Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 165–67.

⁴¹ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer. Germ. 45 (Hannover: Hahn, 1912, reprint, 1984), 256; Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII*, 2, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Georg Waitz, MGH SS 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), 218, 221–22.

⁴² Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 276–77.

Similarly, the Cappenberg bust represented Frederick as the rightful ruler of Rome, as it was his birthright by virtue of his descent from Charlemagne.

Once Frederick arrived in Italy in 1158, he delivered an ideologically interesting speech in which he mentioned that he was the ruler of the Roman Empire according to the will of God and ended by stating that he hoped not to fail in preserving what Charlemagne and Otto the Great had added to the empire. He also described them as the first emperors over the Alps, the former as a Western, the latter as an Eastern Frank.⁴³ As the *Gesta Friderici* was written on the emperor's commission, which means that it is likely to reflect the opinions held at court, it seems that Frederick was claiming the *imperium* as the legacy of the Franks. However, a closer look at the text shows that he is already declaring his right to rule as a consequence of conquest and not papal coronation. Simply put, according to the *Gesta Friderici*, God gave the empire to Frederick as the heir of Charlemagne (the first emperor) and Otto the Great (who renovated the empire). This empire was acquired by conquest, implying that it was neither a papal fief nor a gift. The source thus suggests that it was God's will that the Franks conquer Italy.

Moreover, Rahewin's text ends with a thorough description of Frederick's appearance and character, which was utterly suffused with quotations from Sidonius Apollinaris' description of Theodoric II, Einhard's description of Charlemagne, and Jordanes' description of Attila. Rahewin's next point is more straightforward: Frederick often read the Bible and histories of the kings of old. It is important to understand at this point that Frederick consistently saw himself throughout his lifetime as the restorer of the Roman Empire, never accepting anything less than restoration even in defeat. Further, the biographer states that his subject loved conquest and was always on the lookout for new lands to add to his realm and also that he spent a great deal of money on making the empire more beautiful while also honoring his ancestors. Moreover, Frederick restored Charlemagne's palaces in Nijmegen and Ingelheim, built a great new one in Kaiserslautern, and worked on restoring palaces and churches in Monza, Lodi, and elsewhere in Italy. Rahewin adds that the kings of Spain, England, France, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary were always suspicious of Frederick and could not but accept his authority. Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople, was even moved to style himself the emperor of New Rome, leaving the Roman title to Frederick. Frederick, Rahewin states, thought that nothing was better than the Roman Empire regaining its former glory.⁴⁴ It is rare for a text to offer such

⁴³ Rahewin of Freising, "*Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*," 202–4.

⁴⁴ Rahewin of Freising, "*Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*," 284, 318–19, 342–46.

an explicit ideological viewpoint as this one does, but what is truly unique in Rahewin's narrative is that he is able to unite the disparate trends of Barbarossa's ideology in his description of his emperor so well that he almost makes the reader forget that the text was commissioned by Frederick himself.

The Location of the Bust

Horch has recently suggested that the Cappenberg head would fit best in the centre of the octagon of St. Mary's collegiate church in Aachen, where it would stand beneath the dome mosaic where Christ in majesty gives his blessing among the elders of the Apocalypse. This would reiterate once more the motif of the Heavenly Jerusalem on the Cappenberg head and also the motif of angels supporting Frederick. The octagonal shape of the palatine chapel, however, would be completely reflected by Cappenberg head, which makes the newly proposed location very seductive.⁴⁵ Octagonality itself as an argument, however, is not particularly valid, as hundreds of octagonal structures existed in Southern Germany and Austria in the High Middle Ages and the vast majority were certainly not dedicated to the imperial cult of Charlemagne, even though their original model was the Aquensian palatine chapel.⁴⁶ However, Horch's explanation that the head was removed from there in order not to strain the relationship with Alexander III (1159–1181) is insufficient, as the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165 and the imperial cult's subsequent development was an even more dramatic symbolic act than the purported setting up of the Cappenberg head in the same place in the mid-1150s. Frederick does not seem to have considered himself disgraced enough by the schism of 1159 to roll back the ornamentation of Charlemagne's palatine church.⁴⁷ Moreover, it was certainly directed against Alexander III as Frederick thereby claimed immediacy before God for the Roman emperor through the newfound patron saint of the empire. It can hardly be said that Frederick Barbarossa's ideology entered a more amicable phase toward the papacy in the period 1159 to 1165. Finally, Horch has not taken into account Frederick's acceptance of Victor IV (1159–1164) as the one true pope and his very consistent papal policies until after 1167, when he started bargaining for Alexander III to conduct the imperial coronation of Henry VI. However, as

⁴⁵ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 163, 189–97, 218–22.

⁴⁶ Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800 to 1200* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), 135–36.

⁴⁷ Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers*, 216, 229.

this would have been a step toward the consolidation of power by the imperial dynasty, Alexander declined.⁴⁸

If one follows Horch's suggestion for the intended location of the Cappenberg head, then the head must have been present in the Aquensian octagon until the completion of Saint Charlemagne's brachiary in 1165, as Frederick did not visit Aachen between 1157 and 1165, and it seems unlikely that such an clearly imperial object would have been placed in the center of Charlemagne's palatine church without the emperor being present or a significant ideological break happening.⁴⁹ However, as Balzer has convincingly traced the ideological developments of 1154 to 1156 and connected them with the meeting of Frederick and Otto of Cappenberg in 1156, a different explanation seems improbable and with it the proposal that the Cappenberg head was designed for St. Mary's in Aachen.⁵⁰ This, however, leaves some doubts as to why the Cappenberg head depicts Frederick as an emperor in all his glory and not in a "more pious" manner.

Are There Indications of an Imperial Program?

The problem of connecting personal piety to imperial glory, however, as not a problem that could not be solved in the twelfth century, even though the two seem direct opposites to the modern mind. Two notable examples from the 1150s suffice to demonstrate this point. After Frederick was elected king in Frankfurt in early 1152 he went onward to Aachen, where he arrived on Laetare Sunday and was then led by the bishops to the church of St. Mary, where he was *coronatus in sede regni Francorum, quae in eadem aeclesia a Karolo Magno posita est, collocatur*. Otto of Freising continues describing this marvelous event as follows: *Nec preter eundum estimo, quod, dum finito unctionis sacramento diadema sibi imponeretur*.⁵¹ It is not difficult

⁴⁸ Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 268, 371–421. For the coronation of Henry VI, see Eleni Tounta, "Byzanz als Vorbild Friedrich Barbarossas," in *Staufisches Kaisertum im 12. Jahrhundert: Konzepte, Netzwerke, politische Praxis*, ed. Stefan Burkhardt, Thomas Metz, Bernd Schneidmüller, and Stefan Weinfurter (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2010), 167–69.

⁴⁹ Erich Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter* 39 (1975): 30; Meuthen's view that Frederick visited Aachen seven times has been corrected in Ferdinand Oppl, ed., *Lothar III. und ältere Staufer 1125–1197*, vol. 2, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Friedrich I. 1152 (1122) – 1190.*, bk. 3, 1168–1180, *Regesta imperii*, ed. J. F. Böhmer, 4 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 22.

⁵⁰ Balzer, "Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf," 287–90.

⁵¹ Otto of Freising, "*Otonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*," in *Otonis et Rabenini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson, MGH SS rer. Germ. 46 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884; reprint 1997), 104.

to deduce from the fact that the anointment preceded the coronation proper that the king could only be one who had been anointed by God or, more precisely, who was a holy man. The narrative continues by describing the anointing of Bishop Frederick of Muenster:

*Sed et hoc silentio tegendum non erit, quod eadem die in eadem aeclesia Monasteriensi selectus item Fridericus ab eisdem, a quibus et rex, episcopis in episcopum consecratur, ut revera summus rex et sacerdos presenti iocunditati hoc quasi prognostico interesse crederetur, qua in una aeclesia una dies duarum personarum, quae solae novi ac veteris instrumenti institutione sacramentaliter unguuntur et christi Domini rite dicuntur, vidit unctionem.*⁵²

The words chosen to depict the event are no less relevant than the event itself; the two Fredericks who were anointed were the highest secular and the highest ecclesiastical authority on earth, the ruler and the bishop. Moreover, in this remarkable coronation the king was the first to be anointed, while the bishop's anointment followed after a ceremonious supplication to the new ruler. Otto of Freising then describes the anointment as the sacrament sanctioned by both the Old and New Testaments as reserved for the king and the priest, thereby placing them on equal footing in God's grace. Yet this was only the beginning of Frederick's long reign. As Weinfurter notes, when Frederick notified the realm of his election, he explicitly stated that the world was ruled by the holy authority of the pope and royal power, thereby restating the Gelasian doctrine of two swords.⁵³

The *sacrum imperium* ideology, as elucidated by Koch and Weinfurter, is a further case in point, but is perhaps already the next step in the development of an imperial ideology. An example which has not been accurately connected to the Cappenberg head, however, is the fateful meeting at Sutri, where Frederick first met with Hadrian IV on June 8, 1155. They immediately came into conflict, as the emperor would not lead the pope's horse. After some negotiation, the two parties came to an agreement: Frederick was to lead the pope's horse, but not because he revered the pope, but because he revered the person of Saint Peter in him.⁵⁴ What connects this fateful meeting to the Cappenberg head is the idea that a living ruler, even though he is an individual unto himself, also represents the founder of his polity, and the honor due to him is no less than that which was owed to the founder. In short, Frederick Barbarossa never once

⁵² Otto of Freising, "*Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*," 105.

⁵³ Weinfurter, "Wie das Reich heilig wurde," 369.

⁵⁴ Boso "Les vies des papes," in *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, vol. 2 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886–92), 391–92; Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 241–46.

saw himself as anything other than God's anointed emperor of the Romans and Charlemagne's successor. The only difference between the early years (1152 to 1157) and the years after the ushering in of the *sacrum imperium* ideology was the crystallized vision of the sacrality of all Roman emperors. This is again similar to the way twelfth-century popes treated all of their predecessors as saints, even though cultic worship was non-existent for many of them and others had barely any cultic presence. The founder, that is, Saint Peter, was more widely revered and he had a special cultic and ideological status at the papal court.⁵⁵ The early years of Frederick Barbarossa, in contrast, developed an imperial cult of Charlemagne, who later became a confessor, martyr, and apostle.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Heilige Päpste-päpstliche Kanonisationspolitik," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994), 87–91; Ingo Herklotz, "Bildpropaganda und monumentale Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums," in *Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Ingrid Heike Ringel, and Hubertus Seibert (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002), 276–87.

⁵⁶ Anonymus, *Die Aachener Vita Karoli Magni des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. and trans. Helmut and Ilse Deutz (Siegburg: Schmitt, 2002), 234, 238, 262.

“ISLAMIC” ARTIFACTS IN HUNGARY FROM THE REIGN OF BÉLA III (1172–1196): TWO CASE STUDIES¹

Péter T. Nagy 

Many objects produced in the Islamic world were particularly valuable and often sought-after in medieval Christian Europe for the quality of their craftsmanship and exotic appearance. Adopting artifacts could also involve adapting them, i.e., modifying their appearance to be more easily acceptable and conceivable in their new settings. A further step could be the imitation of some of their features that were considered to be particularly characteristic. All these approaches towards a particular foreign visual culture, objects produced in the Islamic world, can be attested in Hungary roughly around the turn of the thirteenth century; the present essay focuses on only two cases: a ring discovered in the tomb of Béla III in Székesfehérvár, and pseudo-Arabic coins issued by the same king.

Other examples of Islamic artifacts in Hungary from this period are problematic and therefore excluded from the present study. A prime example is the rock crystal pommel of the royal scepter, which scholars usually regard as having come from Fatimid Egypt (969–1171), despite the lack of evidence for their opinion. If one looks at this object and compares it with genuine Fatimid rock crystals, one finds that it is devoid of delicately carved lines and any sort of additional decoration – such as palmettes, dots, and hatching along the outlines – typical of Fatimid pieces are absent. The techniques applied might be comparable between the pommel and Fatimid rock crystal objects, but the lack of precision and fineness separates it sharply from those. In short, it is simply unknown where and when the pommel was produced.² Even more disturbing than the problem of its origin is the lack of evidence for the presence of the rock crystal pommel in Hungary before the seventeenth century, when King Matthias II (1608–1619) was depicted with the scepter and other pieces of the royal regalia.³ Tempting

¹ This paper is based on ideas developed in “Islamic Art and Artefacts in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Hungary,” my MA thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2015).

² These ideas were formed together with Marcus Pilz (Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich) for our co-authored conference paper: “Medieval Rock Crystal Pommels: Five Pieces from Fatimid Egypt?” presented at the conference “Crossroads: East and West. Cultural Contacts, Transfers and Exchange between East and West in the Mediterranean,” University of Split, 17 September 2015.

³ The earliest written record of the scepter dates from 1613: Péter Révay, *A Szent Korona eredete: Révay Péter Turóc vármegyei főispán rövid emlékirata Magyarországnak több mint 600 éve tündöklő*

as it might be to attribute the sceptre to Béla III, as many have done, further arguments built on this hypothesis are weak per definition.

Béla III's Ring

In early December 1848, workers in Székesfehérvár discovered two sarcophagi made of lavish red limestone, and János Érdy excavated the tombs. The two royal burials contained numerous goods in addition to the two skeletons; the king was interred with a crown, a sceptre, a sword, an encolpion (a pectoral medallion), a bangle, a pair of spurs, a processional cross, and a ring; his wife had a crown and a ring. It is noteworthy that many of the goods are humble symbols of kingship produced for the burial, while the two rings, the encolpion and the processional cross had been used before.⁴ Reverend János Pauer, Érdy's assistant, was the first to attribute the two skeletons to Béla III and his first wife, Agnes of Antioch.⁵ His arguments have been accepted ever since then, but Endre Tóth recently queried them, and proposed attributing the tombs to Coloman (1095–1116) and his wife

Szent Koronájának eredetéről, jeles és győzedelmes voltáról, sorsáról [The origin of the Holy Crown: Short memoirs of Péter Révay, count of Turóc County, on the origin, illustrious and victorious story and fate of Hungary's Holy Crown which coronates for more than 600 years], ed. Péter Kulcsár (Budapest: Budapest Magyar Ház, 2010), passim.

⁴ For the discovery, see János Érdy, "III. Béla király és nejeének Székes-Fehérvárott talált síremlékei" [The tombs of Béla III and his spouse discovered at Székesfehérvár], in *Magyarország és Erdély képekben*, vol. 1, ed. Ferenc Kubinyi and Imre Vahot (Pest: Emich Gusztáv Bizománya, 1853), 45. The grave goods have still not been adequately published and discussed, but see Béla Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei" [The burial regalia of Béla III and his spouse], in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: A Magyar Kormány, 1900), 207–30; Éva Kovács, "III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna halotti jelvényei" [Funeral insignia of Béla III and Anne of Antioch], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 21 (1972): 1–14; or in German: Éva Kovács, "Die Grabinsignien König Bélas III. und Annas von Antiochien," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15 (1969): 3–24; and Éva Kovács, *Romanesque Goldsmiths' Art in Hungary*, trans. Lili Halápy (Budapest: Corvina, 1974), no. 10–11.

⁵ János Pauer, *A Székesfehérvárott fölfedezett királyi sírboltról* [About the royal tomb discovered at Székesfehérvár] (Székesfehérvár, 1849), 19–34; see also Aurél Török, "Jelentés IIIik Béla Magyar király és neje testereklýeiról" [Report on the relics of King Béla III of Hungary and his wife], *Értekezések a Természettudományok Köréből* 23, no. 4 (1893): 196–97.

instead.⁶ The anatomical data of the two skeletons, however, agree with what is known about Béla and Agnes from written sources⁷.



Fig. 1. The ring of Béla III. Stone: almandine, Iran, eight–tenth century, inscription: ‘ten Allāh ibn Muḥammad; ring: gold, Hungary, last third of the twelfth century. Photo by András Dabasi ©, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, no. 64.1848.2g. (Reproduced with permission).

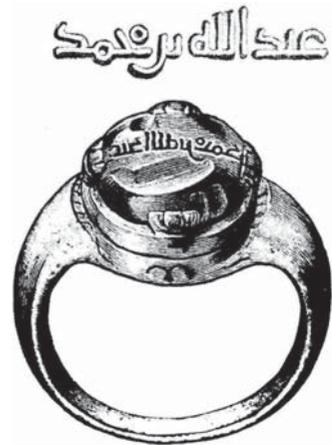


Fig. 2. The ring of Béla III. Drawing by Giuseppe Moretti (not in copyright).

The ring found on Béla’s right index finger is made of gold and has a purple almandine (iron-rich garnet) gemstone held by four half-round-shaped tripartite prongs, with an Arabic name, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, engraved on it (Figs 1–2). A peculiarity of the ring is that by pulling out two small prongs from the side, the bezel opens and reveals a small locket under it. The type is often described as a “poison ring,” supposedly used for hiding poison intended for suicide or murder. Such legends apart, the main function of locket rings was to contain small personal objects, especially relics of saints.⁸

⁶ Endre Tóth, “III. Béla vagy Kálmán? A székesfehérvári királysír azonosításáról” [Béla III or Coloman? On the identification of the royal tomb at Székesfehérvár], *Folia Archaeologica* 52 (2005/2006): 141–61.

⁷ Kinga Ery, Antónia Marcsik, János Nemeskéri and Ferenc Szalai, “Embentani vizsgálatok III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna földi maradványán” [Anatomical examination of the remains of Béla III and Agnes of Antioch], in *150 éve történt: III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának felfedezése* [After 150 years: The discovery of the tomb of Béla III and Agnes of Antioch], ed. Vajk Cserményi (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999), 9–15.

⁸ William Tudor Jones, *Finger-Ring Lore: Historical, Legendary, Anecdotal* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1877), 141–143; 432–436; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings: Early*

The biography of the ring can only be reconstructed from close analysis of the object itself. First, it has been pointed out that the hoop of the ring was extended at the shoulders.⁹ Some signs of the extension are indeed visible, especially on its inner rim, and the loop seems to be larger than an average male finger. Second, the Arabic name on the stone is written in negative, from left to right, which means that it was produced as a seal for its owner, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. Third, although the stone of the ring, cut *en cabochon*, is almost perfectly round at the base, its upper part is rather oval, indicating that originally the stone was oval as well. Fourth, one of the four prongs is situated close to the inscription, and thus it would impede – or at least make it uncomfortable – to use it as a seal, which suggests that the stone lost its original function when it was mounted onto the ring.



Fig. 3. Seal stone. Almandine, Iran, eighth–tenth century, inscription: *Aḥmad ibn Būya*, possibly the same person as the Buyid ruler Mu‘izz al-Dawla (945–967). Provost and Fellows of The Queen’s College, Oxford ©, on loan to the the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. LI902.16 (reproduced with permission).

Now that it has been established that the stone had a history separate from the ring, it can be compared with other Islamic seal stones. These objects in various European collections are of the same raw material, and feature an inscription with a name in angular script. These are all attributed to early Islamic Iran (Fig. 3), leaving little doubt about the origin of the stone in Béla III’s ring.¹⁰ However, all the

Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Medieval and Later (London: British Museum, 1912), xxxiv, lv; John Cherry, “Medieval Rings, 1100–1500,” in *The Ring: From Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, Anne Ward, John Cherry, Charlotte Gere and Barbara Cartlidge (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 57.

⁹ Czobor, “III. Béla és hitvese,” 215–16; Mária Hlatky, *A magyar gyűrű* [The Hungarian ring] (Budapest: Pallas Nyomda, 1938), 46.

¹⁰ See Ludvík Kalus, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), nos 1.1.1, 1.2.2 and 1.3.8; Venetia Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London: British Museum 2011), no. 41, 51, 65, 73, 82, 83, 85 and 290;

comparable seals are oval in shape; round or rectangular seals are rare and always feature a flat surface,¹¹ which corroborates that the ring's stone was originally oval as well, and that it had to be modified when mounted onto the ring. Consequently, the ring had originally been produced for a different, round-shaped, stone. Mounting the new stone on it might well have occurred when it was resized for an owner with a fleshy finger. Judging from the skeleton discovered, Béla III's body weight was over 100 kilograms (220 pounds),¹² which accords with the large size of the hoop. In other words, neither was the stone made for the mount nor vice versa, and the king created a ring for himself bearing the name of someone else. These observations lead to the conclusion that the king valued the stone and the ring separately, which explains why he kept and modified both objects rather than ordering a new piece.

Pseudo-Arabic Coins

A little-understood and surprising chapter in the numismatic history of Árpád-age (1000–1301) Hungary is coins that feature imitations of Arabic inscriptions. The doyen of Hungarian numismatics, László Réthy, identified three different variants of this type and labelled them CNH 101 to 103, but the second one later turned out to be a gilded forgery,¹³ and the third one should be considered a poor imitation of the first. Therefore, the present study focuses on CNH 101 as the pseudo-Arabic type (*Fig. 4*).

CNH 101 features four lines of “legend” on the obverse, encircled by a fifth line on the margin. The reverse has a similar arrangement but with only three lines across the field within a roundel smaller than on the other side. The signs

Ludvik Kalus, *Catalogue des cachets, bulles et talismans islamiques* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1981), 1.3.14; Béla Kelényi and Iván Szántó, *Artisans at the Crossroads: Persian Arts of the Qajar Period (1796–1925)* (Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2010), no. 5.3.7; Derek J. Content, ed., *Islamic Rings and Gems: The Benjamin Zucker Collection* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1987), seals no. 8, 16, 42–43, rings no. 46 (mounted on a later ring). The catalogue only describes the material as garnet.

¹¹ Kalus, *Catalogue des cachets*, 9; Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals*, 16.

¹² Éry et al., “Embertaini Vizsgálatok,” 11.

¹³ László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungaricae: Magyar egyetemes éremtár* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899), no. 101. Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis Heute* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979), no. 73; Géza Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek” [The first Hungarian copper coins], *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 34–35 (1935–1936): 46–47. For a detailed analysis of many variants with numerous illustrations, see Csaba Tóth, József Géza Kiss, and András Fekete, “III. Béla kufikus jellegű rézpénzeinek osztályozása: Classification of the Cufic-like Copper Coins of Béla III,” *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 106–7 (2009–10): 73–87.



Fig. 4. Copper coin of Béla III (1172–1196), CNH 101, Hungary.
Pannonia Terra Numizmatika © (reproduced with permission).

can clearly be identified as imitations of Arabic characters, but trying to read them would be both impossible and against their original purpose; the minters intended them as “decorative” elements rather than readable inscriptions. Despite featuring no legible legend, this coin is now unquestionably dated to the reign of Béla III, together with the other type of copper coin, the so-called “Byzantine” type (CNH 98).¹⁴

László Réthy was first to point out that Almoravid (1062–1143) coins struck in Andalusia feature the same arrangement of legends as CNH 101, but he did not have detailed catalogues at his disposal for the identification of the exact exemplar.¹⁵ Róbert Ujszászi has recently suggested that the model for CNH 101’s obverse was one of the *dinārs* of Muḥammad ibn Mardanīsh (1147–1172), ruler of the principality of Murcia after the Almoravids, but, oddly enough, he only compares their obverses. One important sign he notes is the five-pointed star on several of Ibn Mardanīsh’s coins, which, according to him, would have been simplified into an X-shaped sign on the Hungarian pieces.¹⁶

¹⁴ Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek,” 39–46; Lajos Huszár, “A horti XII. századi rézpénzlelet” [A find of twelfth-century copper coins at Hort], *Folia Archaeologica* 16 (1964): 145–55; Róbert Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek* [Twelfth-century copper coins in Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 2010), 8–11, 35. No one has yet found the Byzantine exemplar of CNH 98; I suspect that it was rather based on coins from Norman Sicily, but this topic must be discussed on another occasion.

¹⁵ László Réthy, “Réthy László igazgató-őr jelentése spanyolországi tanulmányútról” [Report of head curator László Réthy on his study trip in Spain], *Jelentés a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum 1906. évi állapotáról* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1907): 141–49.

¹⁶ Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 43. For the Andalusian coins, see A. Canto García and Tawfiq Ibn Ḥāfiẓ Ibrahim, *Moneda Andalusí: La colección del Museo Casa de la*



Fig. 5. Gold coin (*dīnār*) of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Iyāḍ (1145–1147), Murcia, 540AH/1145AD. Coins of *al-Andalus*: Tonegawa Collection (not in copyright).

Convincing as this argument might be, there is yet another *dīnār* issued by the previous ruler of Murcia, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Iyāḍ (1145–1147), which is more plausibly comparable with CNH 101 (Fig. 5).¹⁷ The epigraphic style of the legends of this piece are more angular than those on the *dīnārs* of Ibn Mardanīsh – and thus closer in style to the signs on CNH 101 – and the arrangement of the legends is more similar to the appearance of CNH 101. Instead of the five-pointed star on Ibn Mardanīsh's coins, the *dīnār* of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Iyāḍ features a four-lobed star sign as mint mark, which could have just as easily been simplified into the X-shaped sign on CNH 101. Most significantly, the mint mark on the coin of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Iyāḍ is placed between the letters *rā'* and *wāw* in *amīr mu'minīn* ("leader of the believers"), just as it appears on the obverse of CNH 101, and unlike on most of the coins of Ibn Mardanīsh.¹⁸

As for the reverse of CNH 101, no attempt has been made to identify its exemplar so far. It can be demonstrated that the arrangement of the signs resembles Almoravid *dīnārs*, albeit, contrary to what might be expected, these signs match with the legends on obverses of some Almoravid pieces including a *dīnār* of Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn (1087–1106) issued in 488AH/1095AD in Murcia

Moneda (Madrid: Fundación Real Casa de la Moneda, 2004), nos 517–696.

¹⁷ Antonio Vives y Escudero, *Monedas de las dinastías árabe-españolas* (Madrid: Real Academia Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1893), no. 1926. See also Tawfiq Ibrahim, "A Dinar of 'Ali ibn 'Ubaid Struck in Murcia in the Year 542H.," *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid, 2003* (2005), 1593–1597.

¹⁸ I could find only one exception where a coin of Ibn Mardanīsh features similar arrangement, which is García and Ibn Ḥāfiz, *Moneda Andalusí*, no. 685. But the style of this particular piece is noticeably curvilinear, and thus dissimilar to CNH 101.



Fig. 6. Gold coin (dīnār) of Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn (1087–1106),
Murcia, 488AH/1095AD. Coins of al-Andalus: Tonegawa Collection (not in copyright).

(Fig. 6).¹⁹ The two little circles at 12 o'clock on the reverse of CNH 101 (Fig. 4) derive from the two *mim* letters in the word *imām* (“leader”) on the Almoravid coins. At the bottom of the Hungarian coin one little circle can be seen in between two fishhook-shaped signs (on some variants vertical lines)²⁰ that derive from the letters *rāʾ* and *wāw*, respectively, in *amīr muʾminīn* on Almoravid coins – similarly to what appears on the obverse of CNH 101. In addition, some other signs also show close parallels between these two types of coin, even though the reverse of CNH 101 ostensibly simplifies the appearance of its exemplar.²¹

Consequently, whoever minted CNH 101 used two different Andalusian coins as exemplars, one issued by ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Iyāḍ, and one certainly an Almoravid piece. The Hungarian minters copied the imagery from the two obverses of the Andalusian coins to the two sides of CNH 101, but its reverse is clearly a less careful imitation. This is particularly important for the argument of the present study, because it shows that the minters did not pay attention to copying an Arabic inscription as something unchangeable. They did not worry about losing either the meaning of the text or the arrangement of the two sides of a coin, but rather created imagery recognizably similar to Islamic coins.

Scholars usually attribute the pseudo-Arabic coins to the Muslim population of medieval Hungary. In fact, the mint was strictly under royal control at the time, and there should be no doubt that the king and his advisors decided on the preferred imagery for the coins. Generations of excellent scholars reiterated

¹⁹ See Coins of al-Andalus: Tonegawa Collection, accessed 3 February 2016, <http://www.andalustonegawa.50g.com/almoravids1.htm>; Yusuf ibn Tashfin, Madinat Mursiya (Medina Murcia) 488H.

²⁰ See Tóth, Kiss and Fekete, “III. Béla kufikus jellegű,” fig. 2.

²¹ García and ibn Ḥāfīz, *Moneda Andalusí*, nos 541, 558, 559, 686.

the same myth about Ishmaelite minters until Nora Berend eventually made the effort to read the sources closely. She argues convincingly that in the only source which mentions Ishmaelite *monetarii*, a charter from 1111 (more than six decades before CNH 101 was struck), the Latin term does not mean “minters,” but rather “tax collectors” or other agents of the royal fisc.²² Even if some Muslims worked at the mint, they would have known hardly any Arabic, and it sounds anything but reasonable for a king to allow his minters to strike odd motifs as they wished. Otto of Freising, who travelled through Hungary in 1147, states that “in so vast an area no one but the king ventures to coin money.”²³

The reason why Béla III decided to imitate Islamic coins cannot be separated from the fact that the pseudo-Arabic type is made of copper. The fact that two different types were issued by the same king, presumably around the same time and in great numbers, eliminates the possibility that the pseudo-Arabic coin was made exclusively for Muslims. Conversely, it seems that the king initiated a monetary reform after the troublesome decades of devaluing money from the early twelfth century onwards. The several variants, the great number, and the wide circulation of copper coins suggest that it was, in the short run, quite successful. Sooner or later the money lost value and many coins were eventually pierced to be used for secondary purposes, and superseded by bracteate-type coins.²⁴ The two types of copper coin served the same purpose as species, but those were always struck from silver in medieval Hungary. A tentative explanation of why Béla III introduced copper instead of silver is that silver was temporarily unavailable, which accords well with the so-called silver famine, the scarcity of silver in this period.²⁵

²² Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary, c.1000-c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 121–22. See also Berend, “Imitation Coins and Frontier Societies: The Case of Medieval Hungary,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 10 (1998–1999): 5–14; Katarína Štulrajterová, “Convivenza, Convenienza and Conversion: Islam in Medieval Hungary (1000–1400 CE),” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24, no. 2 (2013): 185. For the charter, see *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, vol. 1, 1000–1131, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 382–83, no. 138/I

²³ Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. Charles C. Mierow and Richard Emery (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1966), 67.

²⁴ Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek,” 39; Márton Gyöngyössi, *Magyar pénztörténet (1000–1526)* [The monetary history of Hungary (1000–1526)] (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2012), 21. On dating the bracteates to Béla III’s reign, see Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000–1325* [The monetary history of Hungary 1000–1325] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1916), 238–39.

²⁵ For the manifestation of this “famine,” see Szabolcs Rosta, “Pétermonostora pusztulása” [The devastation of Pétermonostora], in *Carmen miserabile. A tatárjárás*

Analogies from Elsewhere in Europe

Available evidence in Hungary is scarce for both the ring and the pseudo-Arabic coins, and regrettably inadequate for providing an interpretation for either case. Numerous analogies from other parts of Christian Europe, however, provide close parallels and thus valuable information for understanding these items. Even though the Islamic seal mounted on a ring in a Christian territory is a unique case to my knowledge, there are many instances when Islamic objects were reused in similar fashion, just as Islamic coins were imitated in some cases.

Islamic objects were transferred to Europe in great quantity during the crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. King Andrew II (1205–1235), the son of Béla III, led a Crusade to the Holy Land in 1217–1218, and returned home with the body relics of Saint Stephen protomartyr, Saint Margaret, the virgin, Saint Thomas apostle and Saint Bartholomew, a piece of Aaron's rod, and one of the jars in which Jesus allegedly turned water into wine at the marriage at Cana.²⁶ Regarding the last object of this impressive list, one may rightfully doubt that the king actually found a twelve hundred-year-old vessel; many similar myths were created about Islamic objects in medieval Europe. One particularly interesting object in reference to the jar of Andrew II is a fourteenth-century Alhambra vase, made in Málaga and originally kept in Famagusta, which was believed for centuries to be one of the jars from the marriage at Cana.²⁷ The fact that Islamic objects often bear Arabic inscriptions served to corroborate such legendary connotations.

Attitudes towards Islamic objects in Christian Europe are particularly well attested in Venice, a city-state with close ties to the Middle East, where numerous objects survive intact. The so-called Throne of Saint Peter in the San Pietro di Castello Church was believed for centuries to be the original seat of the apostle

magyarországi emlékei, ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014): 205–6; and Mária Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery: Objects in Hoards and in Burial Contexts during the Mongol Invasion of Central Europe* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), 19, 38.

²⁶ “Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV,” ed. Sándor Domanovszky, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1, ed. Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999, reprint), 466. On his crusade, see László Veszprémy, “The Crusade of Andrew II, King of Hungary, 1217–1218,” *Jacobus* 13–14 (2002): 87–110.

²⁷ Otto Kurz, “The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase,” in *The Decorative Arts of Europe and the Islamic East: Selected Studies* (London: Dorian Press, 1977), 205–12; Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 135, no. 287.

despite the Arabic, actually Quranic, inscriptions engraved on it. The throne is made of different marble pieces; the backrest is an Islamic tombstone, probably from Syria. The slab came to Venice in the period of the crusades and was assigned with a completely new function and meaning in the bishopric church of the city.²⁸ The treasury of San Marco in Venice contains an extensive collection of Islamic objects, especially rock crystals, used for centuries as reliquaries or liturgical objects.²⁹ The most striking example among them is a Fatimid rock crystal bottle mounted on a gold chalice, originally a secular vessel as its Arabic inscription says “blessing and glory [to the owner]”. Despite that, it was revered as a holy reliquary as the Latin inscription on its mount reads *hic est sanguinus XRI* (“this is the blood of Christ”). It is also clear in this case that the Arabic inscription was mistaken for a decorative motif.³⁰ Similar cases have recently been examined, when Islamic objects were used as Christian reliquaries on the Iberian Peninsula.³¹

These examples and countless others when secular Islamic artefacts were used in sacred contexts in medieval Christendom demonstrate that Arabic inscriptions were not conceived of as such, but rather as motifs associated with the Holy Land. A visibly Islamic object – i.e., one bearing Arabic inscription – was considered to be perfectly appropriate for containing a Christian relic or other religious purposes. Similarly, Islamic textiles with or without Arabic inscriptions were often used to wrap relics. Furthermore, when an Islamic object was not available at hand, sanctity was even “faked” by adding pseudo-Arabic decoration, similar to what appears often in Renaissance paintings in Italy.³²

There are fewer instances of imitating Arabic coins in Latin Christendom. Most importantly, Almoravid gold coins, called *morabetinos*, circulated and were

²⁸ Staale Sinding-Larsen, “Saint Peter’s Chair in Venice,” in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Johnson*, ed. Moshe Barasch, Lucy F. Sandler, and Patricia Egan (New York: Abrams, 1981), 35–50; Stefano Carboni, ed. *Venice and the Islamic world 828–1797* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), no. 87.

²⁹ See Hans R. Hahnloser, ed. *Il tesoro e il museo [di San Marco]* (Florence: Sansoni, 1971), nos 117–39.

³⁰ See Hahnloser, ed. *Il tesoro e il museo*, no. 128; Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, no. 47; Anna Contadini, “Translocation and Transformation: Some Middle Eastern Objects in Europe,” in *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformation*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 47–8.

³¹ Mariam Rosser-Owen, “Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia,” *Art in Translation* 7, no. 1 (2015): 39–64; cf. Avinoam Shalem, “From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid,” *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 24–38.

³² Rosamond E. Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 51–71.

highly regarded in the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula as the most valuable currency of the period. After the end of the principality of Muḥammad ibn Mardaniš in 1172, the supply of *morabetinos* dwindled, and Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214) began minting his own imitation of Almoravid coins.³³ They feature the general appearance of the *morabetinos*, with the Arabic language for the legends, but significantly modify the inscriptions to a Christian meaning, and add a cross to the obverse of the coin.³⁴ This phenomenon was clearly driven by economic considerations, namely, to issue coins which could replace the earlier Almoravid ones.

The Arabic coinage produced in the crusader states before 1251 is comparable to the case in Hungary, as Islamic coins – especially those of the Fatimid caliphs al-Mustanšir (1036–1094) and al-Āmir (1101–1130) – were copied. Later, the legends were changed to feature Christian meaning, but they retained the Arabic language.³⁵ Finally, coins with Arabic inscriptions were also issued in Norman Sicily following the conquest of the island in 1091. This phenomenon, however, is hardly comparable with the Hungarian pseudo-Arabic coinage. As Jeremy Johns has pointed out, the Normans initially simply employed the same Muslim mint officials whom they found in office, and so the coinage did not change abruptly. Starting with Roger II (1030–1154), the Arabic language was widely used in the administration as a propagandistic form of royal representation.³⁶

³³ Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 168–69; Ronald A. Messier, “The Almoravids: West African Gold and the Gold Currency of the Mediterranean Basin,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 17, no. 1 (1974): 31–47; Miquel Crusafont, Anna M. Balaguer, and Philip Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, vol. 6, *The Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 62–63, nos 360–362.

³⁴ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), no. 133 (adapted translation).

³⁵ See Michael L. Bates and D. M. Metcalfe, “Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions,” in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 6, *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, Harry W. Hazard, and Norman P. Zacour (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 421–482.

³⁶ Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Divān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 77–8 and *passim*. See also Lucia Travaini, “Aspects of the Sicilian Norman Copper Coinage in the Twelfth Century,” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 151 (1991): 159–174.

Conclusions

The first thing one can learn from the two examples presented above is that Islamic artifacts in Hungary cannot be conceived of as a single coherent phenomenon. The seal, after it made its way to the royal treasury of Hungary, was transformed into a personal object of the king; thus, it entered the royal representation, even though it had definitely been made for a Muslim person. Almandine is not a particularly valuable material and is available in many places of the world, i.e., a king could certainly have afforded a more precious material. Yet Béla chose this piece of stone, even at the expense of recutting it, just as he chose the ring, even though it needed to be resized. The Arabic name was hardly recognizable as such, and, just as on many Islamic objects reused as reliquaries in Europe, was probably mistaken for a motif associated with the Holy Land. This would explain why Béla considered it valuable enough for mounting on his similarly precious, almost certainly reliquary, ring.

Conversely, Andalusian coins, having arrived at the Hungarian royal court, were used quite differently. It has been pointed out above that at least two Andalusian coins were taken to the mint and imitated on the two sides of CNH 101. The king's intention for these definitely valuable Andalusian coins was probably to take advantage of their imagery. The aim behind their imitation was certainly not to reproduce their original value, but likely to add the value of imagery to the otherwise valueless material, copper. The users of CNH 101 must not have recognized the exemplar coins as Andalusian (just as they are rarely recognized as such today), but logically associated them with a territory where some Hungarians had actually seen money with Arabic legends, i.e., the Holy Land. Taken as a whole, the phenomena of the ring and the coins are hardly anomalies, as they are often considered, but rather sensible achievements of a king with a sense of majesty and a crusading spirit.

PERCEPTIONS OF HORSES IN THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA

Zhexin Xu 

Thirteenth-and-fourteenth-century Chinese society was closely associated with and dependent upon horses in the economic, social, and cultural spheres compared to the situation in earlier periods. The military and political takeover by the Mongols in 1271 marked the establishment of a socially pluralistic empire in Chinese history, namely, the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). A court on horseback, the Mongol administration inherited and further developed the imperial postal system that relied chiefly on horses in order to control its vast territory. Moreover, the Mongols' overwhelming success with cavalry in their military and political expansion made horses of even greater strategic importance.¹

The unprecedented military success of the Mongols not only led to the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty and other khan states, but also resulted in a transcontinental trade network.² The political and economic situation stimulated commercial communication between the East and West under the so-called *Pax Mongolica*. In consequence, the demand for horses for commercial purposes increased. "The Chinese economy and the nomadic economies in Northern Asia and Central Asia were connected with each other by the horse trade."³ The horse markets in the major cities of the Yuan Dynasty also became the center of urban commercial activities; for example, in the capital city Khanbaliq (today Beijing) and the "upper" capital Shangdu (in today's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region). Favorable conditions beyond the borders of China made possible prosperous international commerce connecting China with Central Asia and even Europe. This international connection proved rather important for the import and export of various goods from Central Asia, one of the most important centers for horse import and export in this period.

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis: "The Perceptions of Horses in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-century China" (Budapest: Central European University, 2015).

² See Sugiyama Masaaki, *Kubilai no chōsen: Mongoru kajō teikoku e no michi* [Kubilai's challenge: Toward the Mongol maritime empire] (Tokyo: Asahi, 1995).

³ Yokkaichi Yasuhiro, "Horses in the East-West Trade between China and Iran under Mongol Rule," in *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur*, ed. Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak, and Angela Schottenhammer (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 87.

Horses were also considered cultural and social symbols in various contexts. “Horses were valued for what they represented as well as for what they could do and this allowed them to exercise a greater degree of agency than was possible for other animals.”⁴ In Yuan China, the different symbolic meanings conveyed by the images of horses are especially worth noting. As an object of prestige, owning fine horses was a symbol of wealth and social status; according to contemporary legal documents, the numbers and scale of animals permitted in a given individual’s cavalcade was strictly regulated by ancestral background and social class. Moreover, horses had a particular social agency which made them special compared to other animals. In Yuan China, the horse culture, rooted in traditional Chinese culture, combined with the nomadic horse culture brought by the Mongols and other ethnic communities. Among upper-class intellectuals from various ancestral backgrounds, horses became commonly appreciated objects possessing numerous good attributes. Thus, relevant objects such as literati paintings (created by scholar-bureaucrats) with horses and equestrian objects became popular objects and gifts circulated within intellectual social circles as this cultural link firmly connected them to an imperial context. In folk culture, the frequent appearance of horses shaped people’s daily life. The horse cult, prevalent among merchants and urban residents in North China during the Yuan period, developed continually in the following Ming Dynasty (1368–1344).⁵

Horses also helped form and deny identities. In the previous Song Dynasty (960–1279) and early Yuan period, the images of nomadic horses in paintings were usually connected with curiosity about exotic areas and depicted as companions of nomadic “barbarian” invaders. The horses were markers of otherness that distinguished the Han people from aliens from the north. For instance, a soldier accompanied by a thin weak horse could also express a painter’s dissatisfaction about his sufferings under this “alien” Mongol regime.⁶ However, with the expansion of imperial territory and cultural integration within Yuan China, perceptions of Mongol horses or nomadic horses from former times were assimilated into “sameness,” while otherness was newly found in images of horses from remote areas such as Western and Central Asia or even Europe.

⁴ Peter Enenkel, K. A. E. Edwards and Elspeth Graham, *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 293.

⁵ Li Yuan, *Mingdai guojia jisi zhidu yanjiu* [A study on the national sacrifice system in Ming China] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011), 294.

⁶ Yang Chenbin, “Yuandai Ren Renfa ermatu” [A study on Yuan painter Ren Renfa’s painting of two horses], in *Cultural Relics* 8 (1965): 34–36.

Based on the geographical and chronological framework noted above, the chief research question in this study is the extent to which contemporary horse imagery in visual arts and literature reflected contemporary perceptions of community identities, especially in a period of Mongol rule when cultural and commercial communications between China and other regions were relatively intense. Focusing on this question, relevant research is necessary about the physical appearance of horses and their practical values in various activities such as transportation, commerce, and military organization.

Horses in Royal Contexts

Horses played a significant role in Yuan court life; they were indispensable transport for the seasonal tour of inspection, close companions in royal hunts, and even a necessary part of the court diet. In order to cope with the heavy demand for horses, the central administration of the empire employed two major methods for collecting horses – developing governmental stud farms and purchasing horses from peasants and urban residents.

Mongol rulers considered horses to be valuable military resources, especially in the early Yuan period, when horses were still in great demand to supply the Mongols' military expansion. The Yuan Dynasty established 14 major governmental stud farms located from present-day Korea to southwestern China, but this system was not efficient enough as there was no specific institution in the local government to administer them.⁷ Thus, demanding horses directly from rural and urban residents with compensation for their owners became a way of collecting horses. In 1260, Kublai Khan ordered nine provincial governors in North China to collect 10 000 horses through purchase at their market price. He decreed that households which owned fewer than five horses could only reserve one horse for the head of the family.⁸ In other words, such “purchases” were actually a way of acquiring horses by mandatory order. Horses belonging to the government were branded with an iron on their bodies to indicate their status.

The *Taipusi* (Ministry of the Imperial Stud) in the central government was the institution in charge of the management of horses. As a key department in the Yuan central administration, only officials with a Mongol background could be appointed as the head, the minister of the imperial stud. Its main duty was

⁷ Xie Chengxia, *Zhongguo yangmashi* [History of horse breeding in China] (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), 186.

⁸ Anonymous, *Dayuan mazhengji* [A record of horses administration of the Yuan Dynasty] (Beijing: Wendiange, 1937), 7.

to record annually the number of horses owned by the government and collect horses from all over the country. In addition, the *Taipusi*, *Zhongshushen* (Imperial Secretariat) and the *Binbu* (Ministry of the Military) also performed the function of collecting horses for the government. In 1308, the Imperial Secretariat reported that there were 94 000 horses serving in governmental departments in Dadu and 119 000 horses in other provinces.⁹ This number did not include the horses kept on governmental stud farms and horses serving the military. Furthermore, the number of military horses was considered a secret in the Yuan period and was not recorded in the relevant chronicles.

The horses directly serving the royal court were selected from the imperial horses owned by the government. In 1322, Emperor Yingzong (r. 1321–1323) decreed that the Ministry of the Imperial Stud should select 1 000 fine horses to be sent to the royal court every three years for royal needs.¹⁰ Compared to the common horses collected from the provinces and government stud farms, horses selected for the royal court had to satisfy much stricter requirements concerning their appearance and quality. In February 1329, Emperor Wenzong (r. 1328–1331) ordered the minister of the Imperial Stud to select horses from all provinces with specific colors, such as *beiyumian ma* (black horses with white faces), *wuming ma* (horses with four white hooves and manes), and *taohua ma* (literally meaning “peach blossom horses,” referring to white horses with reddish spots) for the royal court. Any individual who concealed horses that satisfied these requirements was liable to receive a punishment of 170 bludgeon strokes.¹¹ In March, the minister of the Imperial Stud required local officials to collect such horses and send them to Dadu as soon as possible, at least before June 1.¹² In the spring of that year (1329), the emperor visited Xingsheng Dian (Xingsheng Palace, built in Dadu around 1310), where he saw and enjoyed the arrival of these valuable horses. The emperor rewarded the grooms who kept those horses with silk. These animals were kept in the imperial garden in the north of the imperial city of Dadu.¹³

Compared to other exotic animals such as elephants, cheetahs, or lions, which mostly arrived in royal space as tribute from South Asia and the West, horses appear relatively rarely in tributary inventories from the Yuan period. While tribute was not the main source of fine horses used at the royal court, the

⁹ Ke Shaomin, *Xin Yuanshi* [Revised new chronicle of Yuan] (Shanghai: Kaiming Publishing House, 1935), 223.

¹⁰ Anonymous, *Dayuan mazhengji* [A record of horse administration of the Yuan Dynasty], 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

Yuan rulers still showed great interest in fine horses from the West. In 1342, the arrival of a missionary sent by Pope Benedict XII with fine horses as gifts became a significant event that resulted in an accumulation of many poems and paintings produced by court officials to extol the Mongol emperor's greatness.

Within royal space, horses often appeared as parts of the way elites moved from one place to another. According to contemporary court records on royal customs, the main vehicles transporting the emperor were two-wheeled carriages pulled by horses and palanquins borne by servants.¹⁴ According to the regulation published in 1326 concerning vehicle management for the emperor, five types of carriages ornamented with different main decorative materials such as jade, gold, ivory, sandalwood, and ebony were made especially for the emperor. The color of the horses that pulled the carriage had to match the color of the particular vehicle. For example, the horses pulling an "ivory carriage" should be "yellow" (*huangma*, probably referring to horses of apricot yellow color) and equipped with golden equestrian gear such as golden saddles and yellow reins.¹⁵ Moreover, horses were also used for carrying goods within the royal residence and on the seasonal inspection trip.

Horses were an indispensable part of hunting. During the Yuan period, hunting not only represented masculinity and privilege but was also an important daily practice reminding the Mongols of their ancestral background and forging elite identities. Compared to their predecessors in the previous Song Dynasty, the Mongol emperors appear to have been more enthusiastic about horse-related activities such as hunting and playing polo-like games since royal court records about court hunting in Song Dynasty are relatively rare. In the early Song period some emperors even forbade hunting. In September CE 975, Emperor Taizu of the Song Dynasty accidentally fell from his horse while hunting. He killed his horse in anger and then regretted such impulsive behavior by prohibiting hunting.¹⁶ In October CE 988, Emperor Taizong of the Song Dynasty decreed, "Hunting should be forbidden; hounds and falcons kept for hunting should be released, and local governments should no longer pay those animals as tribute to the royal court."¹⁷ However, the situation in Yuan period was rather the opposite. Unlike the artistic Song emperors, who enjoyed paintings and Chinese calligraphy, hunting played a key role in Yuan royal court life.

¹⁴ *Yuanshi*, 1949.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Tuo Tuo, *Songsbi* [Song Chronicle] (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980), 45.

¹⁷ Tuo Tuo, *Songsbi*, 83.

Hunting parties in the Yuan period could comprise over 10 000 participants, most of them Mongol elite. According to Mongol custom, hunting was also seen as an imitation of battle where participants accumulated invaluable experience in the craft of fighting.¹⁸ After 1270, the emperor hosted two important large-scale hunting activities each year. The first gathering, the so-called spring hunt, usually took place in the forest located southeast of the capital city, Dadu. The second gathering, the summer hunt in north Shangdu, was where the emperor spent his summers. A famous painting of Kublai Khan hunting, attributed to the painter Liu Guandao, shows the landscape and customs of contemporary hunting figures in detail.¹⁹ Dating to circa 1280, this image shows clear Mongol attributes in the figures' dress (robes and hats) and equestrian gear (saddles and harness), as well as weapons used in the early Yuan period. This hunter, with a beard and dressed in what looks like Western clothing is shown with a cheetah-like cat perched on the haunches of his mount.²⁰

While court hunting was hosted in royal forests, polo was a sport played inside the imperial city in Dadu. Polo games usually took place during two Chinese festivals *Duanwu* (5 May) and *Chongyang* (9 September) as traditional events of court life in the Yuan period. The games were hosted in the square near the city gate, a flat area suitable for playing polo and also located in a good place for urban residents living outside the imperial city to witness the game. According to a local chronicle from Dadu written in the late Yuan period, the polo game was hosted by the crown prince and other princes who led the best riders assembled from the cavalry in the game. The horses used for the game were all high quality fine horses ornamented with feathers.²¹

Royal Power in Horse Imagery

As successors of previous unifying dynasties such as the Han, Tang, and Song dynasties in China, the Mongol rulers of the Yuan Dynasty proved their legitimacy through partially accepting and retaining royal rituals developed in previous Chinese royal

¹⁸ Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 20.

¹⁹ This painting (height: 182.9 cm, width: 104.1 cm), held at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, can be viewed in color at: <http://www.npm.gov.tw/english/exhibition/e-ase1010/e02.htm>.

²⁰ National Palace Museum, *Wenwuguanghua* 7 [Illustrated catalogue of cultural relics] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994), 164.

²¹ Long Mengxiang, *Xijinzhibiji* [Chronicle of Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1983), 43.

courts together with the centralized bureaucracy system. In the early Yuan period, the hierarchy of the Mongol nobles became more regulated and rigid. The emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, who was also the great khan of all the Mongol khan states at the same time, concentrated his power by setting up new central administrative departments directly under his command and sanctifying his supreme status with ritualized privileges. In 1270, Kublai Khan decreed that any fabrics ornamented with images of the sun, the moon, the dragon, or the tiger were completely forbidden; decorating equestrian gear with dragon motifs was also forbidden, since only members of the royal house could use those motifs on their attire.²² As these celestial and animal motifs were traditional symbols of Chinese royal power, such imitation shows the Mongol ruler's self-awareness as "the son of Heaven" who possessed cosmological legitimacy, the "mandate of Heaven," to form a ruling dynasty in China.²³ In other words, the Mongol rulers accepted Chinese rituals and motifs in royal court space in order to legitimize, concentrate, and strengthen their royal power. At the same time, educated officials serving in the royal court, most of whom were of native Chinese background and followed Confucian practices, suggested to their Mongol ruler that he establish a new system which would be compatible with his dual identities as a Mongol khan and a Chinese emperor.²⁴

Such acculturation connected to royal power is reflected in visual, material, and textual horse imagery as well. In the Yuan period, horses appeared frequently in art works produced by painters under royal patronage. Such paintings followed the traditional Chinese scroll painting style, which usually presented narrative images with figures interacting in a landscape. While the so-called *Huayuan* (imperial painting academy) institution of the previous Song Dynasty, where court painters were organized under relatively strict regulations and assigned certain painting themes, no longer existed at the Yuan court, the royal court of the Yuan Dynasty had its own institution, called *mishujian* (imperial office of the secretariat) that instructed court painters' work.²⁵ During the Yuan period, most court painters served in the secretariat and were closely connected to Yuan Dynasty emperors.²⁶

²² *Yuanshi*, 131.

²³ Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China, 1271–1368* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 7.

²⁴ Xiao Qiqing, *Neibeiguo er waizhongguo: mengyuanshi yanjiu* [Between khanate and China: A study on the history of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 20.

²⁵ Xie Chenglin, "Yuandai gongting de huihua huodong jilu" [Court paintings in Yuan China], *Art Research* 1 (1990): 54–57.

²⁶ Chen Gaohua, *Yuandai huajia shiliao huibian* [A historical source book about Yuan painters] (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2004), 2.

Depicting scenes of the royal hunt was one of the main tasks of court painters. In 1280, Kublai Khan promoted his court painter, Liu Guandao, for his outstanding painting of the royal hunt and portraits of the royal family.²⁷ The epigraph of a Yuan official named Zhu Derun recorded that his painting *Xuelietu* (Hunting in Falling Snow) was appreciated by Emperor Yingzong.²⁸ According to his own annotation written on this painting, the emperor went hunting in the eastern suburb of Dadu in February of 1322 and called his officials, including Zhu himself, to record and extol this event through painting and poems.²⁹ Images of horses inevitably played a pivotal role in court painters' work celebrating Mongol horse culture, entangled as it was with notions of royal status and prestige; it even became a popular theme for painters outside the royal context.

Influenced by and appropriating key aspects of Chinese culture, the Mongol emperors also appreciated horse images with Chinese symbolic meanings. One of them is "the good judge of horses," which symbolized great and intelligent rulers who could discover people of ability and work with them. This motif was commonly used in literature and paintings produced by the intellectual official class in China after the first century CE.³⁰ It originated from the story about a good judge named Bole who lived in 700 BCE and was famous for his ability to judge fine horses capable of running a hundred leagues per day. Bole became a rather popular metaphor in literature. In order to express his disappointment with contemporary politics, a Tang poet named Han Yu (CE 768–824) wrote, "Is it that there are truly no horses or truly no one who recognizes horses?"³¹ This metaphor appeared persistently in literature and art works in the following Song and Yuan Dynasties. In the early Yuan period, when the new regime needed to prove its legitimacy and unify Chinese intellectuals, such metaphors were visible in contemporary art works containing horse imagery.

The scroll painting entitled *Yumatu* (Bathing Horses) produced by Zhao Mengfu,³² an official who served in Kublai Khan's court, depicts a leisure situation with upper class figures and grooms washing their horses on a riverbank. The horses in this image, with their strong and healthy bodies, show that they are well

²⁷ Xie Chenglin, "Yuandai gongting de huihua huodong jilu," 54–57.

²⁸ Chen Gaohua, *Yuandai bujia shiliao huibian*, 305.

²⁹ Chen Gaohua, *Yuandai bujia shiliao huibian*, 307.

³⁰ Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 1/2 (1997): 135–56.

³¹ Charles Hartman, *Han Yu and the Tang Search for Unity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 172.

³² This painting (height: 182.9 cm, width: 104.1 cm), is held at the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

kept by their owners. Such images reflect a typical symbolic meaning of horses in Chinese culture, as a “metaphor for the meritocratic selection and nature of human talent” by the emperors.³³ These well-cared-for horses represented the Chinese scholar class who had the opportunity to be recruited into the bureaucratic system through the civil service examination system appropriated by the Mongol emperor in that period. Use of such an image was not only intended as a compliment to the royal power, but also as a recognition of its legitimacy from the perspective of certain Chinese intellectuals. Another feature worth noting in this image is the black horse in the middle of the image. Cared for by two grooms, this magnificent horse, closer to the foreground, seems to be larger, with a head-up, more confident pose compared to the other horses with their lowered heads. In addition, its appearance is remarkably similar to the horse with white spots on its head and feet ridden by Kublai Khan in an image of a hunt.³⁴ These attributes of that particular horse also meet perfectly Emperor Wenzong’s decree on collecting fine horses. This indicates that black horses with white faces and hooves may have had a more prestigious status in the royal court of the Yuan Dynasty.

Growing up in a Chinese environment and receiving a Chinese education, Emperor Wenzong was not only a famous patron of traditional Chinese art and literature, but also an artist who himself produced paintings. In his painting *Judging a Horse*, created around 1330, a groom in customary Chinese garb is watching a black and white horse in a natural environment.³⁵ The style of the painting is close to contemporary court painters’ works; the emperor might have learned relevant knowledge and techniques from his court painters. The horse in this image has a strong shape, a luxuriant mane and bright color, all of which were attributes of fine horses. This image shows that the emperor himself was not only a patron of art and literature, but also a justifiably supreme ruler who had the ability to govern his empire through appointing persons of ability as his officials, just as an experienced groom judges horses. In 1330, the first year of his reign, he hosted a nationwide imperial examination to draft able officials.

Intellectuals and officials paid compliments to emperors through using horses as metaphors. A painter named Zhu Derun, who lived during the Yuan Dynasty (1294–1365), wrote the following verses on a scroll painting of horses: “Emperor Renzong appreciates the talented, he awards them with gold and silk.

³³ McCausland, *The Mongol Century*, 46.

³⁴ National Palace Museum, *Wenwuguanghua* 7 [Illustrated catalogue of cultural relics] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994), 164.

³⁵ Ink on silk, scroll painting, 95×50.5cm.

In such a great time, fine horses can be found everywhere. Why should we envy the Han Dynasty for its fine horses bred around Lake Wawo?”³⁶

Such metaphors could also be used to express negative attitudes towards the Mongol rulers, who were depicted as “bad judges” in artworks produced by Song loyalists or Chinese intellectuals who opposed the Mongol regime. For example, *Shoumatu* (Thin Horse), an early Yuan scroll painting of a thin horse³⁷ produced by Gong Kai (ca. 1221–1307), a former official in the previous Southern Song government, expressed his disappointment with politics. The symbolic meaning of this horse is rather clear, since the painter himself explains in the postscript on this image why he emphasized its 15 ribs. “I often heard that the better horses have more and thinner ribs. A common horse has more than ten ribs, while the ‘thousand-mile’ horse has 15 ribs. ... In order to show this attribute, I have to paint a thin horse, then its ribs will be visible.”³⁸ In other words, this painting is a self-portrait of the painter, who considered himself a “thousand-mile horse” able to travel long distances, yet suffering under the Mongol regime. After Gong Kai, such thin horses become a prevalent motif in visual art and related literature, symbolizing the talented men that the ruler did not recognize. However, in the Manchurian Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), the rulers of which also had an Inner Asian background, this motif was (re-)interpreted by Emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1795) and followed by intellectuals as “talented people who were unable to serve the empire under the emperor’s grace.”³⁹ Such a transformation of the meaning indicates that images of horses continued to be powerful and influential in Chinese courtly space in a later period.

Besides being “a good judge of horses,” another pattern common in visual artwork connected to royal power concerned “heavenly horses.” This term (*tianma* in Chinese) refers to prestigious horses imported from the west (Central and Western Asia), originating from the second century BCE, when the Han Dynasty (206 BCE – CE 220) expanded militarily from its western border to Central Asia,

³⁶ Chen Bangyan ed., *Lidai tihuashi xia* [Poetry on paintings, book 2] (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1996), 560. Wawo (or Wawochi) is a lake located in today’s Gansu Province, China. It was considered the place of origin of heavenly horses in the Han Dynasty.

³⁷ Scroll painting, ink on paper, 29.9 cm x 56.9 cm, held by the Osaka City Museum.

³⁸ Wang Yunwu, ed., *Yuanshijishi* [Collection of Yuan poetry] (Shanghai: shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 67.

³⁹ Ya-chen Ma, “The Transformation and Meanings of the Iconography of Horse Paintings in the Qing Court – Beginning with Giuseppe Castiglione’s One Hundred Horses,” *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (2010): 103–138.

where they acquired strong horses.⁴⁰ The term “heavenly” indicates the place of origin of these fine horses, as their place of origin was remote from Central China and located west of the mountains of Central Asia. In addition, it also describes the significant attributes of these horses in terms of swiftness and endurance. Since these exotic beasts had been sent as tribute from Central Asian states from Han Dynasty times, the term became a synonym for tribute horses and a symbol of imperial power. In 101 BCE, when the army of the Han Empire killed the king of Dawan (in today’s Ferghana Valley, Uzbekistan) in battle and sent back local “heavenly horses” to the Han Dynasty’s capital Chang’an (present-day Xi’an in Shaanxi Province), a court musician composed a song with the lyrics: “The heavenly horses came from the westernmost part of the world, travelling through deserts, showing the submission of all barbarian tribes.”⁴¹

This specific meaning of heavenly horses as royal power also existed in equine imagery produced in Yuan China. According to the tributary inventory recorded in *Yuanshi*, the horses’ appearance was relatively unusual. Most of these horses were sent by Mongol princes of small Mongol khanates. In addition, the Yuan Dynasty also received horses from Korea as tribute. However, none of these animals were recorded as “heavenly horses” in the chronicles. There may have been two reasons for this; firstly, those regions were geographically and politically close to the Yuan Dynasty; several governmental stud farms of the Yuan were even located in these tributary states. Therefore, these horses were not exotic enough to be considered prestigious tribute like heavenly horses. Secondly, the quality of such horses was not considered particularly outstanding.

A “real” heavenly horse arrived in Dadu in July of 1342, brought by the missionary sent by Pope Benedict XII. A contemporary Chinese chronicle referred to it as a tributary horse from *Fulangguo* (“the country of the Franks”). The horse was black with two white hind hooves; its height from the ground to the withers was 6 *chi* (feet) and 4 *cun* (inches).⁴² While the exact sizes of measurement units in the Yuan period are still not clear, this horse was apparently significant in terms of his relatively large size compared to local horses. A court official who witnessed this event wrote a panegyric on the emperor’s greatness saying that: “The horse

⁴⁰ Stanley J. Olsen, “The Horse in Ancient China and Its Cultural Influence in Some Other Areas,” *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 140, no. 2 (1988): 151–89.

⁴¹ Ban Gu, *Hanshu* [The Chronicle of Han] (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1986), 1061.

⁴² *Yuanshi*, 864.

stands proudly with his over-eight-foot-high body, causing other horses to lower their heads and feel humiliated.”⁴³

Compared to details from Friar Marignolli’s travel notes, which recorded the humility of the emperor when he received the pope’s “present,”⁴⁴ the Chinese sources related to this event mostly emphasized the submission of the “barbarians” living in the remote west and the greatness of the emperor. This is because most of the literature and paintings were produced under the patronage of the emperor. As “only the real son of heaven can control heavenly horses,” the arrival of the pope’s gift became evidence demonstrating the Yuan emperor’s legitimacy as a ruler who had received a heavenly mandate.⁴⁵

Horses as Social Agency

In the middle and late Yuan period, with the emergence of “multicultural intellectual social circles,” the image of horses in art works became a shared and understandable metaphor among intellectuals who came from various ancestral backgrounds.⁴⁶ For example, “Painting of Fine Horses” (*Junma Tu*),⁴⁷ painted in 1352 by Zhao Yong, an intellectual official who resided in Dadu, was a gift from the painter to his friend, a Mongolian officer named Bayan Khutugh. In the center lower part of this image, a white horse is leaning on a the tree. This position, called “scratching the itch,” was rather popular in Yuan horse paintings; having been injured on the battlefield,

⁴³ Zhang Yu, “Tianma ge” [The song of heavenly horses], in *Sibuwongkan xubian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 8.

⁴⁴ “But the Grand Kaam, when he had [be]held the great horses, and the Pope’s presents, with his letter and King Robert’s too, with their golden seals, and when he saw us also, rejoiced greatly, being delighted, yea exceedingly delighted with everything, and treated us with the great honour. And when I entered the Kaam’s presence it was in full festival vestments, with a very fine cross carried before me, and candles and incense, whilst *Credo in Unum Deum* was chaunted, in that glorious palace where he dwells. And when the chaunt was ended I bestowed a full benediction, which he received with all humility.” *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, vol. 2, ed. Henry Yule (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1866), 339–40.

⁴⁵ Wang Ting, “Gongjunzuosong: Tianma shiwen yu Malinuoli chushi Yuanting [Literature on the heavenly horses and Marignolli’s visit to the Yuan court],” in *Jiaze tuanyun: Zhongwai shidi guanxi yanjiu* [A historical and geographical study on China-West relations] (Guangzhou: Nanfang chubanshe, 2003), 92–111.

⁴⁶ Xiao Qiqing, “Yuanchao duozu shirenquan de xinchen chutan [The emergence of pluralistic intellectual cycles in Yuan China],” in *Neibeiguo er waizhongguo: mengyuanshi yanjiu* 2 [Between the khanate and China: A study on the history of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 476–508.

⁴⁷ 1352, colored ink on paper, 88cm x 51.1 cm. Held in the Palace Museum, Taipei.

the horse is scratching its itching scar. Therefore, such horses symbolized veterans or military heroes who had experienced battle but were still prepared and waited for the call of the state.⁴⁸ In his poem inscribed on a painting of itch-scratching horses, the poet Zheng Yuanyou (1292–1364) also wrote: “[horses], stop scratching your scars on trees, as you will be back on the battlefield soon.”⁴⁹ According to his epigraph, Bayan Khutugh was an officer in the army repressing the rebellion that broke out in South China in this period.⁵⁰ Besides such a metaphorical meaning, this painting also followed the pattern of traditional Chinese paintings, expressing the Confucian value of harmony; the black and white horses leaning close to each other in the background represent the harmony of the two basic elements (*Yin* and *Yang*, or the positive and the negative) of the universe. As a gift connecting urban intellectuals, it also implies that people who had rather different ancestral backgrounds could appreciate such a metaphor as well as aesthetic values.

The image of horses produced by urban intellectuals who lived in the period of dynastic change during the early Yuan may have been rather different from the one described above. Impressed by the powerful Mongolian cavalry, many painters adopted horses as the theme of their paintings. When the social contradiction was rather severe due to the policy of discrimination practiced by the Mongolian rulers, the painter Ren Renfa, who was also an official, expressed his concern through his painting, produced around 1280, comparing two horses (*Fig. 1*). One part of this painting is an the image of a weak and sick horse. It is so lean that its ribs are visible. There is nearly no mane on its back, a symbol of an unhealthy horse. With its head and tail hanging down, the painter emphasized the weakness and pessimistic mood of this horse. In the other part of the painting there is a fine horse in active motion with completely different attributes: Beautiful color, a strong body, a luxuriant mane, and bright eyes. In addition, this horse’s reins are loose, which expresses the main message of the comparison. An honest and decent man will suffer in that society like the first horse; however, someone who is “reinless” can enjoy his privileges and become just as powerful.

⁴⁸ Chen Dexin, “Cong Zhao Yong junmatu kan huamatu zai Yuandai shehui wanluo zhongde zuoyong.”

⁴⁹ Shi Lijun, ed., *Zhongguo gujin shici tihua quanbi* [Collection of prefaces and postscripts on ancient Chinese paintings] (Beijing: Shangwuyinshuguan, 2007), 637.

⁵⁰ Chen Dexin, “Cong Zhao Yong junmatu kan huamatu zai Yuandai shehui wanluo zhongde zuoyong.”

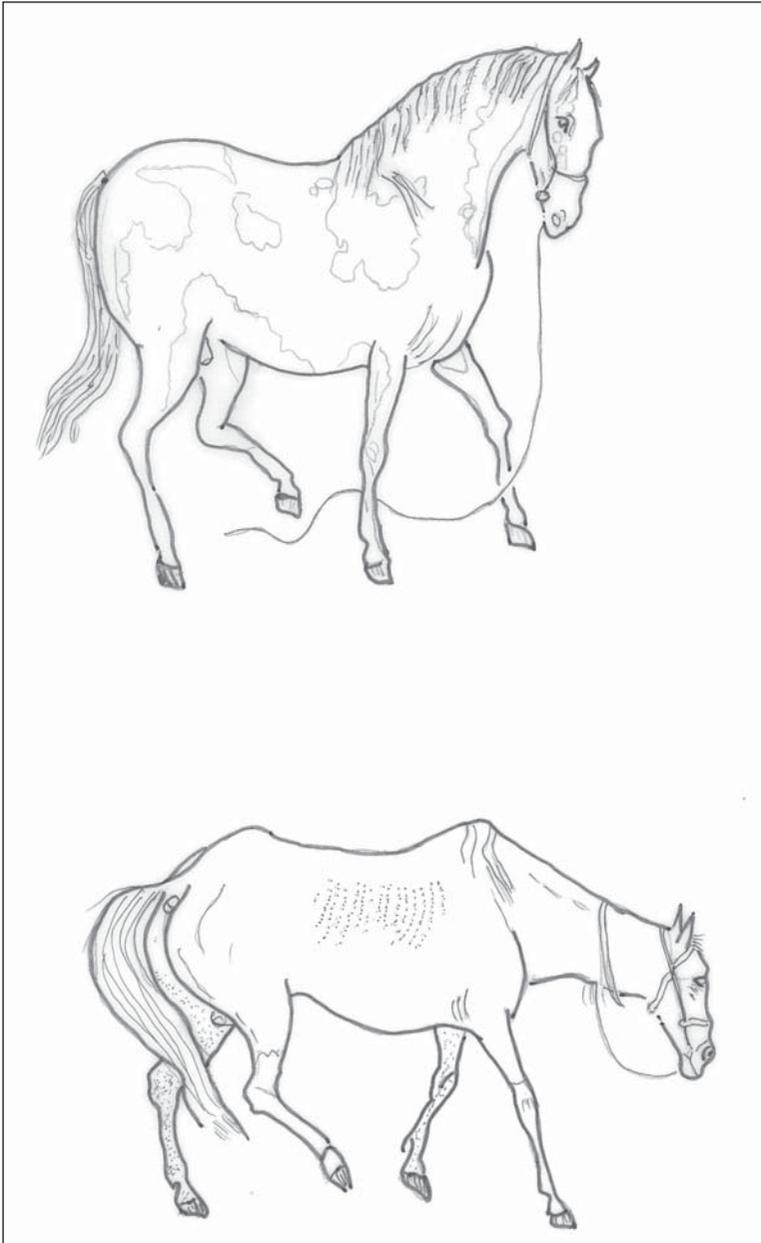


Fig. 1. Drawing after: Ren Renfa, Er Ma Tu [*A Painting of Two Horses*], 1280, ink and color on silk, 28.8 × 142.7 cm. The original is held in the Palace Museum, Beijing.

Conclusion

The developed imperial post system, the horse administration policy, and the interregional horse trade in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century China show that horses played a practical and key role in the contemporary economy. Consequently, horses also became an important form of social agency that both connected and separated people; in the courtly space, Mongol customs related to horses, including hunting, games, and food, emphasized the ancestral Mongol background of the court. In addition, their patronage of artworks such as scroll paintings of horses shows the Mongol court elites' appreciation and appropriation of Chinese horse culture. Images which followed existing patterns of horse symbolism were fabricated and interpreted with political concerns in mind in order to defend and support the legitimacy of the Yuan Dynasty.

In urban space, horses also played a similar role in forming and rejecting identities. The harassment and upheaval caused by the Yuan regime's post system and mandatory policy on the collection of horses led to the development of negative images of the Mongol rulers, together with their horses, among native Chinese urban residents. From a material point of view, prestigious horses distinguished different urban classes, while urban elites were also unified through a shared understanding of horse imagery. Court customs and urban culture surrounding the keeping and display of horses influenced each other, reflecting the atmosphere of interaction and acculturation that marked the Yuan period.

Horses still play an important role in today's society. On May 12, 2014, a special conference of the World Association of Ferghana Horses and the opening ceremony of the Chinese horse culture festival were hosted in Beijing. At that time, the Chinese president received the gift of an Akhal-Teke horse presented by his Turkmenistan counterpart. In February 2015, the Chinese president received two Mongol horses from the Mongolian president as a gift. Since those regions have always been closely connected through the horse trade and shared history, it is clear that horse imagery still has power even today, which makes further historical research in this field even more necessary. Studies of horse breeding in peripheral landscapes and detailed research on other kinds of animals exerting similar powerful social agency in medieval China are rich directions for research in the future.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE TWO SUCCESSION CRISES IN HUNGARY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Mišo Petrović 

The deaths of two kings ushered in two succession crises in the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary.¹ The death in 1290 of King Ladislas IV the Cuman, the penultimate ruler of the domestic Árpáadian dynasty, led to a 20-year-long crisis in which royal power was significantly contested. With three coronations, the Angevin pretender Charles Robert attempted and succeeded in claiming the throne by 1310. Charles' reign was long, but after the death of his equally successful son, King Louis I the Great in 1382, another crisis erupted. Two Angevin pretenders from a lesser branch of the Angevin family were crowned, both ultimately unsuccessful. Charles of Durazzo was crowned as Charles II of Hungary in 1385 but was soon assassinated, while his son, Ladislas of Naples, was crowned in 1403 but never managed to become the sole monarch of Hungary and later had to abandon his rights.

In many ways, the developments of the first succession crisis influenced the outcomes of the second. While the first crisis brought the dynasty of the Angevins to the throne of Hungary, the second crisis saw their disappearance. In both cases, the Apostolic See played a considerable role in the attempts by the Angevins to claim Hungary. The succession crises of Hungary were not separate from other developments in the fourteenth century, notably a conflict between the spiritual and secular powers, which saw the diminishing of papal authority and the development of the Western Schism that shook the basis of the hierarchy of the Church.

Although the role of the papacy in both crises was noted in contemporary medieval chronicles,² research comparing the role of the Church in these two periods in order to find similarities and differences is lacking. My goal is to look into the role played by the Church in the succession crises by examining the links that the Apostolic See created with the various players involved. How was the Apostolic See drawn to support the Angevins? How did the Church intervene

¹ This article is based on: Mišo Petrović, "Popes, Prelates, Pretenders: The Role of the High Clergy in the Fight for the Hungarian Throne during the Fourteenth Century" (MA thesis, Budapest: CEU, 2015).

² *Képes Krónika*, ed. Tamás Tarján and László Geréb (Budapest: Magyar Hírlap – Maecenas Kiadó, 1993), 112; János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, ed. János M. Bak (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 59.

and try to decide the outcome of the succession crises? What were the similarities and differences in the approach the Church took to both fights for the Hungarian throne? The first part of this article will look at the basis on which the relationship between the popes and the Angevins developed and was maintained during the crisis periods. Next, I will show what support the popes could offer the respective pretenders. Lastly, I will discuss the role of the local Church, represented by the prelates (mainly bishops and archbishops), in the crises and the relationship of the prelates with both the Angevin pretenders and the Apostolic See.

The Family and the Pope

The relationship between the Apostolic See and the Angevins was formed in 1265 when Charles I of Anjou was invested with the Kingdom of Sicily. This brought certain obligations and benefits to both sides. In most cases, the popes were keen supporters of the Angevins in their political struggles, namely, against rebellious Sicily.³ Rome often depended on Naples, however, as the Papal States were an unstable alliance of various city-states with varying degrees of relationship with the pope as the superior of the Papal States. Naples was important because of the financial, political, and military support it could offer the popes.

Although the alliance was legally safe with the pope being the superior and the Neapolitan king his vassal, the relationship had to be maintained by close contacts between the members of the ruling family and certain popes. Here I will concentrate on the prominent role played by the two ruling queens of the Angevins. Both Mary of Hungary (1257–1323) and Margaret of Durazzo (1347–1412) had considerable influence on the politics of Naples. Mary, wife of King Charles II, was instrumental in first transferring her rights to Hungary to her grandson, Charles Robert, and actively supporting Charles' campaign. Margaret acted as regent of Naples from September 1385, as her husband, Charles of Durazzo, went to claim Hungary and the queen had to face serious problems left in Naples by his death.

Queen Mary claimed the right to the throne of Hungary when her brother, Ladislas IV, was murdered in 1290.⁴ Although her husband, Charles II, maintained contacts with the rebellious oligarchs in Hungary, this yielded no results in the

³ As seen in Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁴ Enikő Csukovits, "Introduzione. La dinastia degli Angiò e l'Ungheria," in *L'Ungheria angioina*, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Rome: Istituto Balassi, Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2013), 9.

beginning, as Charles was more interested in Naples. It was Mary who served as a key link in attracting and obtaining the support from both the nobility in Hungary and the Apostolic See. Mary communicated with one of the most powerful Croatian oligarch families, the Šubići, who were interested in the ecclesiastical reform of the dioceses under their rule. Mary had what they needed: contact with Pope Boniface VIII. First, in 1297, Mary persuaded the pope to name her chaplain, Peter, archbishop of Split,⁵ the most important diocese under the rule of the Šubići, and second, in 1298, to establish the diocese of Šibenik, thus pacifying the conflicts among various Dalmatian cities under the Šubići counts.⁶ This strengthened the alliance between Pope Boniface VIII and the Angevins for claiming Hungary and brought strong supporters from within the kingdom firmly into the Angevin camp. As early as 1299 Mary and the Šubići were discussing the possibility of Charles Robert being sent to Dalmatia, which happened in 1300 when Charles landed in Split. In the following years Mary continued to support her grandson financially and by diplomatic means.⁷

Queen Margaret had a different story. She inherited problems following the death of her husband Charles of Durazzo in his failed attempt to seize the throne of Hungary in 1386. From the start Margaret was challenged by the strong barons, French pretenders, and Pope Urban VI. She also had to take care of her two underage children: Ladislav and Joanna. Although she attempted to reconcile with the pope, Urban refused any attempt; he had Charles of Durazzo and all his family excommunicated. Thanks to Margaret's resourcefulness, the Angevins were able to sustain their position in the Kingdom of Naples long enough for a change to occur on the papal throne. The new pope, Boniface IX, soon realized the necessity of an alliance with Naples, granting Ladislav the crown and legitimacy, as well as his full support by sending Legate Angelo as regent for the underage king. Although Ladislav still had to fight for a decade to defeat his opponents, Boniface's decision marked a turn in the tide as it meant that Ladislav had full papal backing. Despite the presence of the papal legate, it was Margaret

⁵ Tadija Smičiklas, ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 7 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti [JAZU]; Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti [HAZU], 1904–2002), 277–278, May 10 1297.

⁶ Damir Karbić, "Uloga bribirskih knezova u osnutku Šibenske biskupije" [The role of the counts of Bribir in establishing the bishopric of Šibenik], in *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije*, ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: GK "J. Šižgorić," 2001), 53–62.

⁷ Matthew J. Clear, "Maria of Hungary as Queen, Patron and Exemplar," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, ed. Janis Elliot and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 45–60.

who still held power and remained the main regent until 1393.⁸ She was also active in maintaining contacts with the rebels in Hungary by communicating with Bishop Paul of Zagreb and was constantly apprised of the situation in Hungary. Until 1393, she always co-signed the charters issued by her son, which meant that she was fully informed about the rebellion.⁹

Although the petitions by the rebellious Hungarian oligarchs went through the kings of Naples, the role the queens of Naples played in the Angevin attempts to claim the throne of Hungary should not be underestimated. The queens maintained contacts with the Apostolic See, and the action of both made it possible to acquire the full support of the popes for the young Angevin rulers.

The Pope and Outside Help

How did the Supreme Pontiff attempt to help the pretender obtain the throne? The opportunities and limits of the papacy can be viewed through the pontificates of Boniface VIII and Boniface IX. While both popes supported the Angevin claims to Hungary, the position of the Apostolic See as well as the international situation dictated that they behave differently once the pretender finally decided to sail from Naples and land in Croatia. On the news that their respective pretenders had reached the kingdom, Boniface VIII feigned ignorance while Boniface IX continued to actively support his Neapolitan pretender. Both popes recognized the need to obtain support from the rulers of Germany and counter the support that Germany could offer the opposing pretenders. The role of Germany was essential in both conflicts. Both Boniface VIII and Boniface IX attempted to legitimize the rulers of Germany in attempts to draw them to the Angevin camp.

King Albert of Germany was in conflict with Pope Boniface VIII because the pope did not recognize Albert as emperor. After 1296 Albert was in a marriage alliance with King Andrew III of Hungary and this fact could have led the pope to postpone the recognition of Albert. The pope's opposition led Albert to seek support after the death of Andrew. Albert did not oppose the expansion of the Přemyslids into Poland and Hungary as they were his chief supporters in Germany. The situation changed in 1303. First, on 30 April, the pope recognized

⁸ Alessandro Cutolo, *Re Ladislao D'Angio-Durazzo*, vol. 1 (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1969), 135.

⁹ Cutolo, *Re Ladislao I*, 148; Franjo Rački, ed., "Izvadci iz kraljevskoga osrednjega arkiva u Napulju za jugoslovensku poviest," [Charters from the royal archives in Naples relevant for Yugoslav history], *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 8 (1868): 28–42.

Albert as emperor¹⁰ and on 31 May the pope officially backed Charles Robert as the rightful king of Hungary. The moral authority of the pope, combined with granting the title of emperor, meant that Albert's position was reinforced in Germany, that the alliance with the Přemyslids was deemed unnecessary, and the alliance with Charles Robert and the papacy was the more desirable.

In 1400, Emperor Wenceslas IV of Germany, half-brother of King Sigismund of Hungary, was dethroned by a group of unsatisfied electors, who crowned Rupert, count of the Palatine, as king.¹¹ One of Wenceslas' opponents was also his brother, Sigismund of Hungary, who was aiming for a more influential role in Germany. In 1402, Sigismund imprisoned Wenceslas and had him proclaim Sigismund as the vicar general of the Holy Roman Empire.¹² Pope Boniface IX, who officially supported Ladislas' claim to the throne of Hungary, did not recognize Rupert until November 1403.¹³ The pope and Sigismund avoided any potential conflicts and solved Hungary's ecclesiastical problems to their mutual benefit. In 1402, however, Ladislas' troops invaded Dalmatia and in July 1403 Ladislas himself landed in Zadar. During that year, Boniface IX officially backed Ladislas by granting him tithes from the Church of Naples and appointing Cardinal Angelo to escort Ladislas to Hungary and make the changes necessary to force the Hungarian Church into accepting Ladislas.¹⁴ Boniface IX tried to avoid any potential conflicts with rulers within his obedience so as not to risk the loss of any political or financial support for Rome, yet, in 1403, Ladislas forced the papal hand and the pope set out to find allies to combat Sigismund.

Boniface VIII ruled a unified Christendom, while Boniface IX's reign was limited to those who kept obedience to Rome. This not only dictated the political and financial capabilities of the Apostolic See, but tapped directly into the moral power that Rome enjoyed. The Western Schism meant that Pope Boniface IX had to be careful when dealing with the secular rulers obedient to him. While the actions of Boniface VIII led directly to Albert switching sides and forming an alliance with Charles Robert, the actions of Boniface IX were more directed by forces he did not have the strength or opportunity to control. While Boniface

¹⁰ Renáta Skorka, "With a Little Help from the Cousins: Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (2013): 249.

¹¹ Andreas Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone: Rituale der Herrschererhebung im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*. Vol. 2. (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2012), 447–76.

¹² "Reichsvikar," in Jorg Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund, Herrscher and der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 108.

¹³ November 1, 1403, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 2. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1999), 417.

¹⁴ Cutolo, *Re Ladislao*, 250–58, April 23 1403; Arnold Esch, *Bonifaz IX. und der Kirchenstaat* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1969), 398.

VIII directed European politics, Boniface IX had to deal with his insecure position in Rome, threats coming from the antipope in Avignon, and the constant financial constraints of the papal curia. This meant that Boniface IX had to take sides openly in conflicts, which led to the weakening of the papal position in Christendom.

The support coming from Germany proved crucial for the success of Charles Robert. Albert received the necessary papal backing and the papal decision to support Charles Robert gave a moral pretext for Albert to break his alliance with the Přemyslids and turn against the Bohemians, which ended in failure instead of success. Even though the pope recognized Rupert, the conflict between Rupert, Ladislav, and Sigismund dragged on until 1409/10 as Rupert stayed the contested emperor until his death in 1410, while Ladislav decided to focus on Italy.

The Pope and the Prelates

During each succession crisis the Apostolic See and the prelates behaved differently. In the first crisis, opposition by the prelates caused the Apostolic See to adopt a more cautious approach by undermining the Hungarian Church's unified opposition of the Angevins. During the second crisis, the prelates often led the opposition successfully or supported royal power, while Rome was mostly disinterested or not involved.

The Apostolic See attempted to support an Angevin pretender favorable to Rome by controlling the clergy of Hungary and replacing its opponents with those loyal to Rome and Naples. The local Church, if united behind a certain pretender, would have been able to resist the pope's attempt. This is why the popes attempted to replace unfavorable prelates with those loyal to them by either waiting for the diocese to become vacant, declining to confirm a candidate elected by the cathedral chapter or transferring opposing prelates. Various circumstances that developed during both succession crises limited the popes to using certain methods and the level of opposition from local forces varied.

In a letter, Paul Šubić ban of Croatia informed Pope Boniface VIII that Croatia had been a papal fiefdom since the time of King Demetrius Zvonimir (r. 1075–1089). According to the letter, Zvonimir had received the crown from Pope Gregory VII in 1076, which meant that the pope had the power to confirm the legitimate king of Hungary. This view was shared by the whole of Hungary; in the words of Paul, "except the clergy and some others."¹⁵ The coalition of

¹⁵ *Paulus banus et Comes Breberiensis, Georgius item comes, ad Bonifacium VIII Romanum Pontificem, mittunt nuncios. Regna Dalmatiae et Croatiae eius esse a Zvonimiri Regis temporibus, ac Papa Gregorio*

the Hungarian prelates brought King Andrew III to the country from his native Venice and had him crowned. This coalition, led by archbishops Lodomer of Esztergom and John of Kalocsa, rejected papal intervention in 1290/91 when Legate John was sent by Pope Nicholas IV to investigate the situation in the kingdom and to work in favor of the Angevins.¹⁶

Thanks to the Šubići, who travelled constantly to Rome and Naples in the 1290s, Pope Boniface VIII was fully apprised of the situation in Hungary. The pope recognized that one way to support the Angevins was to obtain the support of the Hungarian Church. Boniface could refuse to recognize the prelates he did not appoint or wait for an opposing prelate to die and then try to control or appoint a prelate loyal to the papacy.

In 1297 Boniface rejected Archdeacon James of Split as the new archbishop of Split and instead appointed Peter, chaplain of Queen Mary of Naples. In 1298, following the death of Lodomer, the cathedral chapter of Esztergom elected Gregory of Bicske, the bishop of Győr and royal vice-chancellor, but some members of the chapter immediately contested his election. Despite the complaints, the pope did not remove Gregory, but appointed him procurator of the diocese with additional powers, which meant that Gregory became the archbishop in all but name. The reasons for the papal decision were soon visible as Gregory immediately became the strongest opponent of King Andrew III.¹⁷

The Apostolic See's control of the Church became easier when King Andrew and Archbishop John of Kalocsa died in 1301. The pope sent Legate Niccolò Bocassini to investigate the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary and attract support for Charles Robert. Among other prelates, Niccolò was probably able to attract the support of Bishop Michael of Zagreb, a key supporter of Andrew. Before he died, Archbishop John of Kalocsa had crowned the pretender from the Přemyslid dynasty, Wenceslas of Bohemia, as king. This further complicated

VII Hungariae item, ob coronam D. Stephano missam, ac per eum sedi Apostolicae oblatum Regnum. Quare nec alium, horum Regnorum legitimum regem esse posse, nisi qui a Romano Pontifice inauguretur. Nunciant totius Hungariae hunc sensum esse, clero solum excepto, ac quibusdam exiguis. Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke* [History of the Church of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1994), 114.

¹⁶ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 110; Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioni di Napoli in Ungheria* (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1938), 82–4.

¹⁷ Šandor Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anževinaca za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko do prve krunidbe Karla Roberta* [The Angevin struggle for the throne of Hungary-Croatia until the first coronation of Charles Robert] (Zagreb: C. Albrechta, 1893), 31–2, 34–5; see also Skorka, “With a Little Help,” 243–44.

things as Charles Robert's opposition in the kingdom was backed by some of the clergy. With the death of John and the papal appointment of Stephen as the new archbishop, Rome controlled all three archbishoprics in the kingdom: Esztergom, Kalocsa, and Split. This meant that it became easier to obtain the full support of the Hungarian Church for Charles Robert.

These newly appointed prelates were expected to work in favor of Charles Robert. Gregory of Esztergom was active in opposing King Andrew from the start of his term. In May, 1303, the pope officially recognized Charles Robert as king and released everyone from their oaths to Wenceslas. From that point on most of the Hungarian prelates switched to the Angevin side. Gregory, archbishop of Esztergom, stayed in Rome because he was unpopular in Hungary. Most of the pro-Angevin work was done by two people probably perceived as the most influential members of the clergy in Hungary. Michael, the new archbishop of Esztergom, had been a supporter of the late King Andrew and his support for Charles carried a great deal of weight; Stephen was the archbishop of the second most important diocese in the kingdom. Michael and Stephen delivered the papal decision their to suffragans in the kingdom.¹⁸ Following the papal proclamation, Peter of Split, through the threat excommunication, forced the councils of the Dalmatian cities to officially accept Charles.¹⁹

The situation in the succession crisis of 1382 to 1409 was slightly different. Bishop Paul of Zagreb was the first to stand up in favor of Charles of Durazzo, the Angevin pretender from Naples. Paul led his family, the Horvati, to resist Queen Mary and even invited Charles to come to Hungary, which the king accepted. This was all happening in the period when conflict erupted between Pope Urban VI and Charles of Durazzo. Although on good terms at first, after Urban invested Charles with Naples the two came into conflict. Even though Charles had initially secured his throne by defeating Urban, the pope excommunicated Charles and his entire family.²⁰

This is why the papacy did not intervene in any way in the rebellion in the Kingdom of Hungary during the rule of Pope Urban. The prelates played a key role in fermenting the revolt against Queen Mary. If one can believe the words of the chronicle, it was Bishop Paul who persuaded Charles to come to Hungary. In a speech, Paul stressed that Charles was the legitimate ruler, it was his blood right

¹⁸ CDC VIII, 49–50, June 11, 1303.

¹⁹ CDC VIII, 60–2, August 22, 1303.

²⁰ István Petrovics, "Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages: Power Aspirations and Dynastic Contacts of the Arpadian and Angevin Kings in the Adriatic Region," *Chronica* 5 (2005): 71–72.

to succeed to the throne, and that Charles could not trust Pope Urban VI as the popes only sought their own gain.²¹

Paul, who Queen Mary viewed as the leader of the opposition, appears to have been the key person in the rebellion.²² Even after Charles' death, Paul often travelled to Naples to report on the development of the revolt in Croatia as well as to receive fresh orders. He tried to persuade Queen Margaret that she should abandon Naples in favor of Hungary, where support for Ladislas' rule was higher. His mission almost succeeded, but was thwarted by the rebellious Neapolitan barons, supporters of Duke Louis II, and Venice, at the time allies of King Sigismund, Queen Mary's husband.²³ Soon Urban died, and the new pope, Boniface IX, changed the papal policy toward the Angevins, making their rule in Naples more secure.

Paul's rebellion led to a phenomenon characteristic in Hungary in the period of the second succession crisis, but completely unknown in the first: The appearance of "contested prelates." The secular rulers tried to control the diocese directly by influencing the election of the new prelate or opposed the current prelate by having a person loyal to the ruler appointed as prelate. The Western Schism made this possible; the popes did not want unnecessary conflict with the king and, also, every appointment brought gold to the Roman curia. After Paul's rebellion, the Hungarian rulers were careful to choose whom they would appoint to the diocese of Zagreb and the pope confirmed the royal nominees. It also meant that deposed bishops could refuse the decision by the king and by the pope, as Paul continued to style himself the bishop of Zagreb even though he was deposed in 1386 and another prelate (John Smilo) was appointed instead.

Even with the change in Rome when Boniface IX replaced Urban VI and an alliance was formed with Ladislas, the Apostolic See remained out of the conflict in Hungary. The rebellion, led by a coalition of barons and prelates, often reignited despite being quelled by Sigismund several times. Prelates played a certain role in the succession crisis, but until 1403 the rebellions were not carried out in collusion with Rome.

²¹ For Paul's speech see Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke*, 166–167.

²² Mary's biographer, Lorenzo, described the bishop of Zagreb as the "head of all evil." Ilona Ferenczi, "Poetry of Politics: Queen Mary of Hungary in Lorenzo Monaci's *Carmen* (1387)," MA thesis (Budapest: CEU, 2008), 35.

²³ Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Charters about relationship between South Slavs and the Venetian Republic], vol. 4 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1874): 261–262, 10 February 1389.

Yet Rome was certainly informed about the situation in the kingdom as persecuted prelates found shelter there. Sigismund exiled Archbishop Peter Matafaris of Zadar in 1397.²⁴ He was soon followed by John III of Zagreb, who the king forced to resign following the conflict with the diocese of Zagreb. Although it has been assumed that John participated in a rebellion that was brewing in the kingdom in that year, it is difficult to prove. Like Peter, John found shelter with Pope Boniface IX and the pope later had John installed as the archbishop of Kalocsa. It is not likely that Sigismund would have accepted the appointment of a person who had already rebelled against the king to the second most important church position in the kingdom.²⁵

The true test came in 1403 when Boniface IX was forced to support Ladislav openly by intervening in the Hungarian Church. Legate Angelo tried to implement the old papal tactics of moving undesirable prelates out of the way by transferring them or replacing them with prelates loyal to Rome. The archbishop of Kalocsa, John, was again named bishop of Zagreb in an attempt to oust the strongest supporter of King Sigismund, Bishop Eberhard of Alben.²⁶ Due to the resistance of King Sigismund and his prelates, this tactic failed and did not significantly help Ladislav. Sigismund proclaimed a royal decree, the so-called *placetum regium*, limiting the influence of Rome in the kingdom. Sigismund ousted most of the prelates disloyal to him, while Eberhard, who had remained faithful to Sigismund during the problematic period of 1403, created a list of rebels that the king used to reward and punish the nobility.²⁷

Conclusion

Because of the help by the Apostolic See, Charles Robert was successful. Despite having the backing of the Holy See, Ladislav of Naples failed. The success of first pretender and failure of the second depended on their connections with the Holy See and papal help.

²⁴ Mladen Ančić, “Od tradicije “sedam pobuna” do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika: Razvojna putanja Zadra u prve desetljeću 15. stoljeća [From the tradition of the “seven rebellions” to voluntary Venetian subjects: The development of Zadar in the first decade of the fifteenth century],” *Povijesni prilozi* 37 (2009): 51.

²⁵ Petrović, “Popes, Prelates, Pretenders,” 103.

²⁶ Ferdo Šišić, ed., “Nekoliko isprava s početka 15. stoljeća [Several charters from the beginning of the fifteenth century],” *Starine* 39 (1938): 209–211, June 24 1403.

²⁷ Andrija Lukinović, ed., *Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije: 1395–1420* [Historical monuments of the bishopric of Zagreb], vol. 5 (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost: Arhiv Hrvatske, 1992), 286–288, June 19 1406.

Queens Mary and Margaret maintained close contacts with the popes. Mary helped secure the support of both the Šubići and Pope Boniface VIII. Mary enabled her grandson Charles Robert to obtain the invitation to legitimize his attempt to claim Hungary, while Margaret helped Ladislav receive official recognition by the pope. Margaret's resistance to Pope Urban VI led her ultimately to be victorious and preserve the throne for her son, Ladislav of Naples. The queen outlived Urban and saw a change on the papal throne as the newly elected Boniface IX immediately backed Ladislav and helped him strengthen his rule over Naples.

The position of the popes in Christendom dictated the relationships that Boniface VIII and Boniface IX developed with the Angevins. Boniface VIII's behavior derived from his belief in the superiority of spiritual over secular power, with the pope as judge over all rulers; Boniface IX was in a difficult political and financial situation. Boniface VIII ruled over a unified Christendom and his actions were deliberate and gradual. In the period of Boniface IX the Church was dominated by the Western Schism, the moral power of the popes suffered and this also reflected on the prelates. The behavior of Boniface IX was a result of the Western Schism, the threat by the anti-pope from Avignon, and the fact that he only had a few supporters.

The popes tried to attract international support, namely, from Germany, Hungary's neighbor. Both Boniface VIII and Boniface IX approached German rulers. The popes withheld support for the elected German kings, Boniface VIII for Albert and Boniface IX for Rupert, until the time came to try to obtain help for the Angevin pretenders, in which cases the papal recognition of the German kings as rulers was closely connected with the pretenders' attacks on Hungary. Albert's assistance proved to be invaluable as he helped Charles Robert push back the Přemyslids, but Rupert's help was limited as he was restricted by combating the opposition in Germany. Albert ruled a unified kingdom; when Rupert's rule was opposed by the deposed king, Wenceslas, and his supporters in the kingdom, it limited Rupert's support for the Angevins.

The true test of the papal-Angevin alliance came when the pretenders sailed to Dalmatia to claim the throne. Boniface VIII advised caution and did not back Charles Robert officially, but summoned a hearing in which he proclaimed Charles Robert as king. Boniface IX put aside the pretext of legal action and sided openly with Ladislav, even going as far as granting the king the tithes of the Church and sending a legate to accompany Ladislav, thus showing that the Holy See backed Ladislav politically, financially, and in religious matters.

The close proximity of the Hungarian high clergy to the royal power led the key prelates of the kingdom to work actively in favor of their candidates and

openly resist influences from Rome. In both crises, the important prelates came from Zagreb, which lay in a strategic position connecting Croatia with Hungary and thus was a transit point between Naples and the throne of Hungary. Prelates were often appointed on the ruler's recommendation and the links they had with the royal power were stronger than with Rome as the rulers reinforced their links through granting privileges, lands, and positions in the kingdom.

Pope Boniface VIII recognized the potential resistance from the prelates and carefully avoided negative reactions from Hungary. The pope targeted vacant dioceses or those where the prelates were newly elected and needed his confirmation. These prelates needed legitimacy and depended fully on Rome. This is where Boniface IX made a mistake. He targeted already confirmed prelates, mostly those he had personally recognized earlier. Both Boniface VIII and Boniface IX had legal backing for their decisions, but Boniface IX did not have the support of the prelates, who could view the papal decisions as unjust. Boniface VIII avoided resistance from the prelates by seizing the opportunity and removing the prelates gradually. Boniface IX took no such move until he was forced to do it by Ladislas' landing in Zadar in 1403. Hence, the reasons behind the success of the first pretender to the Hungarian throne and the failure of the second can be seen fully by contrasting the actions of Boniface VIII and Boniface IX.

ANGELS AND DEMONS: VISUALIZING THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL BETWEEN ANGELS AND DEMONS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ART

Krisztina Ilkó 

A peculiar fourteenth-century wall painting (*Fig. 1*) in the St. James church in Želiezovce in Slovakia shows the combat between heavenly and hellish powers for the soul of a local landlord and illustrious knight, György Becsei. I contend that this wall painting is an early example of the so-called *Scala Salutis* iconographical type, which earlier scholars did not yet contextualize as an independent picture type.¹

The scene takes place as some sort of trial, narrated on text bands in rhythmical Latin inscriptions. On the right side, the red, winged devil demands the soul of György, who can be seen at the bottom as a lonely, vulnerable figure lying on his deathbed, saying: “I know that this soul is full of sins, like Nineveh.”² However, the red-winged and red-dressed angel in the left corner stands up against the devil, riposting that “this one, even if he has sinned, in the pressure of death asked for help.”³ Eventually the Virgin Mary comes to the aid of the knight and asks for help from her son.⁴ Christ transmits her supplication and calls for the mercy of the Father.⁵ At the top of the picture, the long-bearded, grey-haired God the Father, sitting in a mandorla, magnanimously grants mercy to György’s troubled soul.⁶ In the upper right corner, another angel looks out from the clouds, testifying to God’s decision: “The keeper of virtues (grace) absolves the sins.”⁷ An enigmatic monastic saint is also represented in the composition, also supporting the intercession of the Virgin and Christ.⁸

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis: Krisztina Ilkó, “Salvation in Angevin Hungary: The Iconography of the *Scala Salutis* on the Fourteenth-Century Wall Painting of Želiezovce” (Central European University, MA thesis, 2015). I would like to express my gratitude for the help and guidance of my supervisors, Gábor Klaniczay, Béla Zsolt Szakács, Marianne Sággy (CEU), and Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck (Bonn).

² *Hanc animam peccato quam Ninive plenam nosco.*

³ *Hic si peccavit nece pressa opem rogavit.*

⁴ *Hanc que succisisti fili veniam precor isti.*

⁵ *Vulnera cerne pater fac quod rogitat mea mater.*

⁶ *Nasci petito dabo quae vis nulla tibi negabo.*

⁷ *Fomea virtutum vicis facit esse solutum.*

⁸ *Aspice peccator, ubi filius est mediator.* Another inscription below (*Pro patre margarita filia in honorem patris*) also gives information about the order and donor of the wall painting: “On behalf of her father, his daughter Margit [made it], in honor of her father.”



Fig. 1. *Scala Salutis*, c. 1388, wall painting, Želiezovce, St James Church.

Photo by the author.

At least sixteen illuminations, wall paintings, and glass windows from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century demonstrate the existence of this iconographical type, all showing – with minor variations – the same persons and the same inscriptions. The core of the picture is essentially built on the dual intercession of the Virgin Mary and Christ before God the Father for the soul of

the dying person. I argue that this wall painting was an early example of the so-called *Scala Salutis* iconographical type. Previous scholarship has been concerned with the iconography of the mural; the topic has rarely been contextualized as an independent iconographical type.⁹

The initiators of the tangle are the devil and an angel whose quarrel requires the intercession of God to solve. In this study I intend to show the discordance of these minor but indubitably essential characters. This can lead to understanding their function more precisely and their significance in the *Scala Salutis* representations. How were these supernatural entities represented and what was their rhetorical purpose in a picture?¹⁰ More importantly, however, this depiction also reveals an intriguing segment of late medieval religious imagery and the depiction of the *Ars moriendi*. How did people in the fourteenth and fifteenth century imagine what would happen to their souls after they died? These images are testimonies of private devotion. The soul of a saint always had direct entrance to heaven, which was typically depicted as elevation by angels or being taken to the Bosom of Abraham. In the illumination of the Book of Hours of Jean d'Evreux the soul of St. Louis is being lifted to paradise in a veil held up by two winged angels.¹¹ Even though the devil is sometimes shown still trying to tempt the saint in his last hours, as in the case of Martin of Tours, after the death of the saint the devil loses his power.¹² The combat of angels and demons for a soul tells a personal story full of fear and uncertainty that brings modern viewers closer to understanding the religious imagery presented to the sinful common people of the medieval world.

⁹ The two most significant previous publications on the iconography of the wall painting in Želiezovce, with additional references, are: János Vég, "The Particular Judgement of a Courtier: A Hungarian Fresco of a Rare Iconographical Type," *Arte Cristiana* 74 (1986):303–314; and Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei: Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: VDG, 2002), 137–143.

¹⁰ For other approaches on these topics see Gerhard Jaritz, ed. *Angels, Devils: The Supernatural and its Visual Representations*, CEU Medievalia 15 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011), 17–28.

¹¹ The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, illustrated by Jean Pucelle c. 1324–1328, prov. France (Paris) (New York, The Cloisters), 54.1.2.

¹² When Martin, waiting for his death, remained alone, the devil himself appeared to tempt him unsuccessfully on his deathbed. Sulpicius Severus, «Epistola III,» PL 20 182–183.

Particular Judgment

The scene that I explore here lies between two certain points of medieval devotional imagery: Death and the Last Judgment at the time of the second coming of Christ. These happenings were not just assumed, but were also clarified dogmatically.¹³ A similar certainty, however, was not assured about what should happen *between* death and the Last Judgment until the fourteenth century.

The starting point of this confusion was that it is not clear from the Bible when souls will be judged. The Bible says that everything will depend on the Last Judgment, which will happen at the second coming of Christ.¹⁴ At another point, however, the Holy Scripture claims that souls are judged immediately and individually at the moment of death.¹⁵ While the church fathers had been concerned with this question, the topic received extensive attention only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by such great scholastic theologians as Peter Abelard (1079–1142), Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1141), Richard of St. Victor (c. 1000–1162), and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).¹⁶ This confusion merged into the *Visio beatifica* debate, in which Pope John XXII (1316–1334) initiated a public debate about the possibility of judgment immediately at the moment of death.¹⁷ A positive opinion on this question was confirmed by the *Benedictus Deus* bull of his successor, Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342), on 29 January 1336.¹⁸ These dogmatic changes and debates were not only presented in contemporary

¹³ For this reason the representations of the Last Judgment appeared significantly earlier and became a far more popular artistic topic than particular judgments. Beat Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends: Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1966).

¹⁴ Matthew 25; Revelation 20.

¹⁵ Luke 16:19–31 and 23:43.

¹⁶ Jérôme Baschet, *Les justices de l'au-delà: Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie, XIIe–XVe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1993), 159–203. This process went on parallel to changes in beliefs about the afterlife, namely, the emergence of the idea of purgatory. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1984), 130–236.

¹⁷ Pope John XXII in fact believed that the *visio beatifica* is not possible even for saints until the day of the Last Judgment. However, his difficult political situation with numerous opponents indeed supported the popularity of his counter-opinion, which was later confirmed by his successor. Louis Duval-Arnauld, “John XXII,” ed. Philippe Levillain, *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 850.

¹⁸ John Gwyn Griffiths, *Divine Verdict: A Study of Divine Judgement in the Ancient Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 110. For more in detail on Benedict's ideas see Friedrich Wetter, *Die Lehre Benedikts XII: Vom intensiven Wachstum der Gottesschau* (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1958).

theological writings and devotional literature, but can also be seen in parallel changes in religious imagery. The historical aspect of the *visio beatifica* debate is far better researched than its possible impact on *Ars moriendi* iconography, as has been demonstrated in monographs such as that by Christian Trottmann.¹⁹ Parallel to this debate the depictions of particular judgments became popular. These pictures – in contrast to the mass retribution of the Last Judgments – show the death and judgment of an individual in the moment, or shortly after, his departure. The research on these scenes has often been marginalized in the scholarship alongside the grand visions of the *Ars moriendi*, the *Danse Macabre*, the Last Judgment and the depictions of heaven, hell, and purgatory which traditionally dominate art historical literature on the representations of death. The particular judgments are not even mentioned in such important summary works on medieval death as the monographs by Thomas S. R. Boase and Paul Binski.²⁰ Case studies, such as those by Jérôme Baschet on the impact of the *visio beatifica* on representations of paradise and Virginia Brilliant on particular judgments in Italian art, or the catalogue of pictures of hell, heaven, and purgatory edited by Peter Jezler have already shown the great potential in this field.²¹

The confirmation of the possibility of judgment at the moment of death created the opportunity for various visual representations of the scene. As I see it, one of the earliest types was the *Scala Salutis*, in which the devil, angels, and saints debate theatrically for the soul of the dying person.²² A similar version can be seen in the characteristic woodcut illustrations for the *Ars Moriendi* of Jean Gerson, which survived in numerous different versions because of its great popularity, but always represents the same basic type: Angels and demons each demand the soul

¹⁹ Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique: Des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995).

²⁰ Thomas S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgment and Remembrance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 2001).

²¹ The most detailed research on the topic is Virginia Brilliant's PhD dissertation, which formed the basis for an article: Virginia Brilliant, "Envisaging the Particular Judgment in Late-Medieval Italy," *Speculum* 84, no. 2 (2009): 314–46. Baschet also considered this topic and his contribution offers the most detailed research until now for the French material: Jérôme Baschet, "Vision béatifique et représentations du paradis (XIe–XVe siècle)" *Micrologus* 6 (1998): 73–93, but also: Baschet, *Les justices de l'au-delà*, 159–203; Baschet, "Une image à deux temps. Jugement Dernier et jugement des âmes au Moyen Âge," *Images Re-vues. Histoire, anthropologie et théorie de l'art*, hors-série 1 (June 1, 2008). <http://imagesrevues.revues.org/878>; Peter Jezler, ed. *Himmel Hölle Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1994), in general, but particularly 154–156.

²² Ilkó, "Salvation in Angevin Hungary," 34–53.

but do not fight for it physically.²³ Another popular particular judgment image was Michael the archangel measuring the souls.²⁴ This is probably the closest parallel to the picture of the fighting angels and demons. Michael is often interrupted by the devil or demons in these scenes as they try to pull down the basket of the scale and seize the innocent souls. In the sophisticated illumination of a fourteenth-century French *De Civitate Dei* manuscript in the National Library in Paris, in addition to Michael other angels and demons are present who take part in the judgment.²⁵ This image emerged in Romanesque art – originally separate from the Last Judgment – and remained popular in late medieval imagery, as the Paris manuscript also attests.²⁶ Moreover, this scene is present in a wide variety of different media (murals, reliefs, and illuminations), which signifies that this image was a highly popularized version of the fight of the angel and demons. Another type of particular judgment is – which I focus on in this study – when the angels and demons are physically struggling with each other in order to catch the soul of the deceased.²⁷

These scenes existed in tandem in late medieval devotional art. However, there are certain trends in their spread and peak of popularity and they also differed slightly in their intended audience and meaning. The question that I raise here is how can the *Scala Salutis* scenes fit into the larger group of particular judgments and how can the combat of the angels and demons for the mortal soul be characterized?

²³ The *Ars Moriendi* by Jean Gerson became the most popular work of its genre in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. It is preserved in more than 234 manuscripts, many illustrated with eleven woodcuts. In these, the dying man is presented on his deathbed, surrounded – among others – by angels and demons; e.g., Jean Gerson, *Ars moriendi* (France, late 15th century), Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 0089, fol. 066. For an introduction to the numerous late medieval versions of the text see Roger Chartier, “Les arts de mourir: 1450–1600,” *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 31, no.1 (1976): 51–75.

²⁴ Géza Jászai, “Michael Erzengel,” ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome: Herder, 1971), 271.

²⁵ Saint Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*, French trans. Raoul de Presles (livre XI–XXII), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, MS Français 22913, fol. 370r.

²⁶ Phillips Perry, “On the Psychostasis in Christian Art,” *Burlington Magazine* 22, no. 11 (1912): 94–105, 208–18.

²⁷ There is no traditional name for this group in the historiography, but Brilliant recently referred to it as the struggle between angels and devils for the possession of a soul, Brilliant, “Envisaging the Particular Judgment in Late-Medieval Italy,” 324–328.

Representations of the Battle of Angels and Demons for the Soul

The battle of angels and devils for the soul of a dying human was a popular component of Last Judgment pictures in the High Middle Ages.²⁸ These images were one of the most popular medieval iconographic topics and were widespread all over Europe. A depiction closely related to these is the *Triumph of Death*, the most grandiose, terrifying example of which is the monumental wall painting of the Camposanto in Pisa, attributed to Buffalmacco in the 1330s, where small fragile soul-persons are seemingly helplessly changing hands between flying angels and demons in the air.²⁹ In contrast to these monumental compositions – with a great number of persons and happenings even in the manuscript illumination versions – the St. James of Želiezovce picture is focused on the fate of only one human soul.

This sort of individual judgment also goes back to an older tradition. One of the earliest depictions can be found in the illustration of the *Scivias*, the collection of the mystical visions of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), which was decorated with splendid illuminations around 1151–1152.³⁰ One of these miniatures shows how the soul, in the form of a small nude figure of a woman, leaves her body and is immediately seized from each side by an angel and a demon. This is a representation *par excellence* of the image; I argue that it took form as a characteristic picture type only in late medieval French art. Most of the surviving images originated in the fifteenth century and were painted by French artists and survive only in illuminations of elaborately decorated costly books of hours, which connects them with elite social circles. The brief flourishing and peak of these images in the fifteenth century can be paralleled perfectly with the rise of the *visio beatifica* idea. This age also saw the peak of the popularity of *Ars moriendi* images.

Some of the finest examples are also extended with inscriptions on banderols which help contextualize these scenes. The illumination of the Rohan Hours (Fig. 2), made for Yolande de Anjou around 1415–1425, reveals a spectacular

²⁸ It is also worth drawing attention to a rather individualized, or rather “dualized,” version of the same elements of the Last Judgments in the case of Archangel Michael defeating Lucifer, e.g., illumination of a Book of Hours, Michael Defeating Lucifer, c.1480–85, prov. Bruges, British Library, MS Egerton 2045, fol. 254v.

²⁹ About the particular judgment connections of the painting see Christine Maria Boeckl, “The Pisan Triumph of Death and the Papal Constitution Benedictus Deus,” *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1997): 55–61.

³⁰ The critical edition is Adelgundis Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris, ed. *Hildegardis Scivias* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978).



Fig. 2. Book of Hours ('The Roban Hours'), illustrated by the Roban Master, c. 1415–1425, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 9471, fol. 159r.
© Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale

echo of medieval theatre with a gripping dialogue in the banderols.³¹ The dying man, lying on a shroud on the ground, asks in Latin for help from God in fear of the devils: “Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. You have redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth.”³² God responds in French: “Do penance for thy sins, and thou shalt be with me at the judgment.”³³ An angel in red armor with a sword in his hands is flying to the aid of soul, which had already been seized by the brown, winged demon. The judgment aspect of the scene is enhanced by the broadsword held by the Father. The petitioner is painted as already dead, emphasized by the thin, emaciated visualisation of the stiff corpse, which lies by bare skulls and bones. This haunted landscape is a powerful but rare feature of these scenes.

The most evident solution for categorizing these images is to divide them by the individualization, or the lack of it, in the case of the angel. The illumination of the Rohan Hours has some close analogies; only one angel wears armor and holds a sword. These attributes also suggest that this individualized figure can possibly be identified as Archangel Michael, but I have to emphasize that in most cases the identification is not simple due to the lack of sufficient written sources which would clarify it. In the illumination of the Book of Hours of Catherine de Clèves (*Fig. 8*), painted around 1440, the angel is also represented wearing superb golden armor with elegant clothes.³⁴ Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers calls this figure the guardian angel of the deceased person, but I would argue that he could also represent Michael, or just a general angelic figure whose primary function in these images was to fight against the dark powers. Hence the soldier attributes do not necessarily refer to one single personification.³⁵ He and the winged demon are enclosed in a unique element of the picture: the Book of Deeds, an open codex, probably an account book, which lists his sins and his mortal reckonings.³⁶ The

³¹ Book of Hours (“The Rohan Hours”), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Latin 9471, fol. 159r; Boespflug, *Dieu et ses images*, 228–231.

³² *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me Domine, Deus veritatis*, Reference to John 6:30. English translation from Thomas S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages*, 119.

³³ “Pour tes péchés pénitence feras. Au jour du Jugement avecque moi seras.” English translation: *ibidem*.

³⁴ The Book of Hours of Catherine de Clèves, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 917, fol. 206v. Rob Dücker and Ruud Priem, ed. *The World of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons, and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Ludion, 2009).

³⁵ Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers, *From the Hand of the Master: The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2009), 8.

³⁶ V. A. Kolve, *Telling Images: Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 83.



Fig. 3. Book of Hours, c. 1425–1475, prov. Eastern France, New Zealand, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, MSR-02, fol. 128v. © Courtesy of the A. Turnbull Library.

purpose of this attribute is more clearly explained by the illumination in Anne Boleyn's Book of Hours from the turn of the fifteenth century; here the demon holds a long roll which is filled with a list that he recites.³⁷ The illumination of

³⁷ Anne Boleyn's Book of Hours, prov. Bruges, c. 1500, London, British Library, Kings MS 9, fol. 212v. This illumination is a close parallel to both the Rohan Hours and the Hours of Catherine of Clèves; besides the devil with the scroll, it also depicts an angel with a sword and shield, and the Father is represented in the upper part of the picture, just as in the case of the Rohan Hours. The decoration of Anne Boleyn's Book of Hours has been attributed to both Dutch and French artists and it is likely that it was created in England. Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985), 79; Susan Doran, ed. *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London: British Library, 2009), 117.



Fig. 4. Book of Hours, c. 1450, prov. France, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 G 5, fol. 134r. © Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

Catherine de Clèves's Book of Hours also displays the common contemporary funerary habit of the corpse being buried in a shroud – with the coffin used only for transporting the corpse to the cemetery or church.

The image in a book of hours from the mid-fifteenth century in the collection of the National Library of New Zealand offers an even more focused dynamic close-up of the combat scene (*Fig. 3*).³⁸ In the middle of the composition the military angel strikes down the devil with a long staff with a cross on the top. The demon is standing on two corpses, but their souls are saved; the soul – which is represented as a nude figure – is entering heaven; at this moment only his hips and legs are visible but they will soon disappear entirely into the clouds. The long cross reappears in a similar illumination (*Fig. 4*) in another French manuscript

³⁸ Book of Hours, c. 1425–1475, prov. Eastern France, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MSR-02, fol. 128v.

from around 1450.³⁹ In this case, battle for the soul takes place during the funeral in a graveyard by a church. Behind the priest, monks in black habits can be seen, which suggests monastic connotations for the dead man, who is lying nude on the ground. This feature clearly emphasized the message that in the eyes of death everyone was equal, even men of the clergy.

In the second group of the images, the angels are somewhat less individualized, but this does not mean less variety and spectacle. The example *par excellence* is the illumination of the Dunois Hours (*Fig. 5*), illustrated after 1436.⁴⁰ First, the stiff corpse, who is lying in the graveyard, asks the help of God: “The sorrows of death surrounded me, the sorrow of hell encompassed me. Who trusts in the Lord, mercy shall encompass him.”⁴¹ However, the red-horned, winged devil seizes the leg of the little soul-figure, saying: “He was sinful.”⁴² Three angels come to the aid of the sinful mortal. One of them claims the right of judgment for God: “Let the Lord judge him to be righteous or sinful.”⁴³ The other claims his benefactions: “He did penance and gave alms.”⁴⁴ These inscriptions thus list the two main features of the particular judgments: they claim the decision for the Lord and they emphasize the importance of benefactions for the outcome of this judgment. It cannot be a coincidence that *de facto* the same characteristics appear in the *Scala Salutis* images in the wall painting of the St Jacob church in Želiezovce. Despite the claim of the devil about the sins of the dying knight, György Becsei, the angels and saints declare that the Father should have mercy on him and that “the keeper of virtues (grace) absolves the sins.”⁴⁵ These text references, in my opinion, reflect the strong connection between the different variations of particular judgments.

³⁹ Book of Hours, c. 1450, prov. France, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 G 5, fol. 134r. For further bibliography, provenance, and dates, see Edith Brayer, *Catalogue of French-language Medieval Manuscripts in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek [Royal Library of the Netherlands] and Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum, The Hague* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 30.

⁴⁰ The Book of Hours of Jean de Dunois (The Dunois Hours), prov. France, Central (Paris), c. 1440–c. 1450 (after 1436), London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 3, fol. 201v. François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 23, 36, 37.

⁴¹ *Circumdedereunt me dolores mortis et pericla inferni inuenerunt me. Sperantem in domino misericordia circumdabit.* The first sentence is a citation from the Holy Scripture: Ps. 17:2.

⁴² *Lubricus fuit.*

⁴³ *Sinite illam iustum et impium iudicabit dominus.*

⁴⁴ *Penituit et elemosinam dedit.*

⁴⁵ *Fomea virtutum vicii facit esse solutum.*



Fig. 6. Lady Margaret Beaufort's Book of Hours, c. 1440–1445, prov. France, Cambridge, St John's College, MS N.24, fol.119r. © By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

The Dunois Hours can also help to reconstruct other manuscripts. The illumination (*Fig. 6*) of Lady Margaret Beaufort's Book of Hours from around 1440–1445 also bears banderols, but without inscriptions.⁴⁶ I would argue that it is probable that the creators originally had similar ideas in mind when composing the image. In this case the deceased is presented in three forms: He faces death while still alive, his corpse is depicted in a coffin, and his soul is flying in the direction of heaven while two demons and angels are trying to catch it. In this case the number of banderols depicted in the illumination suggest an especially complex iconographical program. However, many such pictures were complete without inscriptions. Therefore these conceptions were well-known enough that the single picture of the combat of an angel and a demon for the soul leaving the corpse through the mouth was enough to remind the viewer of its symbolic context. This can be seen in the simplified representation in a French prayer book

⁴⁶ Lady Margaret Beaufort's Book of Hours, c. 1440–1445, prov. France, Cambridge, St John's College, MS N.24, fol.119r. No inscriptions are preserved in the text banderoles, besides being a deliberate omission, it is also possible that they were never finished.

from the middle of the fifteenth century and another manuscript from Utrecht from around 1480.⁴⁷



Fig. 7. *Book of Hours*, illustrated by the Chief Associate of Maître François, c. 1475–1499, prov. France (Paris), New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, BP.096, fol. 132v. © Courtesy of the Columbia University Library.

⁴⁷ Prayer book, illustrated by Master of Jouvenel des Ursins, c.1450–60, prov. France, Central (Angers?), London, British Library, Harley MS 5764, fol. 69, Geert Groote: Prayer book, illustrated by a Flemish artist, c. 1480, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, KM h1, fol. 175v. About the manuscript see J. Peter Gumbert, *Illustrated Inventory of Medieval Manuscripts in Latin Script in the Netherlands: Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), 995.

In yet another French book of hours from around 1475–1499 the combat for the soul is set in a death bed scene (*Fig. 7*).⁴⁸ Beside the bed, a priest is probably administering extreme unction. On the right edge of the picture, the wife of the dying man can be seen in mourning, and in the left corner a Franciscan friar is sitting on the ground reading a prayer book. The colorful representation of this illumination therefore offers a realistic insight into the contemporary process of dying and also emphasizes the presence of the mendicant orders at the deathbed.

The Function of the Battle for the Soul

After collecting and discussing images of the battle for the soul between angels and demons I have to raise here the question of their purpose in the manuscripts. As noted above, their composition is built on the combat of good and evil forces for the soul, *psychomachia*. They present a dynamic, fearful, and violent scene, which made them memorable. I would argue that this picture type became popular because it was using an old mnemotechnical principle; in other words, these illuminations were *imagines agentes* which could be recognized by depicting violence.⁴⁹

To summarise, the examples discussed above suggest that this picture type emerged and stayed popular in France. Only a minority of these images were created by Flemish illuminators, hence it is more logical to interpret these only as products of widespread French artistic connections. It seems that the flourishing and the lives of these pictures can be situated in the fifteenth century. This period was the golden age of representing the idea of particular judgment. As I see it, this secondary message of these pictures explains their emergence – and their short lives – as the *Scala Salutis* and other similar iconographical types declined at the end of the Middle Ages.

Instead of the Last Judgment they represented a more personalized scene, and this individualistic feature could have been key to their success. The use of the image occurs almost entirely in illumination art. In nearly all cases these images were located in books of hours in connection to the beginning of the Office of the Dead. These books of hours were intended for personal use and these images could have functioned better for this purpose than the general representations of

⁴⁸ Book of Hours, illustrated by the Chief Associate of Maître François, c. 1475–1499, prov. France (Paris), New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, BP.096, fol. 133v.

⁴⁹ The use of violent scenes for remembering is well-known in the scholarship, but probably the best summary is provided in Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 101.

mass judgments.⁵⁰ Also, most of the manuscripts that include the battle for the soul – especially the Book of Hours of Catherine de Clèves and the Rohan Hours – are lavishly decorated expensive works and in most cases they indicate an elite preference for this scene. The use of similar images is well-known for contemplation and meditation. This could have been the primary role of these illuminations as well, which not only reminded the reader of his temporality in this world, but moreover of his defencelessness in the fight between the evil and heavenly powers.

⁵⁰ Books of hours were also believed to guarantee their owners protection against the devil in a symbolic way. Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 28.

**MULTAQĀ AL-ABḤUR OF IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤALABĪ (D. 1549):
AUTHORITY AND PRAGMATISM IN AN
OTTOMAN LEGAL COMPENDIUM¹**

Aamir Shahzāda Khan 

This article presents an analysis of a legal compendium entitled *Multaqā al-Abḥur* (The Confluence of Oceans) produced and used in the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards. *Multaqā al-Abḥur* is a compendium on Ḥanafī law, one of the four schools of law in Sunnī Islam. Throughout Ottoman history, Ḥanafī law remained the basis of the judicial system and Ḥanafī scholars were the most prominent figures in the religious establishment in the empire. In recent scholarship, a number of legal texts have been identified which were held in high esteem by the Ottomans. *Multaqā al-Abḥur* maintained a prominent place in this so-called jurisprudential canon. The *Multaqā* continued to have significant influence in the Ottoman legal tradition. It became an essential part of *madrassa* (Islamic college) curriculum and was used as the main reference book by the *qaḍīs* (judges of the Islamic courts) and the *muftīs* (jurisconsults; persons qualified to advise on legal matters).

The question that this article addresses is this: Why did the *Multaqā* hold such importance for the Ottoman government and religious establishment? In order to engage with this issue I will highlight particularly two characteristic features of the *Multaqā*. The authority that it wields and the value that it held as a text of practical importance for the Ottomans. I will propose that the *Multaqā* wields authority owing to the authoritative sources that it is based upon. Moreover, the *Multaqā* also presents a pluralistic image of Ḥanafī law. Legal pluralism can prove to be an asset for a government which is interested in building an efficient system of justice in a culturally diverse empire.

Multaqā al-Abḥur was written by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1549), an Ottoman Ḥanafī scholar based in Constantinople. The *Multaqā* is written in the style of a *mukhtaṣar*, which is essentially a legal compendium. It is based on six authoritative books on Ḥanafī law produced in the pre-Ottoman period in the different centers of learning in the Muslim world. Soon after its compilation in 1517, the *Multaqā al-Abḥur* gained wide acceptance in the community of Ottoman scholars and

¹ Aamir Shahzāda Khan, “*Multaqā al-Abḥur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1549): A Ḥanafī Legal Text in Its Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Context” (MA Thesis, Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

attracted the attention of the Ottoman government. It eventually became an integral part of the curriculum taught in the *madrassas* of the empire.² The text was also used as a reference book in the religious literature produced by Ottoman scholars. Above all, however, it is the use of the *Multaqā* in the Ottoman legal tradition and judicial system that highlights its canonical status. The *Multaqā* was accepted as a reference book in the judicial system very soon after it was composed. The book was used as a reference book by *qādīs* and *muftīs* as early as the sixteenth century.

Joseph von Hammer (d. 1856), a nineteenth-century Austrian orientalist, established that the *Multaqā* was recognized as the chief reference book on Ḥanafī law during the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566).³ Haim Gerber conducted a study on the Ottoman *qādī* court system, relying mostly on court records and books of complaints (*şikayet defterleri*). He mentions the *Multaqā* as the main manual followed in the court proceedings.⁴ The *Multaqā* continued to maintain an important status in the Ottoman judicial system well into the nineteenth century. Şükrü Selim Has has shown that the *Multaqā* and its commentary, the *Majma' al-Anbur*, provided the single largest contribution to the *Mecelle*, the law code that was issued under the *Tanzimat* reforms promulgated in 1877. According to him, more than 17% of the articles in the *Mecelle* are taken from the *Multaqā* and its commentary.⁵

It is clear from this evidence that the *Multaqā al-Abḥur* continued to carry a great deal of importance for the Ottoman religious establishment throughout the history of the empire. It is therefore pertinent to investigate the *Multaqā's* canonical status; such a task requires an elaborate discussion on the sources of the *Multaqā* and the historical evolution of literary genres in Islamic law.

***Multaqā al-Abḥur* and its Sources – An Intertextual Tradition**

The literature produced on Islamic law can be categorized into various different genres. For the present study it is important to introduce two of those genres: the *mukhtaṣar* (translated as compendium) and the *mabsūṭ* (translated as expansum). Norman Calder distinguishes between the two in the following words:

² Şükrü Selim Has, “The Use of *Multaqā al-Abḥur* in the Ottoman *Madrasas* and in Legal Scholarship,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7–8 (1988): 395, 396.

³ *Ibid.*, 403.

⁴ Haim Gerber, *State, Society and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 30.

⁵ Şükrü Selim Has, “A Study of Ibrāhīm al-Halebi with Special Reference to the *Multaqā*,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1981), 279.

The *mukhtaṣar* characteristically contains a succinct and highly compressed sequence of norms, loosely bundled under topical headings: a structured framework or skeleton of the law. The *mabsūṭ* justifies and explains the law and multiplies its details. In its most characteristic form, it is a commentary on a *mukhtaṣar*.⁶

The *Multaqā al-Abḥur* is based on six authoritative sources of Ḥanafī law, five of which are *mukhtaṣars* and one a *mabsūṭ*.⁷ The five *mukhtaṣars* are: the *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qudūrī (d. 1037), *al-Mukhtār li-l-Fatwā* of ‘Abdullah Ibn Maḥmūd al-Mawṣilī (d. 1283), the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn* of Muzaffir al-Dīn Ibn Sā‘ātī (d. 1295), the *Wiqāyat al-Riwāya* of Maḥmūd Ibn ‘Ubaydullah al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1312), and the *Kanz al-Daqa‘iq* of Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 1310). The sixth source of the *Multaqā* is *al-Hidāya* of Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī (d. 1196), a work in four volumes which belongs to the genre of *mabsūṭ*. It contains detailed discussions on Ḥanafī law and gives divergent views from inside and outside the Ḥanafī school.

The five *mukhtaṣars* on which the *Multaqā* is based are among the most authoritative texts in the Ḥanafī school of law. Among medieval Ḥanafī scholars there were two prevalent views about the most authoritative texts. According to one view, three texts were the most important (identified as: *al-mutūn al-ṭhalātha*): the *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, the *Wiqāyat al-Riwāya*, and the *Kanz al-Daqa‘iq*. According to the second view, there were four most authoritative texts (identified as *al-mutūn al-arba‘a*): the *Wiqāyat al-Riwāya*, the *Kanz al-Daqa‘iq*, *al-Mukhtār li-l-Fatwā*, and the *Majma‘ al-Baḥrayn*.⁸ In either case, the *Multaqā* includes all of these texts as sources. As a combination of the most authoritative sources, the *Multaqā* holds an authority of its own. The *Multaqā* combines the legal material from the sources into one book, which made it a good substitute for its sources in the Ottoman Empire. A nineteenth-century Ottoman jurist, Ibn ‘Ābidīn (d. 1836), includes the *Multaqā* among the seven most reliable texts (*al-mutūn al-mu‘tabara*) on Ḥanafī

⁶ Norman Calder, *Islamic Jurisprudence in the Classical Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 39. A *mukhtaṣar* and *mabsūṭ* may also be called *matan* (text) and *sharḥ* (commentary), respectively. This is because a *mabsūṭ* is mostly a commentary on a *mukhtaṣar*.

⁷ See the prologue in Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Multaqā al-Abḥur* [The Confluence of Oceans] (Istanbul: al-Maṭba‘a al-Uthmāniyya, 1891).

⁸ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī al-Hindī, *Al-Fawā‘id al-Bahīyya fī Tarājīm al-Ḥanafīyya* [Elegant details on the lives of Ḥanafī scholars] (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1906), 106, 107.

law and it is the only text which is included in this list from the post-fourteenth century period.⁹

Even more than being based on authoritative sources, *Multaqā al-Abhur* can also be seen as a part of a process of the historical evolution of the *Mukhtaṣar* genre. Norman Calder traces the course of the stylistic development of *mukhtaṣars* starting from the *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūri*, which was the first attempt to achieve organization and coherence. He looks at the *mukhtaṣars* produced in the subsequent periods as part of a process “marked by (among other factors) the increased concision of expression, the emergence of technical vocabulary, and heightened precision and refinement of presentation.”¹⁰ According to Calder, the search for refinement and concision in the *mukhtaṣars* reached its culmination with the *Kanẓ al-Daqā’iq* of Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Nasafī. Calder praises al-Nasafī’s book for “its grammatical control, extensive ellipsis and achieved concision.”¹¹ He summarizes the process of the evolution of *mukhtaṣars* from the *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūri* to the *Kanẓ al-Daqā’iq* as a move from “classicism to mannerism.”¹² Calder asserts that because he based his work on the maximum number of authoritative sources, al-Nasafī’s work is worthy of being viewed as the most perfect epitome of Ḥanafī law. Thus, the *Kanẓ al-Daqā’iq* is not just a culmination of “mannerism;” it is also an amalgamation of authority. Later, Al-Ḥalabī did the same in his *mukhtaṣar*, amalgamating all the authoritative texts into one. The *Multaqā* is close in style and organization to the *Kanẓ al-Daqā’iq*, but unlike al-Nasafī’s book it includes differences of opinion within the Ḥanafī School. The *Multaqā* also incorporates rulings from other *mukhtaṣars* which al-Nasafī omitted.

The authors of the *mukhtaṣars* exerted much of their effort towards transmitting the doctrine of the school comprehensively and at the same time concisely. But the authors of the compendia had to face a clear trade-off between comprehensiveness and conciseness. The success of a *mukhtaṣar* depended on its ability to achieve an ideal and optimum balance between comprehensiveness and conciseness. In the *Kanẓ al-Daqā’iq*, al-Nasafī achieved conciseness to the level of perfection but in doing so he had to leave out differences of opinion. The *Multaqā* makes use of the concise terminology of the *Kanẓ al-Daqā’iq* and adds further details from other sources. Al-Ḥalabī also included differences of opinion from within the Ḥanafī school, attempting to increase the practical value of a *mukhtaṣar*.

⁹ Muḥammad Amīn Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *Sharḥ ‘Uqūd Rasm al-Muḥṭī* [Commentary on the chaplets on the muḥṭī’s task] (Karachi: Maktabat al-Bushrā. 2009), 60.

¹⁰ Norman Calder, *Islamic Jurisprudence*, 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹² *Ibid.*, 35.

It will be explained below that the Muslim jurists can utilize differences of opinion to introduce flexibility into the law. A difference of opinion can be manipulated to arrive at a ruling that is suitable to the social context. Therefore, the *Multaqā* is an improved *mukhtaṣar* which achieves greater balance between comprehensiveness and conciseness and also had a practical value for the Ottomans.

Discussing the sources of the *Multaqā* and the evolution of the *mukhtaṣar* genre can help explain the canonical status of the *Multaqā*. Here it is useful to bring in the theory of the canonization of the Bible presented by Stephen Chapman, which can also be applied to the case of the Ḥanafī legal canon. While discussing the canonization of the Bible, Chapman understands a canon as an “inter-text” which existed prior to an “official” delimitation of a set of readings. This means that a loose collection of texts existed which were interrelated, i.e., they were edited and read as related to each other. The interrelated editing and reading were aimed at orienting the various texts towards one another and to shaping and guiding the whole in a particular direction.¹³ Chapman’s ideas imply that texts gain authority and become part of the canon by being related to other authoritative writings and by being placed in the same continuation of thought which is generated and sustained collectively by the various authoritative texts.

It can be argued that Calder’s idea of the evolution and development of the genre of *mukhtaṣar* fits well into Chapman’s description of a canon as an inter-text. Calder also talks about a concerted effort by generations of scholars to improve the style and presentation of the *mukhtaṣars*. It can easily be seen that these *mukhtaṣars* are closely related to each other, directly or indirectly, through a common heritage of sources. The authors of the different *mukhtaṣars* were attempting to improve the texts in conciseness and comprehensiveness by making use of the established practices in terminology, organization, and structure. Thus, the different *mukhtaṣars* are thought to have built their authority cumulatively by relating to each other.

The sources of the *Multaqā* were already thought to be an integral part of Ḥanafī legal canon before the Ottoman period. As noted above, the *mukhtaṣars* identified as *al-mutūn al-arba‘a* (the four texts) and *al-mutūn al-thalātha* (the three texts) were already designated as the most reliable and authoritative *mukhtaṣars*. The *Multaqā al-Abḥur* attained canonical status by placing itself in an already established inter-textual tradition and by participating in the continuation of style and thought generated and sustained by earlier authoritative writings.

¹³ Stephen P. Chapman, “How the Biblical Canon Began: Working Models and Open Questions,” in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 38, 39.

Selecting an authoritative text like the *Multaqā* can be seen as serving the Ottoman State in its quest for legitimacy. Building an efficient system of justice based on Islamic ideals was the most valued source of legitimacy for the Ottomans. The increase in the emphasis on law as the source of legitimacy is evident from the preambles to law codes issued in the time of Süleyman. Snježana Buzov shows that the successive preambles depict an increasing emphasis on law as the main source of legitimacy and as the organizing principle of the empire and its subjects.¹⁴ The inclusion of the *Multaqā* in the Ottoman jurisprudential canon can be seen in this context. The *Multaqā al-Abhur* became part of an imperial project in which justice was the supreme legitimating principle. Accepting an authoritative text on Ḥanafī law as a part of the judicial system endowed greater legitimacy on the judicial system in the Ottoman Empire.

The Functionality of the *Multaqā* in Ottoman Legal Discourse and the Judicial System

As mentioned earlier, *Multaqā al-Abhur* is a work belonging to the genre of *Mukhtaṣar*. It is therefore necessary to discuss the special function of a *mukhtaṣar*, which will help better understand the role that the *Multaqā* played in the Ottoman scholarship. Speaking about the seven most reliable *mukhtaṣars* of Ḥanafī law (*al-mutūn al-mu'tabara*), Ibn 'Ābidīn says that these texts are preferred over the others because they are compiled to transmit the school doctrine (*naql al-madhhab*) which is contained in the set of books which are together called the *Zābir al-Riwāya* (manifest transmission).¹⁵ *Zābir al-Riwāya* is the name given to the six books attributed to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 805) which are the basis of Ḥanafī law. These books contain the viewpoints of the three most authoritative figures in Ḥanafī Law – Abu Ḥanīfa (d. 772), Abu Yūsuf (d. 798), and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.

Barber Johansen points out that some scholars have failed to distinguish the purposes served by different genres of legal literature and as a result they have arrived at hasty conclusions regarding the issue of change and development in Islamic law. The texts (*mutūn*, identical to *mukhtaṣars*) are not meant to contain radical changes in the law; other texts serve this purpose. Johansen says:

¹⁴ Snježana Buzov, "The Lawgiver and His Lawmakers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of Ottoman Imperial Culture," (PhD Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2005), 111.

¹⁵ Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Sharḥ Uqūd*, 60.

While the early tradition is upheld in the textbooks for teaching purposes and is used as a yard stick by which to measure the unity of legal system, new solutions are widely accepted in other literary genres like the commentaries (*shurūḥ*), the responsa (*fatāwā*) and the treatises on particular questions (*rasā'il*).¹⁶

Since the main purpose of a *mukhtaṣar* is to transmit the school doctrine, one important purpose that it serves is didactic. Therefore, the *Multaqā* as a genuine *mukhtaṣar* became an integral part of *madrassa* curriculum in the Ottoman Empire to serve the same purpose. Texts like the *Multaqā* are meant to help educate newer generations of scholars in the basics of law. One of the aims that the authors of the *mukhtaṣars* tried to achieve was to make their works easy to read and memorize. Students of law often liked to memorize these texts to have a full grasp of the school doctrine. To serve this purpose the authors of these *mukhtaṣars* employed stylistic techniques to help in the process of memorization. For instance, some authors used different sentences in Arabic – nominal sentence, verbal sentence in the present tense, verbal sentence in the past tense, etc. – to indicate the difference of opinion among the different scholars.¹⁷ Such style would be used consistently throughout the book to help the reader and the memorizer get used to it. Similarly, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī consistently uses specific terminology that can also be seen as serving the same purpose, i.e., to make the text easy to read and memorize. In the prologue to his book, al-Ḥalabī states that he has made consistent use of terminology and has adopted a consistent style of mentioning differences of opinion and identifying the preferred opinion.¹⁸ Such consistency in style was meant to make the *Multaqā* easy to read and memorize for the students of law in the Ottoman Empire. It also makes the text more useful in quick-referencing. This feature helps further appreciate the importance of the *Multaqā*. The *Multaqā* was meant to be internalized and absorbed in order to bring the thinking of a student of law in line with the doctrine of Ḥanafī law. This makes every single term and definition of the *Multaqā* important. As part of the *madrassa* curriculum in the Ottoman Empire the *Multaqā* was expected to fashion the thinking of the students of law in a particular way.

¹⁶ Baber Johansen, “Legal Literature and the Problem of Change: the Case of Land Rent,” in *Islam and Public Law: Classical and Contemporary Studies*, ed. Chibli Mallat (London: Graham and Trotman, 1993), 31.

¹⁷ Muzaḥfir al-Dīn Ibn Sā'ātī, *Majma' al-Bahrayn wa Multaqā al-Nayyirayn* [The Conjunction of the Two Oceans and the Confluence of the Two Lights] (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2005), 60, 61.

¹⁸ See the prologue in al-Ḥalabī, *Multaqā*.

Having argued that the *Multaqā* is meant to present a comprehensive and concise statement of Ḥanafī law, it should also be stated that by mentioning divergent views of Muslim jurists the *Multaqā* does create a possibility for diversity, change, and development in Ḥanafī law. While one does not often see any chances for a radical change in the mainstream legal schools in Islam, there are instances where jurists manipulated the differences of opinion to make the law less resistant to change.

In the post-formative period, *taqlīd* (following the authority of an established school of law) has become the dominant trend in the Islamic legal tradition. For instance, in *Sunni* Islam most jurists now think it necessary to follow one of the four established schools of law. It is for this reason that some modern scholars studying Islamic law, most importantly Joseph Schacht, have emphasized that the doors of *ijtihād* (independent reasoning) are closed in Islamic law.¹⁹ It is, as a matter of fact, true that the post-formative Muslim jurists have emphasized the improbability (not impossibility) of a certain level of *ijtihād*, which would lead to the emergence of new legal schools. However it should be asserted that there can be different levels of independent reasoning or *ijtihād* and some level of *ijtihād* can be practiced while staying within a school of law, i.e., while practicing *taqlīd*. Therefore, the practice of *taqlīd* does not preempt the possibility of independent reasoning and change in Islamic law. There are always differences of opinion within the schools of law and these differences of opinion allow room for later jurists to actively engage with the law and choose an opinion that is more suitable to the social context. Moreover, there are often cases where jurists apply juristic tools like arguments based on *istiḥsān* (seeking a ruling that serves the public good) and *ʿurf* (accepting an established custom as a source of law). These juristic tools also make the law more flexible. The legal differences and the use of specific juristic techniques introduce flexibility in Islamic law and make the law subject to change and development with changing social circumstances.

From the above discussion it can be inferred that *taqlīd* does not necessarily induce stagnation in Islamic law. Earlier scholars on Islamic law, especially Joseph Schacht, played a part in assigning negative connotations to the concept of *taqlīd*, which amounted to indicating that the establishment of a regime of *taqlīd* resulted in stagnation in Islamic law. More recent scholars like Wael Hallaq and Sherman Jackson have dispelled this notion, citing significant change and development in Islamic legal thought.²⁰ Jackson proposes that the essential principle in *taqlīd* is not

¹⁹ Sherman A. Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shīḥab al-Dīn Al-Qarāfī* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 74.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

servile imitation, but “a search for stable and uncontested sources of authority.”²¹ According to Jackson, a search for authority can either be directed towards a past authoritative jurist or it can be directed not to the past, but to the center, i.e., to the authority of the *madhhab* (school of law).²² According to him, a multiplicity of opinions can exist within a school but this multiplicity is “overridden by the going opinion of the school.”²³ Thus, Jackson effectively gives the idea of a *madhhab* as a certain progression of legal thought. Accordingly, when *taqlid* is understood as seeking the authority of a certain legal thought it does not seem like blind following. Rather, the one seeking the authority of the school would himself be a participant in a development of thought. His opinion would also play a part in the development of legal thought. Jackson also accepts the possibility of a jurist having a personal view and this view becoming part of the continuum of legal discourse.²⁴

The juristic activity of Ottoman scholars was also guided by a widespread spirit of *taqlid* characteristic of the post-formative period. Whatever change and transformation was witnessed in Ottoman Ḥanafī law, it never totally compromised the authority of the Ḥanafī school. In such a scheme every new opinion would become a part of the progression of thought. In a regime of *taqlid*, productive juristic activity is characterized by the use of differences of opinion from within the school and also by the use of special juristic tools to bring the law more in line with the needs of the time. In a case of a difference of opinion among authoritative jurists, later legal experts often set an order of preference which is meant to be followed in applying the law in real life. However, changing the order of preference according to the needs of the time is in fact recommended. Ibn Abidin says that the order of preference can be changed owing to: necessity (*ḍurūra*), a change in the circumstances of the time (*taghayyur ahwāl al-ḡamān*), and a change in custom (*‘urf*).²⁵

In the *Multaqā*, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī always gives an order of preference when mentioning divergent views. In this way the *Multaqā* can prove a good compendium for teaching a new cohort of scholars and for quick reference. The order of preference that al-Ḥalabī presents is the latest, set by the concerted deliberation of generations of scholars before al-Ḥalabī’s time. And yet this order of preference was never meant to stay like this forever. The point to make here

²¹ Ibid., 80.

²² Ibid., 82.

²³ Ibid., 83.

²⁴ Jackson, *Islamic Law*, 83.

²⁵ Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *Sharḥ ‘Uqūd*, 67, 68, 85.

is that Ḥalabī presents Ḥanafī law in its fully evolved form, which awaited further evolution and development at the hands of Ottoman jurists. The following passage selected from the *Multaqā* shows how the *Multaqā* contains a fully evolved and pluralistic presentation of Ḥanafī law which created an opportunity for further juristic activity in the subsequent development of legal discourse in the Ottoman Empire. In the chapter on *waqf* (endowment) in the *Multaqā* al-Ḥalabī writes:

Waqf is the confinement of property in the ownership of the founder and giving in charity its benefit/utility, it is like lending something for use. So it is not irrevocable and the owner will not lose the ownership except when the ruler passes a decision. It is said that the ownership will be lost in case a person suspends it till the time of his death by saying ‘if I die then my property is given in *waqf*.’²⁶ According to Imam Abu Yūsuf and Imam Muḥammad al-Shaybani, it is the confinement of property in the ownership of God in such a way that the benefit/utility goes to the people. It is irrevocable and the ownership of the founder ends simply by the utterance of the word according to Imam Abu Yūsuf. According to Imam Muḥammad, the ownership will not end unless he delivers the property to the guardian.²⁶

It can be seen that the three Ḥanafī jurists take divergent views on the issue of *waqf*. When mentioning the difference of opinion, al-Ḥalabī starts with the difference in the definition of *waqf* according to the three *imams*. This is important for the generation of further discussion on these issues. These definitions can potentially serve as legal maxims and points of departure for more extensive debate; therefore, the differences can be applied to newly arising cases. These definitions are also important for identifying the *ratio legis* (*‘illa*) behind a certain opinion. The identification of *ratio legis* is necessary to exercise analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) to apply the same legal opinions to newly arising cases.²⁷ Al-Ḥalabī also includes the views of later jurists, starting a sentence with “it is said,” showing a characteristic continuity in a legal school. What follows this passage is a more detailed discussion of different cases relating to the issue of *waqf*. A little later al-Ḥalabī discusses the issue of designating movable property (*manqūl*) as *waqf*. He says: “And it is lawful to designate as *waqf* real estate and such movable

²⁶ Al-Ḥalabī, *Multaqā*, 96.

²⁷ For a discussion on use of *‘illa* in *qiyās*, see Wael B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theorie: An Introduction to Sunnī Uṣul al-Fiḥ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 83–95.

property whose designation as *waqf* is established as custom, according to Imam Muḥammad.”²⁸

Thus, al-Ḥalabī prefers the view of the permissibility of designating movable property as *waqf*, mentioning the principle of custom (*urf*). Abu Ḥanīfa had declared such a practice impermissible.²⁹ Later, Ottoman *Şeyhülislam* Ebussuud (d. 1574) argued for the permissibility of donating cash as *waqf* (*waqf al-nuqūd*) using the same argument of *urf*.³⁰ Ebussuud’s point of view may therefore be seen as a further stage in the gradual process of introducing leniency on this particular issue, which is also visible in the *Multaqā*.

All the features of the *Multaqā* noted above made it an important asset for the Ottomans, who were interested in engineering a pragmatic judicial structure to manage a vast and diverse empire. Although the composition of the *Multaqā* was not sanctioned by the state, the Ottoman administration and scholarly community soon realized its importance. Eventually the *Multaqā* found a place in the curriculum of the *madrassas* and came to be used as a reference book in legal matters. In the legal and judicial tradition of the Ottoman Empire the *Multaqā* achieved canonical status. It would need a more comprehensive study to fully ascertain how the Ottoman religious establishment was able to use the *Multaqā* to its benefit and how exactly it affected the development of Ḥanafī law.

²⁸ Al-Ḥalabī, *Multaqā*, 96.

²⁹ Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* [The Epitome of al-Qudūrī] (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997), 127.

³⁰ Jon E. Mandaville, “Usurious Piety: The Cash *Waqf* Controversy in the Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979): 298.

Communicating Sainthood:
Special Papers



RESEARCH CONTINUES ON THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

Gábor Klaniczay 

Between 2010 and 2014 a research project entitled *Symbols that Bind and Break Communities. Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities*, was conducted in our department. Designed in a cooperative European context, it was jointly financed by the EuroCORECODE project of the European Science Foundation and the Hungarian foundation Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alapprogramok [OTKA] (No. 81446).

The concluding report on the project appeared in the *Annual* of the CEU Department of Medieval Studies in 2014/2015. This report, besides enumerating the results of finished research, noted that a few works that had begun were still in progress. A small additional grant from the CEU Research Support Scheme enabled project members to complete their work. Now I am pleased to present some new results from our project.

One of the planned publications, a book by Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, was published by CEU Press in May, 2016. With additional care invested in the typesetting and bringing it to a final form; it is the first volume of a new series of CEU Medievalia on Cultural Heritage, organized by József Laszlovszky and Annabella Pál.

Two other volumes in the Central European Medieval Texts series, promised in our report last year, are still in progress, but much nearer to taking final shape. Both are expected to go to press this calendar year. They are: *Sanctitas Principum: Sancti Reges, Duces, Episcopi et Abbates Europae Centralis (Saec. XI–XIII) – The Sanctity of Leaders: Holy Kings, Princes, Bishops, and Abbots from Central Europe (Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, trans. and annotated by János M. Bak, Nora Berend, Cristian Gașpar and Marina Miladinov, with prefaces by Cristian Gașpar, Gábor Klaniczay, Stanislava Kuzmová, Ana Marinković, Petr Sommer, and Gábor Thoroczky, Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 7; Budapest: CEU Press, 2016 and *Legenda Vetus, Acta Processus Canonizationis et Miracula Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria – The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary*, ed. Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay and Bence Péterfi, Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 9; Budapest: CEU Press, 2016.

Individual studies continue to be produced by colleagues and students who were involved in this project. Three of them are published here: Ottó Gecser's study, "Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Sainthood Patronage at the End

of the Middle Ages,” is the work of a mature researcher of hagiography who has dedicated his attention here to a crucial but little researched aspect of saintly patronage, the problem of “helper” saints. Eszter Konrád is still working on her PhD in the Medieval Studies Department. Her study, “Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Saintly Patronage at the End of the Middle Ages,” explores a little known “unofficial” section of mendicant hagiography. Emőke Nagy’s study, “Urban patronage of Saint Anne Altars in Late Medieval Hungary,” discusses the relations an important cult had with late medieval Hungarian urban communities. It developed from her PhD, which she defended last year. It is a good example of the original themes that were addressed in the Saints’ project: the relation of an important cult with late medieval Hungarian urban communities.

HOLY FRIARS IN HUNGARY AND BEYOND IN FRANCISCAN LITERATURE¹

Eszter Konrád 

Many holy figures from Hungary, despite their *fama sanctitatis*, were never canonized.² Here I will concentrate on one group of such saintly people and offer a survey of Franciscans, today little-known, who were related to Hungary either because of their origin or as a result of their activity here and were venerated as saints locally or universally. I present the evolution of the Franciscan catalogues of saints from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century that report accounts of different length about friars who had a local cult or suffered martyrdom on missions, paying special attention to the *Memorialia*, the earliest catalogue of saints and the first printed one in the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (1504). Finally, I treat the exemplary case of Stefanus of Hungary, allegedly martyred in the capital of the Mongol Empire, whose memory was also perpetuated through vernacular hagiographic collections, sermons, and images.

Overview of the Evolution of the Hagiographic-Historiographic Tradition in the Mendicant Orders in the Thirteenth Century

The production of hagiographic-historic catalogues of saints started relatively early in the Franciscan Order.³ The earliest extant example is the *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum* (ca.1245) by the Franciscan theologian Tommaso da Pavia, commissioned by Minister General Crescenzo da Iesi, who also decreed the collection of the miraculous deeds of Francis in order to produce

¹ This paper is a preliminary version of a chapter of my doctoral dissertation about the representation of the saints of the mendicant orders in late medieval Hungary. The chapter is partly based on the research conducted in the framework of the Doctoral Research Support Grant of the Central European University. I thank my dissertation advisor Gábor Klaniczay for the helpful comments on the earlier drafts of this paper as well as the editors for the corrections.

² A summary of these figures was compiled by the eminent Piarist scholar György Balanyi, “Magyar szentek, szentéletű magyarok” [Hungarian saints and saintly Hungarians], *Katolikus Szemle* 15, no. 2 (1963, Rome): 100–122.

³ For an overview of the historiographic traditions in the mendicant orders, see Bert Roest, “Later Medieval Institutional History,” in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 277–315.

new hagiographic material at the general chapter of Genoa in 1244.⁴ Collecting hagiographic material about saintly Franciscans in the different provinces was not an isolated case, as can be seen in the general chapter of Padua in 1276, when General Vicar Bonagrazia Tielci, at the request of Minister General Jerome of Ascoli (who became later Pope Nicholas IV), asked the provincial ministers to gather noteworthy records on Francis and other saintly friars in the Franciscan provinces. The request of 1276 has a twofold importance: First, it shows a growing attentiveness toward preserving the memories of holy friars as well as a renewed interest in the testimonies of witnesses to Francis and the early days of the brotherhood, especially on the part of the *zelanti*, for whom Francis' *Testament* and the writings of the deeds and words of his early companions were the most cherished documents. The most important collections of the later thirteenth century, based essentially on these testimonies, included the *Compilatio Assisiensis* (ca. 1244–1260),⁵ the so-called *Legenda vetus*,⁶ the *Verba fratri Conradi*,⁷ and the *Verba sancti Francisci*.⁸ These works had a considerable impact on numerous compilations of the first half of the fourteenth century, most notably the *Speculum perfectionis minus* (after 1276),⁹ the *Speculum perfectionis* (1318),¹⁰ the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum*

⁴ Thomas de Papia, *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum*, ed. Ferdinand M. Delorme, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi 5 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St. Bonaventure College, 1923); Roberto Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "Catalogi sanctorum": Livelli istituzionali e immagini agiografiche nell'Ordine Franciscano (secoli XIII–XIV)*, *Collectio Assisiensis* 20, (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1990), 83–84.

⁵ "*Compilatio Assisiensis*": *dagli scritti di fr. Leone e compagni su S. Francesco d'Assisi. Prima edizione integrale dal MS 1046 di Perugia con versione italiana a fronte*, ed. Marino Bigaroni, Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca francescana Chiesa Nuova Assisi 2 (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1975).

⁶ Paul Sabatier, "*S. Francisci legendae veteris fragmenta quaedam*," in *Opuscules de Critique Historique*, vol. 3 (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902), 87–109.

⁷ Andrew G. Little, Pierre Mandonnet, Paul Sabatier, "*Verba Fr. Conradi*. Extrait de Ms. 1/25 de S. Isidore," in *Opuscules de Critique Historique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1903), 370–392.

⁸ Edith Pásztor, "Il manoscritto Isidoriano 1/73 e gli scritti leonine su S. Francesco," *Cultura e società nell'Italia medievale. Studi per Paolo Brezzi*, *Studi Storici* (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo), fasc. 184–192, (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1988), 635–663.

⁹ *Speculum perfectionis minus: testo latino, versione italiana a fronte e note*, ed. Marino Bigaroni, Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca francescana Chiesa Nuova Assisi 3, (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1983).

¹⁰ *Le Speculum perfectionis ou Mémoires de frère Léon sur la seconde partie de la vie de Saint Françoise d'Assise*, 2 vols., ed. Paul Sabatier and Andrew G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1928–31).

eius (1328–1337) and its Italian vernacular version, the *Fioretti* (1337–1396),¹¹ and the *Compilatio Avenionensis* (1328–1343).¹² These texts not only provide an image of the founder living in utmost poverty and austerity but also recount numerous episodes about some of his companions of the first generation who were regarded by many as the embodiments of his original intentions.

Along with these works of more hagiographic than historical character, histories of the order and chronicles dedicated to individual provinces appeared from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. The earliest surviving “provincial chronicle,” the *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* (ca. 1258) by Thomas Eccleston, was the result of more than two decades of accumulating material about the early history of the Franciscans in England.¹³ Giordano da Giano recorded the origins of the Minor Brothers in the German lands in his *Chronica* (ca. 1262).¹⁴ Compared to the provincial chronicles, the production of the general histories of the order was belated and some of these works have not survived. More concise works have survived, like the *Catalogus ministrorum generalium* (1304–18, with later additions) attributed to Bernardo da Bessa¹⁵ and the *Chronicon abbreviatum de successione ministrorum generalium* (ca. 1304) by Peregrino da Bologna.¹⁶ The most comprehensive work made up of historical narratives, hagiographical writings, and various official documents was the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* (ca. 1369) attributed to Arnaud de Sarrant, which I will return to below.¹⁷

It is worth looking briefly at the development of the production of hagiographic-historiographic works in the other major mendicant order, the Order of Preachers, in the thirteenth century. Compared to the Franciscan tradition, histories of the Dominican Order appeared as early as Jordan of Saxony’s *Libellus de initio Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* (ca. 1233), a little book written at the request

¹¹ The *Fioretti* was published in the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius*, ed. Jacques Cambell, Marino Bigaroni, Giovanni Boccali Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca francescana Chiesa Nuova Assisi 5, (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1988).

¹² On the work in general, see Enrico Menestò, *La Compilatio Avenionensis: una raccolta di testi francescani della prima metà del XIV secolo*, Estratti dagli studi medievali 16 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 2004).

¹³ Thomas of Eccleston, *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. Andrew G. Little (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1909).

¹⁴ *Chronica fratris Jordani*, ed. Heinrich Boehmer (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908).

¹⁵ Edited as *Chronicon XIV vel XV Generalium Ministrorum, Analecta Franciscana* 3 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St. Bonaventure College, 1897), 695 et seqq.

¹⁶ Edited in *Tractatus*, ed. A. G. Little, 141–145. For the chronicles that have not survived see Roest, “Later Medieval Institutional History,” 298.

¹⁷ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, Analecta Franciscana* 3 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St. Bonaventure College, 1897).

of the friars on the origins of the order that remained the ultimate source of all the later compilations.¹⁸ In the Dominican general chapter of 1245, probably not independently from the call of the Franciscan general chapter of 1244 to gather further noteworthy records on Francis and the holy friars from other provinces, it was decreed that the friars should collect the miracles of St. Dominic in their provinces and send them to the next general chapter.¹⁹ New calls for miracles were announced first in the provincial chapter of Provence in 1252, then in Milan in 1255, repeated in Paris in 1256. These appeals aimed at two different enterprises; long lasting miracle collections of the two great saints of the order, Dominic and Peter of Verona, were to be collected and preserved by the priories where they were buried; in addition, a general collection of miracles, mystical experiences, and edifying *exempla* were to be collected from all the Dominican provinces, which was entrusted to the master of the order.²⁰ Master General Humbert of Romans (1254–1263), in turn, handed down the collected materials to Gérald of Frachet and appointed him to write the collective hagiography of the preacher friars in 1256. The outcome was the *Vitas fratrum* (ca.1256–60), a voluminous work made up of five books treating the history of the Dominicans from the very beginnings, intended only for internal use.²¹ In order not to be forgotten or disregarded, the author put together fragments of things worth remembering that had occurred within the order or related to it.²² The most noteworthy characteristic of the *Vitas fratrum* is its multiplicity of stories: the Preacher Brothers were not formed by a life of one but by many.²³ Thomas of Cantimpré made an effort to organise the noteworthy stories of the Order of Preachers according to provinces in his

¹⁸ For a brief but informative overview of the evolution of Dominican hagiography, see John Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers” in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1993), 7–25.

¹⁹ See Simon Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici mandato magistri Berengarii collecta; Petri Calo legendae sancti Dominici*, Monumenta Ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica (MOPH) 26 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1997), 23.

²⁰ Cf. Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 31–32.

²¹ Gerardus de Fracheto, O. P., *Vitae Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Benedict Maria Reichert, MOPH 1 (Louvain: Charpentier, 1896). On the date of composition and the evolution of the work, see S. Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 33–39; idem, “L’évolution des *vitas fratrum*. Résumé des conclusions provisoires” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 36 (2001): 415–418.

²² *Vitae Fratrum*, ed. Reichert, 2: “... restat ut eius mandato fragmenta ea, videlicet quae in nostro ordine Praedicatorum habentur digna memoria colligantur, ne oblivione pereant vel neglectu ...”.

²³ Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers,” 16. The *Vitas fratrum* probably inspired the Franciscan Thomas Eccleston in writing his chronicle.

Bonum universale de apibus (1257–1263), an allegorical work about the organization of a beehive as a model for an ideal Christian society. It was made up mostly of *exempla* even though the thematic arrangement of his work did not really allow for it.²⁴ Some of the material collected from different provinces of the Order was also incorporated in Giacomo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea* (1260s; 1298), the most popular representative of the new genre of the *legenda nova* primarily pursued by the Dominicans.²⁵ These great collections of abbreviated legends, however, were quite different from the collective hagiographies in which the territorial organization of the order and local sainthood were not issues since they were made for external use as preaching aids and reported only the legends of the “modern” saints who had been officially canonized. The other famous example of Dominican collective hagiography is the *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignavit*, started by Stephen of Salanhac and completed by Bernard Gui (1304).²⁶ While Stephen's aim was to praise the memory of Dominic and his sons and accentuate the supernatural character of the order, Gui focussed more on the historical aspect. He paid attention to names and chronological data to such an extent that it can be regarded as the earliest Dominican representative of the *De viris illustribus*, a genre which became quite popular in the fifteenth century.²⁷

From the *Memorialia* to the Catalogue of Saints

The most exhaustive treatment of the transition from the solidification of the saintly image of Francis of Assisi to the development of “minor sanctity” (*santità minore*) was offered by Roberto Paciocco. Briefly, a section of his work concerns mainly the *catalogi sanctorum* and the major fourteenth-century works that included similar lists, such as the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* and Bartolomeo

²⁴ In the *Epistle* of the work, the Dominican author, referring to the request of the general chapter of 1256, addressed Minister General Humbert of Romans: “*Et ego quidem indignus, ex mandato vestro huius operis audaciam sumpsi; cum in quodam Capitulo generali fratribus demandastis, vt in singulis prouincijs digna memoriae serberentur...*”. Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* (Duaci, ex pyp. Baltazaris Belleri, 1627), 2.

²⁵ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 2 vols., ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: SISMELE-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998).

²⁶ Stephanus de Salaniaco, and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignavit*, ed. Thomas Kaepelli, MOPH 22 (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano di Santa Sabina, 1949).

²⁷ For the collective hagiography in the Order of Preachers, see Viktória Hedvig Deák, O.P., Árpád-házi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia: Garinus legendája nyomán [St. Margaret of Hungary and Dominican hagiography: On the track of Garinus] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2005), 148–156.

da Pisa's *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu*.²⁸ These sources provide a geographical view of the Franciscan *loci* of the period. In addition to the famous saints of the order (Francis, Clare, Louis of Toulouse and later the Observant Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistran²⁹) a large number of "minor" Franciscan saints are mentioned who had specific twofold roles in the convents where they were buried. They were meant to offer the friars living in the same convent an example of sanctity close in both space and time; this local or "domestic" sainthood, even in cases when the fame of these friars did not spread outside the convent where they were buried, reflected the way of life and typical activities of the famous saints of the order and in this way solidified the hagiographic identity of the Franciscans. Thus, the "minor" or "local" saints were of utmost importance not only on the local level but also in the whole Order.³⁰ Two things should be noted here: 1) these works were composed by friars for internal use in the Franciscan community in order to preserve the memory of all the "saints" who belonged to their order, and only sporadically did the fame of those included in the *catalogi* reach a wider public; 2) only a slight distinction is made between officially canonized saints and friars who were regarded as saints on a regional or local level. The *catalogi sanctorum*, in which the material was organised in a compendious and inventory form, appeared in the third decade of the fourteenth century. The usual form of an entry consists of the name of the saint and the place where he was buried; in some cases some additional biographical information and miracles that occurred at his tomb are mentioned.

The earliest surviving Franciscan catalogue of the friars who were regarded as saints that also reports the names of two dozen brothers who suffered martyrdom is the text preserved in the appendix to the martyrology of Usuard in MS Vat. Lat. 5417, published for the first time with the title *Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*.³¹ The text was written down on different dates from

²⁸ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "Catalogi sanctorum"*, 91–107.

²⁹ Even though John of Capistran was beatified in 1650 and canonized in 1690, his *vitae* were produced soon after his death in both Latin and the vernacular.

³⁰ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "catalogi sanctorum"*, 23.

³¹ The text was edited by Michele Faloci Pulignani, O.F.M., "*Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*," *Miscellanea Francescana* 15 (1914): 65–69. I will refer to the work as *Memorialia* since that is the correct reading provided by Isabelle Heullant-Donat, see footnote 32 below. Martyrologies were read during the *prima* to announce the liturgical feast of the next day, which was followed by the reading the list of a certain number of saints and martyrs remembered by the universal church on the same day, with brief records on the time, place, day, and circumstances of death, and the merits of each martyr or saint. The Franciscans used the martyrology of Usuard, to which they added their own saints; cf.

1317 to 1320 and 1331 to 1332 or 1334 to 1335, probably by Brother Elemosina, an Umbrian Franciscan in the monastery of Gualdo Tadino.³² The *terminus post quem* of the last redactional phase is established on the last but one entry of the appendix about a certain *Stefanus de Ungaria*, who was martyred in 1334 in Saray.³³ The text begins on fol. 125r: “*Memorialia de sanctis fratribus minoribus qui et sanctitate et miraculis claruerunt. Ysta sunt nomina sanctorum fratrum minorum per quos Deus miracula demonstravit.*”³⁴ This list is a point of departure in the commemorative tradition in the Franciscan Order, organized according to hierarchical, topographical, and chronological criteria.³⁵ It begins with the names of the already canonized Franciscan saints, followed by the names of those who were regarded as saints among the companions of Francis, followed by a list of eighty-seven friars, of whom thirty-seven are referred to only by name and the place they came from without any further details, twenty-six of whom performed miracles, and twenty-four of whom suffered martyrdom.³⁶ Three names in the *Memorialia*, registered on fol. 125v in the first redactional phase between ca. 1317–1320, are directly related to Hungary: “*In Ungaria frater Henricus theotonicus;*” “*In Ungaria iam dicta villa frater Ioannes custos;*” and finally, a martyr called Stefanus from Hungary, registered in the second redactional phase in 1331–1332 or 1335–1336, about whom the author says:

Francesco Costa, “La liturgia francescana” in *Francesco d’Assisi: Documenti e archivi, codici e biblioteche, miniature*, ed. Carlo Pirovano (Milan: Electa, 1982), 298–303, esp. 300.

³² The *Memorialia* was re-examined recently by Isabelle Heullant-Donat, who, based on codicological and philological evidence, has convincingly argued for the authorship of Brother Elemosina and a more precise date for the composition of the manuscript; see eadem, “À propos de la mémoire hagiographique franciscaine aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles: l’auteur retrouvé des *Memorialia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*,” in *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge: études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves*, ed. Patrick Boucheron and Jacques Chiffolleau, *Histoire ancienne et médiévale* 60: Université de Paris I – Panthéon Sorbonne (Paris: Sorbonne, 2000), 511–529.

³³ He is not to be confused with the other *Stefanus de Ungaria* who suffered martyrdom with *Conradus de Saxonia* around 1288 near the Caspian Sea. Saray (or Sarai) was the capital of the Mongolian khanate founded in the western part of the Mongol Empire after 1240 that comprised a large territory from the Urals to the Dnieper River. Saray, located near the Volga River, was founded by Batu Khan in the 1240s; see Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francescano*, vol. II: *Annali di Terra santa. Addenda al sec. XIII e fonti pel sec. XIV. Con tre carte geografiche dell’Oriente francescano dei secoli XIII–XIV* (Ad Aquas Claras [Quaracchi]: St. Bonaventure College, 1913), 564–565.

³⁴ Heullant-Donat, “À propos de la mémoire hagiographique franciscaine,” 520.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 521–523.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 525.

And Brother Stefanus from Hungary, a youth pleasing to God and the people, when he remained in the faith in Christ most steadfastly and refused the execrable law of Mahomet, was excruciated by the cruel torments of the Saracens, and was put in fire twice but was saved unharmed by God, and finally was slaughtered by sword, and with the palm of martyrdom he came to Christ.³⁷

Isabelle Heullant-Donat has interpreted the *Memorialia* as part of the promotion of martyrdom in the Franciscan Order.³⁸ Even though martyrs were regarded as saints in the centuries before the canonization of saints became a papal prerogative, the papacy did not officially canonize any martyrs between the canonization of the Dominican Peter of Verona in 1253 and the official recognition of the cult of the Franciscan protomartyrs of Morocco in 1481.³⁹ By the second half of the fourteenth century, martyrdom had become a central issue in the Order of Minor Brothers. A major turning point in its development occurred in the 1320s when narratives about the missionary activities of the Franciscans (Egypt, India, Central Asia) started to multiply, although a revival of voluntary martyrdom had already started from the 1220s onwards. According to Heullant-Donat, the growing importance of martyrs in the history of the memory of the order from around 1315 was connected to the oppositions between the Spirituals and the Community, especially during the papacy of John XXII (1316–1334).⁴⁰

In all likelihood, the list reported in the *Memorialia* was compiled for the first time by Brother Elemosina.⁴¹ It seems to be the earliest surviving codex in which the memory of the holy friars in and from Hungary was preserved. Although it is not perfectly clear where Brother Elemosina took the information from about the altogether 119 non-canonized saintly Franciscans, the *Memorialia* shows well the circulation of information within the order, as the data from such remote places like Thana in India or “Saraja” (Saray) reached the monastery of Gauldo Tadino

³⁷ Faloci Pulignani, “*Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*,” 69: “*Frater vero Stefanus de Ungaria, iuvenis Deo et hominibus graciosus, cum in fide Christi constantissime permaneret, et legem Machomechti execrabilem affirmaret, a Saracenis diris tormentis affictus, et bis in ignem missus, sed a Deo liberatus illesus, demum gaudio cesus, cum palma martirii pervenit ad Christum.*”

³⁸ Heullant-Donat, “À propos de la mémoire hagiographique franciscaine,” 525–528; eadem, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries),” *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 429–453.

³⁹ For various reasons, the Dominicans’ attitude towards martyrdom, the geographical extension of their missionary activities, and the number of martyrs was quite different from that of the Franciscans.

⁴⁰ Heullant-Donat, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order,” 448–449.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 524.

in Umbria. Preserving of the memory of these figures was a joint effort on a local level by the friars and the devotion of the faithful to promote the *fama sanctitatis* of a member of their order.⁴² The *Memorialia* was part of a process originating from the *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum* (1245) noted above that was continued in the *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* (1335)⁴³ and the *Provinciale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* by Paolino da Venezia (1335–1345).⁴⁴

Among the accounts of the minorites associated with Hungary in the *Memorialia*, here I discuss only Henricus *theutonicus* and Iohannes *custos* and will present the case of Stefanus de Ungaria below. Henricus is the first of the friars of Hungary in the *Memorialia*. Nothing else is written about him except that he lived in Hungary, although the exact location of his activity is not known. The Lemmens edition of the *Catalogus sanctorum*, however, states that “*per quem Dominus multa miracula fecit.*”⁴⁵ He can possibly be identified with the confessor of the second wife of King Andrew III, Agnes of Habsburg (1296–1301) in the Franciscan convent of St. John the Evangelist in Buda Castle. A charter issued by Queen Agnes in Buda in 1299 her Franciscan confessor, called Henricus, mentions, who had been sent to the Hungarian court by the parents of the young queen from the German lands (*de Alamania*).⁴⁶

⁴² *Ibid.*, 528.

⁴³ Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* (Rome: Typus Sallustianis, 1903).

⁴⁴ One of the seven manuscripts of Paolino da Venezia’s work was edited as *Provinciale Ord. FF. Min. vetustissimum secundum cod. Vat. 1960*, ed. Conrad Eubel (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St. Bonaventure College, 1892).

⁴⁵ Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum*, 33. One of the eight codices Lemmens used for his edition of the *Catalogus sanctorum*, the Codex Latinus Monacensis 3702, written in 1469 in the Swabian language, partly in Konstanz and partly in Ulm, provides additional information about another Henricus *theutonicus*: “*Item in civitate, quae dicitur Hermannsdorf in VII castris frater Henricus theutonicus, subdiaconu et sacrista ibidem, qui praedixit fratribus mortem suam, antequam aegrotaret. Qui cum quietissime in Domino obdormisset et officium pro eo sleret, in missa in elevatione sacri corporis Domini inter altare et funus puella valde a XIV annis cruribus ac pedibus et brachiis contracta plene sanata et curata coram populo. Hoc signum coram praedicatoribus et fratribus nostris et clero et plus quam XXX milibus suis examinatum et vere probatum.*” “Hermannsdorf in VII castris” is Szeben (Sibiu, Romania). The first Franciscans came from the Rhineland to this town, inhabited at that time mostly by Saxons from the western German territories. The building of the Franciscan monastery started at the end of the thirteenth century and its dedication to St. Elizabeth was probably at the initiative of the burghers, who also supported the construction financially.

⁴⁶ 1 May 1299; DL 2213: Agnes, following the advice of prelates, barons and her Franciscan confessor Henricus, returns the tithes of the “Great Island” [today Csepel-sziget] to Benedict, bishop of Veszprém. See Géza Érszegi and László Solymosi, *Veszprém*

The name and the place associated with a given friar in the *catalogi sanctorum* were of utmost importance; in several updated versions of such catalogues, Henricus *theotonicus* was placed at the end of the list of the friars of the Hungarian Province and, together with Iohannes *custos*, linked to a place referred to as “Caravilla.” Neither a Franciscan *custos* called Iohannes nor a place called Caravilla can be identified today. It has been hypothesized that it is only a scribal error and Iohannes was a *custos* in Francavilla (which was indeed an important monastery in the custody of Syrmia) where Iohannes, the first minister provincial, also lived; his name appears for the first time in the *catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* of 1335.⁴⁷ The manuscript of the *Memorialia* confirms this assumption, since in fol. 125r I read: “*In ungaria in crcta(?) uilla frater Ioannes custos.*” In any case, it is definitely not “*iam dicta villa*” as can be found in Faloci Pulignani’s edition⁴⁸ and it makes no sense to refer back to a “villa” that has not yet been mentioned. Thus, the question arises (which probably will never be answered with certainty): is it possible that there was only one Iohannes de Francavilla, a *custos*, as the earliest record in the *Memorialia* suggests, who is referred to in the later sources as Iohannes de Francavilla, the first provincial of Hungary?

The first *catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* of 1335, similarly to the *Memorialia*, was also built on the scheme of the place and the name of the holy friar, but the structure is better organized and the prologue gives a theological justification of Franciscan sanctity.⁴⁹ One of the most salient features of this catalogue is the clear association of the holy friars with the Franciscan territorial organization of the first half of the fourteenth century. The number of saints included is much higher than in the *Memorialia*. In addition to the association of Iohannes *custos* with a place called “Caravilla,” two other friars from the Province of Hungary were added: Iohannes de Villafranca (to whose case I will return later) and Gallus de Strigonio, a most virtuous and devout *lector* in Strigonium (Esztergom) from whose sepulchre soil was taken to cure the ill.⁵⁰ The brief entry on Gallus was taken over without any substantial changes in the subsequent historiographic

város okmánytára. Pótkötet (1000–1526) [The collection of documents of Veszprém. Supplement (1000–1526)](Veszprém: Veszprémi Érseki és Főképtalani Levéltár, 2010), 176–178, no.113: “...fratre Henrico de ordine fratrum minorum confessore nostro, qui de Alamania per dominum Al(bertum) regem Romanorum patrem nostrum karissimum et dominam reginam matrem nostrum specialiter fuerat destinatus”

⁴⁷ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, Analecta Franciscana* 3, 530, note 2.

⁴⁸ Faloci Pulignani, “*Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*,” 68.

⁴⁹ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “catalogi sanctorum,”* 94–97.

⁵⁰ In the *Catalogus sanctorum* of the Codex 23 I 60 of the Franciscan Library of Fribourg, he is erroneously called Gregorius; see Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum*, 33, note 1.

works listed below, whereas that of Iohannes was presented in a much more detailed form in the printed *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (1504).⁵¹

The *catalogus sanctorum* of 1335 was transmitted through several codices and also in most of the manuscripts of the *Compilatio Avenionensis*.⁵² A similar catalogue, made between 1385 and 1393, was edited by Paciocco based on MS Canon. Misc. 525 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; it included territories and places not mentioned in the *catalogus* of 1335.⁵³ Another *catalogus sanctorum* is reported in the *fructus VII* of Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*.⁵⁴ It fits into the theological framework of the work, the conformity between Francis and Christ, between his companions and other holy friars, the twelve apostles and the disciples of Christ. Due to the complex allegorical-theological character of Bartolomeo's work, it offers a much more detailed presentation of the biographies of the "minor" saints; thus, the catalogue is different from both earlier versions of the *catalogus sanctorum*.⁵⁵

These *catalogi*, despite the close relation with the *Provinciale ordinis fratrum Minorum* of Paolino da Venezia, differ markedly from it in the presentation of the unity between the holy friar and the respective location/area. The *catalogi sanctorum* aimed at ascribing a "geographic" form to Franciscan sainthood and functioned as repertories of the places founded on the burial place of a holy Franciscan and thus, in the words of Paciocco, "as real hagiographic maps of a religious Order connected to its highly articulated territorial structure."⁵⁶ Interestingly, in the *De conformitate* the "minor" saints are not only listed among the other Franciscan saints in *fructus VIII* but also in *fructus XI*, *Franciscus destinator*, in which Bartolomeo

⁵¹ Gallus is mentioned in only one contemporary source according to which he participated with Friar Kálmán at the burial of István of Bény *de genere* Hont-Pázmány in 1273; Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The history of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary until 1711], 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1922–1924), in vol.1, 29. Karácsonyi does not refer to the primary source, though.

⁵² For the manuscripts of the *Avignon Compilation* that contain the catalogue, see E. Menestò, *La Compilatio Avenionensis*, 1472–1523. I had the chance to consult one of the manuscripts of this group, OSzK, MS Cod. Lat 77, and the list of the Hungarian Province on fol. 78r is not identical with that of the edition of Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum*, 33. Henricus *theotonicus* and Iohannes *custos* do not figure in the list in MS Cod. Lat 77.

⁵³ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "catalogi sanctorum"*, 97.

⁵⁴ Bartolomeo da Pisa, *De conformitate beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu*, *Analecta Franciscana* 4–5 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: 1906–1912).

⁵⁵ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "catalogi sanctorum"*, 100.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 105: "vere e proprie mappe agiografiche di un Ordine religioso connesse alla sua articolatissima struttura territoriale."

provides a detailed list of the provinces, custodies, and vicariates with reference to the same “local” or “minor” saints already reported in *fructus VIII*. His list in *fructus XI* is similar to that in the *Provinciale* of Paolino da Venezia. Whereas the latter established Franciscan geography based on the locations of tombs of holy friars, the former presented all the illustrious members of the order in terms of sanctity, learnedness, or ecclesiastical rank. Paciocco’s attentive comparison reveals that no direct relationship among these catalogues can be established. They were subject to constant modifications and re-elaborations and consequently the exemplars were put aside after a time. When the additions became too much, new versions were made, such as the *catalogus* of 1385–93.⁵⁷

The *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, although not treated exhaustively by Paciocco, was the first major work to include a *catalogus sanctorum*. This vast compilation, which can be considered the first “institutional” work about the history of the order, is built on a wide range of sources, including historiographical, hagiographical, and official documents. It is organized in chronological order, listing the most important events according to the minister generals and the general chapters. The unity of the order is the epicenter of the work despite (or because of?) it having been composed in a period when the Observant movement emerged that eventually led to the division of the Franciscan Order.⁵⁸ In addition to the minor saints from the various provinces, a number of martyrs are incorporated. Many of the *passiones* are reported here for the first time. Maria Teresa Dolso differentiated three groups of martyrs based on the chronological order: the first missionaries of the order in the 1220s, the friars who suffered martyrdom during the generalship of Matteo d’Acquasparta (1287–1289), and finally those who died in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁹ The passion of Conradus de Saxonia and Stefanus Hungarus, who suffered martyrdom in Iveria (Georgia) near the Caspian Mountains is recounted in the second group⁶⁰ and that of the five friars who suffered martyrdom in Bidin (Bulgaria), including two friars from Hungary in the third.⁶¹

The last fifteenth-century work directly related to the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* and the *De conformitate*, and thus to the representation of the Franciscan

⁵⁷ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “catalogi sanctorum,”* 106–107.

⁵⁸ On the work in general, see Maria Teresa Dolso, *La Chronica XXIV Generalium: Il difficile percorso dell’unità nella storia francescana* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2003).

⁵⁹ Dolso, *La Chronica XXIV Generalium*, 113–114.

⁶⁰ *Chronica 24 Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, 417–418.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 564–566: *frater Antonius de Saxonia, frater Gregorius de Traguria, frater Nicolaus Hungarus sacerdos, frater Thomas de Fulgineo laicus, frater Ladislaus de Hungaria.*

minoritas, is the *Specchio de l'Ordine Minore*, written in the Umbrian vernacular by Giacomo Oddi di Perugia before 1474, commonly known as the *Franceschina*.⁶² The work is divided into 13 chapters treating themes like obedience, poverty, chastity, charity, and so forth, and in each chapter the central topic is illustrated by legends or episodes from the lives of Franciscan friars, including a large number of Observants.⁶³ Oddi was the first to write about Lancelao de Ongaria, who left Hungary to find true Observance in Italy.⁶⁴ Further, in the appendix of the manuscript of the work copied in the Observant Clarissan convent of Monteluce at the request of the *abbadessa* in 1574, Oddi's work was "updated" with a list of holy Observant friars up to 1570, reporting an account about Stefano da Ongaria sacristan and Giovanni Ongaro, who lived in a monastery near the Danube River in the early sixteenth century.⁶⁵ The *Franceschina* survives in four manuscripts used by male and female Franciscan communities in Umbria.⁶⁶

The First Printed Catalogue of Saints in the *Speculum vitae* (1504)

The earliest printed *catalogus sanctorum* can be found in the *Speculum vitae*, published for the first time in Venice at Simone de Luere's printing house funded by the book trader Jordanus de Dinslaken in 1504. It consists of excerpts of different lengths from the *Speculum perfectionis*, the *Actus*, the sayings of Francis and some of the early brothers, the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*, documents related to the Indulgence of the Portiuncula, collections

⁶² The work was edited by Nicola Cavanna, O.F.M., *La Franceschina. Testo volgare Umbro del secolo XV scritto dal p. Giacomo Oddi di Perugia, edito per la prima volta nella sua integrità dal p. Nicola Cavanna O.F.M.*, 2 vol. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1931). On this work, see Clare Lappin, "The Mirror of the Observance: Image, Ideal and Identity in Observant Franciscan Literature, c. 1415–1528" (Ph.D. dissertation. University of Edinburgh), accessed November 11, 2015. <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/6911/1/530403.pdf>, 178–215; Giovanna Pasqualin Traversa, *La "minoritas" francescana nell'interpretazione della "Franceschina"* (Testo volgare umbro del secolo XV) (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995).

⁶³ Florio Banfi presented in short all the friars of the *Franceschina* who were related to Hungary, see Banfi, "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo: La Franceschina," *Századok* 69 (1935): 473–478.

⁶⁴ Oddi, *Franceschina*, ed. Cavanna, vol. 1, 147–149. I will discuss the case of Lancelao exhaustively in my dissertation.

⁶⁵ Oddi, *Franceschina*, ed. Cavanna, vol. 2, 447–450.

⁶⁶ MS 1238 Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia of 1474–76, belonged to the convent of Monteripido; MS Biblioteca del Convento Santa Maria degli Angeli of 1483; MS Norcia of 1477–1484, belonged to the convent of SS. Annunziata; MS Monteluce of 1570, belonged to the nuns of the convent of Monteluce.

of instructional stories and sayings, and a catalogue of saints.⁶⁷ It also includes two lists at the end of the work, one with the names of the provincial ministers and the other with the chapters of the Hungarian Franciscan Province. The manuscript exemplar of the printed work was updated two years before its publication, since the last provincial minister in the list is Andreas de Bachia (András of Bács) in 1502.⁶⁸

The Hungarian origin of the printed *Speculum vitae* was investigated by Michael Bihl in 1927.⁶⁹ He assumed that whoever updated the list must have been a Conventual Franciscan since he praised Minister General Egidio Delfini (1500–1506).⁷⁰ Following the proposition of Sabatier, he attributed the *Speculum vitae* to a certain Fabianus. The name Fabianus appears on fol. 127a of the printed edition in Francis's benediction of Brother Leo. Supposing that the compiler/owner inserted his own name into his copy, Bihl associated him with Fabian of Igal, provincial minister and great reformer of the Conventuals of the Hungarian Province from 1452 until his death in 1474. According to Bihl, the Conventual Franciscans wanted this compilation to be published, so they updated the lists of the ministers and chapters of Hungary until 1502 and sent or gave it to the book trader Jordanus de Dinslaken to publish in a printing house in Venice.⁷¹ Even if one accepts that the manuscript was used by Fabian of Igal at a certain point, it is not possible to establish to what extent he contributed to this compilation. In my opinion, the presence of the name "Fabianus" in a printed work is too slight a hint to support a theory of authorship, but I find Bihl's reconstruction possible as to the Hungarian provenance of the exemplar of the *Speculum vitae* and the involvement of the Franciscans in the first publication.

⁶⁷ For the full contents, see Paul Sabatier, *Description du Speculum vitae (éd. de 1504)*, 323–357; Michael Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae* B. Francisci parue à Győr en 1502 et l'origine hongroise du *Speculum vitae*," *AFH [Archivum Franciscanum Historicum]* 20 (1927): 132–153, at 145–150.

⁶⁸ *Speculum vitae* (1504), fol. 238b.

⁶⁹ Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae*," 138–145.

⁷⁰ *Speculum vitae* (1504), fol. 215a: "qui [i.e. Egidius Delphinus] bene usque in bodiernum diem laudabiliter in vinea Domini Sabaoth operatus est, volens seraphici Francisci una cum suis fratribus vestigia sequi." See also Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae*," 141. Egidio Delfini was the 40th minister general of the Franciscans and wanted to reform the order as a whole and was against the separatist ambitions of the Observants.

⁷¹ Although by that time there were printers in Buda, it was a general custom to publish works abroad, especially in Venice. Bihl assumed that Jordanus would have kept some copies of the work for commercial use, thus the further editions of the *Speculum vitae* are not linked to the Franciscans; see Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae*," 138.

The *catalogi sanctorum* underwent ongoing updates in the Franciscan monasteries. No manuscript of Hungarian origin containing such a revised version of catalogues of saints survives, but in the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* in the section that treats the monasteries of Hungarian Province where illustrious members of the order lived or were buried, two hitherto unknown friars who had a local cult in the Franciscan convents in Buda and in Esztergom are mentioned in addition to Iohannes de Villafranca, who had already been listed in the catalogue of saints from 1335. Several pieces in the *Speculum vitae* also provide extra information about the Franciscan Province of Hungary, which may imply that the manuscript exemplar of the printed work indeed originated there.⁷² The Hungarian friars of the *Speculum vitae*, as well as those mentioned in the earlier catalogues, were included in the Observant Mariano da Firenze's *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (1521).⁷³

In the *catalogi sanctorum* of the *Speculum vitae* the first rather detailed account is about Iohannes de Villafranca (or Francavilla/ John the French/ Franczia János), which has been discussed exhaustively by Stanko Andrić.⁷⁴ According to the *catalogi sanctorum*, Iohannes was the first Franciscan provincial of Hungary and had a local cult in the custody of Sirmia (today Serbia) in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. From the sixteenth century onwards, he figured in almost all general histories of the Order of Minor Brothers, and his memory was revived in the eighteenth century after two centuries of Ottoman rule that caused serious changes in the population as well as in the ecclesiastical structure.⁷⁵ Andrić differentiates between a short and a long version of the earliest accounts of Iohannes, the brief entries that one finds in the *Catalogus sanctorum* of 1335, the fourteenth-century chronicles, and the long and detailed version written by a

⁷² These parts were published by Samu Borovszky, "A ferencziek történetéhez" [On the history of the Franciscans], *Történelmi Tár* 18 (1895): 749–755.

⁷³ Mariano da Firenze, *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, ed. Theophilus Domenichelli, O.F.M., *AFH* 1 (1908): 98–107; 2 (1909): 92–107, 305–318, 457–472, 626–641; 3 (1910): 294–309, 700–715; 4 (1911): 122–137, 318–339, 559–587. Mariano da Firenze listed Egidius together with the other friars who had local cults in Hungary: the two martyrs of Iveria, the five martyrs of Bulgaria, Iohannes de Villafranca, Petrus de Toria, Gallus lector, Iohannes custos and Henricus Theutonicus under the year 1287 in his *Compendium*; see *AFH* 2 (1909), 468–469.

⁷⁴ Stanko Andrić, "Blessed John the French, the First Franciscan Minister Provincial in Hungary and his Miracles," in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők, and Katalin Szendé (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 83–102.

⁷⁵ Andrić, "Blessed John the French," 83–90.

Franciscan friar from the convent of Villafranca, today known only through the *Speculum vitae*.⁷⁶

The long version that recounts the death and four *post mortem* miracles of Iohannes clearly cannot derive from the short version.⁷⁷ Although the narrator of the legend of the long version apparently did not know the saintly provincial personally, he witnessed the resurrection of four people through the intercession of Iohannes. According to the long version, shortly before his death Iohannes asked the friars to take his body to Francavilla immediately, as the monastery where they were at the time would be abandoned soon. The brothers put him on a cart but they started to eat and did not set off on the journey immediately. Having finished eating, they only saw traces of the wheels of the cart on the bank of the Sava River and found the body of the provincial on the cart in front of the monastery of Francavilla, not taken there by any man or animal. The unknown Franciscan chronicler ends the record by saying that the monastery near the Sava where Iohannes lived was deserted in his time but the saintly friar did not cease to work miracles.

Andrić points out that this version is so rich in facts and historical details that the legend must have been written down not much later than the death of the provincial.⁷⁸ A fundamental difference between the two accounts is that according to the short one the cart with the body miraculously crossed the Sava River, but there is no reference to this miracle in the long one. In Andrić's opinion, it is more probable that the short version was summarized from the long one (written approximately around 1330) rather than preceded it and the miraculous crossing of the Sava River is a "development of the legend." It is uncertain from which monastery blessed Iohannes was carried to Francavilla since in that period there were two other Franciscan houses in the custody of Syrmia, a place called *ad Sanctum Demetrium* (Szávaszentdemeter/Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia) on the left bank of the Sava and *Sanctus Yreneus* (Szenternye/Mačvanska Mitrovica, Serbia) situated on the other side of the river. Although the short version of the account seems to favor the latter identification, this cannot really be interpreted as evidence.

⁷⁶ *Speculum vitae* (1504), fol. 204b.

⁷⁷ Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum*, 33: "In Villafranca frater Joannes, minister Ungariae, qui multis miraculis coruscat; inter alii post mortem suam corpus suum debebat transferri de uno loco per aquam profundam cum navi ad alium locum, et translatus est per seipsum sine adiutorio navigii ad locum debitum."

⁷⁸ Andrić, "Blessed John the French," 99–100.

In the part concerning the Province of Hungary, Ioannes de Villafranca is followed by two holy friars. In the Franciscan monastery dedicated to St. John the Evangelist in Buda, Iohannes minister had cured Provincial Petrus de Terian of a serious illness, who later had the body of Iohannes buried in the church; once it was placed there, he continued to heal people. Petrus probably died in 1287 or 1288 since the next provincial, Stephanus, was appointed in 1288⁷⁹ and was buried in the wall of the same church and healed a blind person who was taken there. The last entry regarding the Province of Hungary is on Esztergom (*Strigonium*). While in the *catalogi sanctorum* of the fourteenth century only the name of the lector Gallus was reported, the list of the *Speculum vitae* was enriched with *frater* Egidius, an illiterate (*laicus*) cook and key-keeper (*claviger*) in the Franciscan monastery of Esztergom.⁸⁰ This holy man, who would not eat meat or drink wine and was often seen *raptus*, floating in the air, once became so ill that after nine days he was believed to be dead, and all the friars, the minister of the custody, and the guardian of the Order gathered for his funeral. But the cook:

regained consciousness and sat up in bed and started to speak so clearly in Latin that everyone was surprised. They told him in Hungarian to speak in Hungarian, but he said: ‘I do not understand what you say.’ And the friars said: ‘Talk to the minister of the custody and the guardian; look! they are standing there.’ He told them: ‘They are surely not my superiors.’ And he pointed to the other part of the infirmary and said: ‘Here are my superiors: St. Francis, St. Anthony and Brother Bernard.’ And having said this he lay back in the bed of the tomb and

⁷⁹ *Speculum vitae* (1504), fol. 205a–b. According to Karácsonyi, both Iohannes and Petrus ministers existed and were buried in the church of the Franciscan monastery of Buda; he dated Iohannes, the second minister provincial’s years to ca. 1256–1260, those of Petrus to 1260–1272; see Karácsonyi, *Szűt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. 1, 21. Furthermore, Balázs Kertész, “A budai ferences kolostor története 1444-ig” [The history of the Franciscan convent of Buda until 1444], in *Szerzetesrendek a Veszprémi Egyházmegyében: A Veszprémi Érseki Hittudományi Főiskolán 2014. augusztus 27–28-án rendezett konferencia előadásai*, ed. Balázs Karlinszky (Veszprém: Separatum, 2015), 27–44, at 31.

⁸⁰ The term *laicus* can be interpreted as “lay” or as “illiterate,” “not educated in Latin;” considering the subsequent account about the vision of Egidius, I translate it as “illiterate”. Some information is extant about the use of Latin in the Franciscan convents in Hungary in the mid-fifteenth century. Fabianus de Igal, the provincial of the Conventual Franciscans decreed in the reformed statutes he introduced in 1454 that if there were more than four friars in a convent they should speak in Latin; see Arnold Magyar, “Die ungarischen Reformstatuten von 1454 des Fabian Igal,” *AFH* 64 (1971): 71–122, at 101.

fell asleep in the Lord, performing many other miracles after his death likewise in his life.⁸¹

The only hint at the period when Egidius died is the reference to Brother Bernard, who is probably the Observant Franciscan Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444). As Bernardino was canonized in 1450 and in the text he is referred to as “brother” not as “saint,” Egidius must have died before this date.⁸² The cook is the only person known to me in Hungary who was a *laicus* but died in fame of sanctity and worked miracles even after his death; all the other friars in the catalogues held important positions in the Franciscan Order in Hungary (provincial minister, custodian, lector, and perhaps confessor of the queen), so they must have received more education.

The fact that a *catalogus sanctorum* was updated with a record on Egidius is notable for various reasons. First, the simple brother was already considered to be a holy man by the whole community in his lifetime because of his mystical sanctity, so much so that even the prelates of the order gathered at his deathbed; moreover, his local cult is attested by the remark that he did not cease to perform miracles after his death. Second, it was important for the Franciscans of Esztergom to preserve his memory similarly to that of Gallus, the lector of the same monastery more than a century before. The registration of the *in vita* and *post mortem* miracles of Egidius the cook is a unique example of the promotion of a *laicus* by the Order of Minor Brothers in Hungary in the fifteenth century. Finally, this account is a telling example of the interaction between Latin and the vernacular language in a Franciscan community in late medieval Hungary.

Stefanus de Ungaria – Commemorated, Preached, and Depicted

The longest entry in the *Memorialia* is about *Stefanus de Ungaria*, who can be identified with *Stefanus de (Villa) Saray* in the later sources. It is worth noting, however, that the *Memorialia*'s entry is not the same as that of the *Catalogus sanctorum* of 1335. A

⁸¹ *Speculum vitae* (1504), fol. 205a–b: “*surrexit et sedit in lecto ita clare loquens in lecto literaliter quod omnes stupebant. Cui dicebant in hungarisco ut loqueretur hungaricum: ipse autem dicebat: 'Non intelligo quid dicis.' Et dicebant fratres: 'Loquaris ministro custodi et guardiano ecce ubi stant.' Ipse dicebat eis: 'Certe isti non sunt prelate mei.' Et ostendebat ad aliam partem infirmarii et dicebat: 'Ecce prelati mei: sanctus Franciscus et sanctus Antonius et frater Bernardus.' Et his dictis recollegit sepulchre in lecto et obdormivit in domino et multa alia miracula in vita sua et similiter post mortem prestante.*”

⁸² On the canonization of Bernardino da Siena, see Letizia Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena (1445–1450)*, *Analecta Franciscana* 16, Nova series, Documenta et studia 4, (Grottaferrata: Quaracchi, 2009). Other, less probable candidates are Bernardino Aquilano (1421–1503) or Bernardino da Feltre (1439–1494).

few years later, the Franciscan John of Winterthur reported a much more detailed narrative about Stefanus was reported in the *Chronicon a Federico II Imperatore ad annum 1348*.⁸³ This account differs from the quite long proper *passio* of Stefanus of the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, but the two share numerous common motifs. The version of the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* was incorporated in Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*⁸⁴ and in Giacomo Oddi's *Franceschina*.⁸⁵

The anonymous author of the *Passio fr. Stefanusi de Hungaria in civitate Saray Tartarorum*, reported in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, recorded the account not only for the glorification of God, the exaltation of faith, and the edification of Christians, but also to show that God alone is capable of making saints from sinners.⁸⁶ He underlines the authenticity of the story by claiming that he heard from “*fide dignis personis, quae presente fuerant*.”⁸⁷ He recounts that Stefanus was born in Varadinum (Nagyvárad/Oradea, Romania) around 1309 and died in Saray on 22 April 1334. At about the age of 25 he was placed in the Franciscan convent of St. John near Saray, locked in to do penance for sins he had committed, from where he escaped with the help of demons that tried to convince him to reject the Christian faith. In a short time, the confused friar denied Christ and the Christian religion in front of the *caffa* and declared that he believed in the one God and His *nuntius*, Machomet. Stefanus' conversion was welcomed by the Saracens and made public at a Muslim feast in a solemn procession around the town. His act saddened the friars and the whole Christian community greatly, and also Stefanus himself, who almost immediately repented his conversion although not yet overtly. Secretly he contacted the Franciscan guardian of the custody of Saray, Henricus de Bohemia, to whom he confessed. They made a plan for how to announce publicly the “reconversion” of Stefanus, who would wear the Franciscan habit under his purple robe as he went to preach in front of the Saracens; it was clear to both friars that this act would end in martyrdom. It happened as it had been planned; Stefanus' return to Christianity and his insulting words on the Muslim faith resulted in his condemnation to death. Despite various cruel methods of torture to force him to change his mind, the friar was still alive a few days later. Thus, the *caffa* ordered that he be burnt alive at the stake according to the statutes, but Stefanus spent the night praying in the flames, remaining unharmed. By this time, the Saracens were truly upset by seeing that

⁸³ Friedrich Baethgen, ed., *Die Chronik des Johannes von Winterthur*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924), 147–149.

⁸⁴ Bartolomeo da Pisa, *De conformitate*, vol.1, 333–334.

⁸⁵ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, ed. Cavanna, vol. 2, 240–247.

⁸⁶ *Chronica 24 Generalium, Analecta Franciscana* 3, 515–524.

⁸⁷ *Chronica 24 Generalium, Analecta Franciscana* 3, 515.

Stefanus was still alive, and since some of them had even wounded the imprisoned friar with swords, the *caffa* decided to send him to the stake again. On the Feast of St. George, after the friar had been dragged through the city tied to a horse's tail and one of his ears cut off, he was led to the stake. As he was about to step into the flames, the ropes on his hands loosened, he made the sign of the cross, and entered the fire of his own will, yet, as he was protected by God, he remained unharmed and the fire was extinguished around him. It was not the fire but the Saracens, throwing large stones on him, hitting and wounding him with swords and axes, who finally caused the friar's death. Stefanus' veneration started immediately after his death; some Christians managed to collect tiny pieces of bones from among the ashes that they kept as relics and a multitude of lights was seen in the sky above the place of his execution. Several miracles occurred for the merits of the friar at the place he suffered martyrdom, of which two healing miracles were performed on a Christian *quamvis schismatica* and an Armenian Christian woman, and a third miracle of punishment on a Saracen woman who mocked the Christian faith and the martyr.⁸⁸

This narrative merits a detailed analysis; here I only raise some points of interest. Although the text was clearly designed in the style of the early Christian *passiones*, there is a twist in Stefanus' story: He was a Christian who converted to Islam and then "re-converted" to be Christian again. At the same time, it is also an account of the Franciscans' presence and missionary activities in the Mongol Empire. Stefanus' Hungarian origin is marginal in the narrative; what matters here is that he was a Franciscan friar, a sinful human being, who, with the help of God became a true confessor of the Christian religion.

In the fifteenth century, the friars' interest in missionary activities revived (especially the Observants) as they were engaged in fighting back the Ottoman intruders as well as defending Catholic faith from beliefs considered unorthodox. Stefanus' passion — a well-written piece: adventurous, colorful, exotic — was transmitted to a wider public through a sermon of the Observant Franciscan Giacomo della Marca, who, among various other duties, was the visitator and vicar of the Observant Province of Bosnia (1435–1438), the inquisitor of Austria and Hungary (1436–1439), and also played a significant role in the revolt of Buda in 1439.⁸⁹ He incorporated the passion of Stefanus at the end of the sermon entitled *De excellentia Ordinis s. Francisci* he composed in 1449 while staying at the

⁸⁸ *Chronica 24 Generalium, Analecta Franciscana* 3, 523–524.

⁸⁹ György Galamb, "Giacomo della Marca e la rivolta di Buda" (Riflessioni sull'osservanza e il suo ambiente socio-culturale in Italia e in Ungheria), *Annuario dell'Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma*, ed. József Pál (Messina: Rubbettino, 1997), 53–63.

monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie of Monteprandone.⁹⁰ He addressed his sermon to the Minor Brothers and the devout.⁹¹ The theme of the sermon is “... and there went with him his disciples, and a great multitude” (*Ibant cum illo discipuli eius in turba copiosa*, Luke 7:11), which Giacomo applied to Francis, who wanted *in Christo Yesu totum transformari*, and whose order enlightened the whole world with four rays of light.⁹² Stefanus was among the friars who were the “most shining in miracles of sanctity.” The Observant preacher himself was aware of the fact that the Franciscan martyrs were not well known by the faithful, as he says: “And although there are many [martyrs] that we do not know, I will speak now about the blessed Stefanus of Hungary of the town of Saray of the Tartars for your benefit.”⁹³ Giacomo’s presentation of Stefanus’ *passio* concentrates mainly on describing the various brutal methods the Saracens used to torture the friar, introducing a new aspect that cannot be found in the earlier account of the friar’s passion. After Stefanus had been flogged almost to death, “(a)nd a stone was put on his body [and he was] without food for two days and nights, and then being hanged by the hands with a great stone on his [upper] arms in such a way that his

⁹⁰ This connection was pointed out by Edith Pásztor, “Stefano d’Ungheria,” in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università lateranense, 1961–2000), 12 vols., in vol. 12, 18. Giacomo della Marca’s sermon is preserved in MS Monteprandone, Biblioteca Municipale 42, fol. 211r–214v and was edited in Nicolaus dal Gal, O.F.M., “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci (ex codice autographo)*,” *AFH* 4 (1911): 303–313; the section about Stefanus is at 312–313. For his passion, Giacomo della Marca used Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *De conformitate*. The Observant preacher divided his sermon into four sections: 1) *Singularissimus in scientie radiositate*, 2) *Excellentissimus in doctrine nobilitate*, 3) *Preclarissimus regali et imperiali dignitate*, 4) *Lucidissimus et miraculorum sanctitate*.

⁹¹ “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*,” in *AFH* 4 (1911): 304: “*Attendite, tam vos fratres Minores, et devoti, quam etiam tota creatura, mirabilia magna, quibus voluit Deus hunc sacrum ordinem honorari, ac Dei gratia et gloria decorari, et ad inflammandum corda nostra in sancta et gloriosa turba, cum omni superna caritate et devotione, ipsum patrem sequi. Et ideo primo dicemus: quomodo turba doctorum sanctorum, virginum, martirum, confessorum et aliarum personarum nobilium.*” According to Dal Gal, the sermon could have been delivered at the general chapter of Florence of 1449 or the congregation of the Observant generals celebrated in *locus Nemoris* [i.e., Scarpara, in the custody of Florence] in which Giacomo participated.

⁹² “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*,” *AFH* 4 (1911): 304: “*Ideo beatus Franciscus se voluit in Christo Yesu totum transformari, qui nihil melius potuit invenire. Ideo dicit: Ibant etc., quia iste ordo sanctissimus ad instar solis resplendent per totum mundum quatuor lucidissimis radiis perlustrando.*”

⁹³ “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*,” in *AFH* 4 (1911): 312: “*Et quamvis sint multi quos ignoramus, sed stupenda de beato Stefanus Ungaro caritati vestre annotabo, in civitate Sarra in parte Tartarorum.*”

[fore]arms seemed to be coming out from his shoulders he cried out to Jesus and Francis.”⁹⁴

In Giacomo della Marca’s sermon, when the tortured friar finally, after long suffering, arrived at the point of death, he gave his holy soul to Christ and St. Francis.⁹⁵ This *passio* is the most elaborated one in the sermon and it is not by chance that it was placed at the very end. With this account, the Observant preacher “closed the circle:” Stefanus Ungarus, an exemplary martyr of the Order of Minor Brothers whose torments can be compared to those Christ had suffered during the Passion, handed over his spirit not only to the Savior but also to St. Francis, suggesting perfect conformity between the two he had proclaimed at the beginning of the sermon.

Visual Representations

The Franciscan martyrs were preferred subjects of visual representation in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries partly because the idea of sacrificing one’s life for true faith was quite topical, partly due to the adaptability of the passion narratives to visual language. Beginning from the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, the passion narratives of the two martyrs of Georgia, the five martyrs of Bulgaria, and that of Stefanus de villa Saray were transmitted to subsequent hagiographic and historiographic works like the *De conformitate* and the *Franceschina*, which were the main sources of inspiration for visual representations. The legends and the passion narratives of the *Franceschina* were richly illustrated with miniatures in all four surviving codices. The tortures of the martyrs of Iveria were depicted in one, the martyrs of Bulgaria in two, and those of Stefanus de villa Saray in three codices.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*” in *AFH* 4 (1911): 313: “*Et in medio corporis ad saxum per duas dies et noctes sine cibo, et postea subspensus per ambas manus magnum saxum in brachiis, ita quod brachium egrediebatur quasi de humeris, clamabat Ihesum et Franciscum.*”

⁹⁵ “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*” in *AFH* 4 (1911): 313.

⁹⁶ See Nicola Cavanna, Introduction to *La Franceschina*, by Giacomo Oddi, VII–XCV, at LV–LV. The miniatures representing the martyrs of Bidin are in MS Santa Maria degli Angeli fol. 314v and Biblioteca Comunale of Perugia 1238 fol. 277v; those of Stefanus de villa Saray are in MS Santa Maria degli Angeli fol. 308r; MS Biblioteca Comunale of Perugia 1238, fol. 272v; MS Monteluca fol. 164v.

Moreover, images of Stefanus⁹⁷ and the five martyrs of Bulgaria can also be found⁹⁸ in the corridors of the dormitory of the Observant monastery of the Verna among the 51 *tondi* of the holy friars above the entrance to the cells made by Gerino di Pistoia and his workshop between 1500 and 1539.⁹⁹ These images were not made for public display but to provide models for the community of the Verna to follow. Under each *tondo* an inscription indicates the name of the friar(s) and describes a particular aspect of his sanctity or an anecdote. The *tondi* are arranged in a thematic sequence (martyrs, Observant preachers, canonized saints, ministers, friars from Tuscany, and so on). The commemorative scheme remained similar to those of the *catalogi sanctorum* in summing up the essentials about a friar (or a group of friars), but with the passage of time the geographical aspect faded away completely. The extensive textual compilations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the main sources for the images representing the martyrs.

Conclusions

In this study I have presented one of the commemorative strategies used by the Franciscans, collecting information and compiling lists, usually organized on a territorial basis, of friars who died in *fama sanctitatis*. I have surveyed the evolution of the catalogues of saints that started to emerge early in the fourteenth century and were incorporated in hagiographic compilations, general chronicles, and books of conformities to preserve the memories of illustrious Franciscans and at the same time to emphasize the extraordinary proliferation of the order and the excellence of friars, manifested mainly through working miracles. Several friars from Hungary can be found in these catalogues, which are often the only surviving sources of the early history of the Franciscans in the country. Their historical accuracy is doubtful, because the *catalogi* were copied in different Franciscan

⁹⁷ Maria Dell'Amico, Anna Giorgi, Jodie Rogers Mariotti, *Gerino da Pistoia alla Verna: un ciclo cinquecentesco di affreschi restituito alla luce* (Villa Verrucchio (Rimini): P.G. Pazzini, 2007), 99, no. 8: “B. Stefanus de Ungaria, innumeris tormentis in carcere visus est inter duas columbas orare, de igne lber exivit, tandem lapidibus occisus est.”

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 108, no.17: “B. Martyres Fr. Andreas Ungberus, Fr. Gregorius de Jadra, Fr. Nicolaus de Marchia, Fr. Benedictus de Regnio, Fr. Thomas laicus de Fulgineo, ad petitionem Ludovici regis Unghariae ad reducendum ad veram fidem budgaros ierunt et ab ipsis per frustra occisi, martyrium compleverunt.”

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 59–91. See also Banfi, “Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo: La Franceschina,” 475; József Kaposi, “Introduction,” *Assisi Szent Ferencz virágoskertje. Fioretti* [The flower garden of St. Francis of Assisi. Fioretti], I–LXXII (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1913), XXXIII.

provinces throughout Europe where the friars were not familiar with the names and locations and were unable to check or correct the lists that they had at hand. This resulted in marked diversity among the catalogues and the transmission of scanty or even faulty information. It may also be that some eye-witness accounts from the early fourteenth century survive only in sixteenth-century works as in the detailed accounts of the death and miracles of Iohannes de Villafranca and Brother Egidius in the *Speculum vitae*, so a careful treatment of the historicity of the printed work is required.

These catalogues guaranteed the longevity of memory; despite their “work-in-progress” character, the number of inclusions of new figures far exceeded omissions. There is no reason to think that the omission of names is intentional; it seems that holy friars who lacked a distinctive characteristic in the brief record were more liable to fall victim to being left out. The general rule is that the Franciscan authors who included such catalogues in their works carefully recorded, often uncritically, all the names that were available in the sources they used. The “great survivors” of the friars related to Hungary in visual hagiography were the martyrs whose examples were also put forward by the Observant Franciscans.

URBAN PATRONAGE OF SAINT ANNE ALTARS IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

Emőke Nagy¹ 

The legend of Saint Anne was the subject of a number of debates over the course of the Middle Ages because of its apocryphal origins.² Nevertheless, during the Middle Ages Saint Anne became an important fertility patron; she even evolved to become the central figure in the family of Christ. Central Europe favored genealogical representations (Anne Trinity and the Holy Kinship) instead of Anne presented alone (characteristic of France) or the Education of the Virgin (characteristic of England). Scholars have studied the vast visual material (frescoes, altarpieces, and sculptures) mainly from the stylistic and structural point of view concerned with some aspects of the hagiographical content. Nevertheless, no study has been done until now regarding the commissioners of the altars; I will focus on the problem of patronage, the supporters of the cult. I will consider iconographic details by discussing Saint Anne altars from Upper

¹ The present study is based on a chapter in my dissertation entitled “Narrative and Visual Sources of Saint Anne’s Cult in Late Medieval Hungary (14th–16th centuries) in a Comparative Perspective” (Cluj-Napoca/Budapest: Babeş-Bolyai University/University of Eötvös Loránd, 2015). My work has been enabled thanks to a grant from the Research Support Scheme of CEU related to the OTKA project “Cults that Bind and Break Communities.” Many scholars helped me during my research; I would like to thank my supervisors, Ioan-Aurel Pop and Gábor Klaniczay, for their continuous help and advice. I would like to thank Gábor Endrődi, Maria Crăciun, Terézia Kerny, Ernő Marosi, György Poszler, Anna Ridovics, Béla Zsolt Szakács, and Tünde Wehli for help analyzing the iconographic sources and Judit Majorossy for help with the archival sources.

² For the text of the Protevangelium see Constantin Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia apocrypha: adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1876). For a recent study on the Protevangelium see György Geréby, “Egy orthodox apokrif műhelyében: A Jakab-ősevangélium (*Protevangelium Jacobi*) filozófiai szimbolikája” [In the workshop of an Orthodox apocryphon – the Protevangelium of James], *Ókor* 6, no. 3 (2007): 50–61; Idem, “A világ és az idő megállása Jakab Prótevangeliumában” [The stopping of time and the world in the Protevangelium Jacobi], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 2, no. 1 (2006): 93–126. For further information on Anne and Joachim’s legend in the *Protevangelium* see Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, “Introduction,” *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990) 1–69; Virginia Nixon, *Mary’s Mother. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 11.

Hungary especially (today Slovakia). I will treat the background information on the Saint Anne altarpieces where I could find enough archival information on the persons and institutions who ordered them. Thus, I can approach, to a certain extent, questions related to the identity of the cult's propagators.³

Saint Anne's Legends Represented in Images

Saint Anne's iconography is based on two main types of images: 1) narrative images from the Marian cycle, for example the meeting at the Golden Gate, and 2) images involving Christ's genealogy, depictions of Anne with Mary and the Christ Child (the Anne Trinity – *Metterza*, *Anna Selbdritt*, *Anne Trinitaire*) and the Holy Kinship (*Heilige Sippe*, *Sainte Parenté*). Sometimes artists presented Anne Trinity together with Anne's mother, Emerentia, an iconographic type called *Anna Selbviert*.

The first images showing Saint Anne are part of the Marian cycle, presenting important elements from the life of the saint.⁴ Anne's image resembled Mary's until the thirteenth century; only later was her figure represented as a mature woman with a scarf or bonnet (usually with a book – an Old Testament or book of hours or a lily in her hand).⁵ In her study on Saint Anne, Virginia Nixon noted that late medieval German visual and textual materials emphasize the fact that Anne was still capable of bearing children at her age. In the fifteenth century this

³ János Bollók, "Pseudo-Máthé evangéliuma" [The gospel of Pseudo-Matthew] in *Csodás evangéliumok* [Miraculous gospels], ed. Tamás Adamik, trans. Tamás Adamik and János Bollók (Budapest: Telosz Kiadó, 1996), 47–60; Aurelio de Santos Otero, ed., *Los Evangelios Apócrifos: Colección de textos griegos y latinos, versión crítica, estudios introductorios, comentarios e ilustraciones* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1956), 189–258.

⁴ The following images were part of the Marian cycle: The Annunciation to Anne, the meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, the Birth of Mary, and the Presentation of Mary in the Temple. The iconographic representations of the life of Mary and that of her parents were formed in the Eastern Church, and this program was taken over by the Western Church as a response to liturgical feasts. See "Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, 169–199; Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction," 1–69; Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, 217–259, 263–282; Dominique Costa, *Sainte Anne* (Nantes: Musée Dobrée, 1966), 7–40; Karl Künstle, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1926), 328–332; Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Iconographie*, vol. 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1968), 168–192; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955–1959), 139–148.

⁵ Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, 139.

was made obvious by often depicting her breasts visible under her dress. In the sixteenth century her figure was rather depicted as an old lady.⁶

Genealogical representations appeared parallel to the evolution and spread of the saint's cult. The earliest examples of Anne Trinity images (late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries) show the different solutions artists adopted when representing Saint Anne. The typical solution was to use already existing formats such as the different representations of the Madonna and Child (the Gothic standing or seated Madonna or the Romanesque Throne of Wisdom).⁷ In some early representations the figures of Anne and Mary are almost identical.

The Anne Trinity images, representing Christ's grandmother, Anne, with her daughter, Mary, and the Christ child, feature not only Christ's matrilineal relationship with his ancestors through his grandmother, but also emphasize the maternal features of Anne, the mother of the Virgin. Images of Anne had a moral and educational nature in the Late Middle Ages as well, especially in England.⁸

The debate about the interpretation of the Anne Trinity images is related to its theological background. In the view of some art historians this iconographic type, which popularized the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, appeared as a result of a growing devotion to the Virgin Mary and was connected to the devotion to Saint Anne (in the thirteenth century).⁹ Other scholars reject a causal connection between the cult of Anne and that of the Immaculate Conception.¹⁰ They argue that textual evidence does not support the idea that the image represents or refers to the doctrine that Mary was conceived without the stain of Original Sin. Mary's mother, Anne, was drawn into the discourse regarding the conception of her daughter.

⁶ Ibid., 121–131.

⁷ Ibid., 19–20, 134.

⁸ Pamela Sheingorn, "The Wise Mother: The Image of Saint Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 69–80.

⁹ Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, 13–73; Costa, *Sainte Anne*, 7–40; Künstle, *Iconographie*, 328–332; Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 168–192; Réau, *Iconographie*, 139–148.

¹⁰ Dörfler-Dierken, *Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna*, 45–66; Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, 72–76.

Supporters of Saint Anne Images in Medieval Hungary

The textual sources containing Saint Anne sermons (Pelbartus de Themeswar¹¹ and Osvaldus de Lasko¹²) and legends (the Teleki,¹³ Kazinczy,¹⁴ and Érdy

¹¹ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis II. [pars aestivalis]* (Augsburg: Johann Otmar, 1502), sermons 36, 37, 38. I used the copy kept in the Lucian Blaga Univ. Library in Cluj-Napoca, cat. no.: BMV 41. A brief version of my analysis is given in: Emőke Nagy, “Anyaság és szentség: Szent Anna és Szent Erzsébet Temesvári Pelbárt prédikációiban [Motherhood and Sanctity: Saint Anne and Saint Elisabeth in the sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar],” in *Árpád-bázi Szent Erzsébet: Magyar-német kultúrkapcsolatok Kelet-Közép-Európában* [Saint Elisabeth of Hungary: Hungarian-German cultural relationships in East Central Europe], ed. Csilla Gábor, Tamás Knecht, Gabriella-Nóra Tar (Cluj-Napoca: Verbum, 2009), 32–47; eadem, “‘Had She Born Ten Daughters, She Would Have Named Them All Mary because of the Kindness of the First Mary.’ St. Anne in the Sermons of Two Late Medieval Hungarian Preachers,” in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők, Katalin Szende (Budapest, CEU Press, 2011), 273–283; eadem, “Szent Anna legendája két későközépkori magyar prédikátor, Temesvári Pelbárt és Laskai Osvát, sermoiban” [Saint Anne’s legend in two Hungarian preachers’ sermons], *Aetas* 29 (2014): 23–32.

¹² Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1499), sermon 62. I used the copy kept in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, cat. no.: Inc.1030. See Emőke Nagy, “‘Had She Born Ten Daughters,’” 273–283; eadem, “Szent Anna legendája,” 23–32.

¹³ *Teleki-kódex*, 277–328; Emőke Nagy, “Motherhood and Sanctity in the Cult of Saint Anne: The Reception of the Saint’s Legend Based on her Earliest Sources from Medieval Hungary, the Teleki, Kazinczy, and Érdy codices,” *Colloquia* 15 (2009): 28–33; eadem, “Szent Anna kultuszának jegyei a Teleki-, Kazinczy-, Érdy-kódex alapján” [The character of Saint Anne’s cult based on the Teleki, Kazinczy and Érdy codices] in *Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület I. szakosztályában*, ed. Emese Egyed, László Pakó, Attila Weisz [Papers presented on the Day of Hungarian Science at the first subdivision of the Transylvanian Museum Association] (Kolozsvar: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2013), 35–49; eadem, *Narrative and Visual Sources*, 73–90.

¹⁴ *Kazinczy-kódex 1526–1541. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűbű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* [The Kazinczy Codex 1526–1541. A facsimile and transcription of the monument with introduction and notes], ed. Zsuzsa Kovács, Régi magyar kódexek 28 (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2003), 39–58; the first critical edition is available online at http://kt.lib.pte.hu/cgi-bin/kt.cgi?konyvtar/kt06010401/6_0_2_pg_175.html (*Kazinczy-kódex*) [The Kazinczy codex], ed. György Volf, Nyelvemléktár 6 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [MTA], 1877); Emőke Nagy, “Motherhood and Sanctity,” 28–33; eadem, “Szent Anna kultuszának jegyei,” 35–49; eadem, *Narrative and Visual sources*, 77–90.

codices¹⁵), with the exception of the latest codex, came from Franciscan milieus in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Further information on the cult comes from the domain of patronyms and background information on images from late medieval Hungary, especially Upper Hungary. Through the archival sources and images I intend to draw the contours of the devotion to Saint Anne in ecclesiastic environment as well as in the milieu of burghers. The support of the cult can be seen in some examples through devotee burghers (of lay and ecclesiastical rank).

Saint Anne Patronyms

According to the preserved patronyms, the first promoters of the saint's cult were the Order of Saint Augustine. The Augustinian monastery of Esztergom dates back to before 1272.¹⁶ The Augustinian provostship in Siklós dates before 1343 (in 1541 it ceased to function). It was founded by the Kán family from Siklós and dedicated to Saint Anne.¹⁷ Another monastery of the same order dates to the same period. It was founded in Újlak (Ilok, Croatia) in ca. 1343 by the Újlaki family (and destroyed by the Ottomans in 1526).¹⁸

The Clarisse sisters also had several convents dedicated to the saint, one in Oradea (Várad, Romania) founded in 1338¹⁹ and one in Sárospatak founded in

¹⁵ *Érdy-kódex* [The *Érdy Codex*], ed. György Volf, Nyelvelméltár 5 (Budapest: MTA, 1876), 144–150. The critical edition of the codex (Nyelvelméltár) features the original page numbers of the codex on the margins of the text. I used the page numbers and row numbers of this edition. This edition can be accessed online at http://kt.lib.pte.hu/cgi-bin/kt.cgi?konyvtar/kt06010401/5_0_2_pg_144.html; Emőke Nagy, “Motherhood and Sanctity,” 28–33; eadem, “Szent Anna kultuszának jegyei,” 35–49; eadem, *Narrative and Visual Sources*, 78–90.

¹⁶ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The historical geography of Hungary during the Árpád age], 4 vols. (Budapest, 1963–1998), vol. 2, 273–274; Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Arcanum, 2008), 29.

¹⁷ Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. 1, 378–379.

¹⁸ Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadis], 3 vols (Budapest: MTA 1941), vol. 2, 288–289; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, ed. Elemér Mályusz, vol. 1 (1387–1399), vol. 2/1 (1400–1406) and vol. 2, no. 2 (1407–1410) (Budapest: MTA 1951–1958), ed. Iván Borsa based Elemér Mályusz's manuscript of vol. 3 (1411–1412) (Budapest: MTA 1993), vol. 2, no. 1, 77; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 102.

¹⁹ Csánki, *Magyarország*, vol. 1, 600; *Anjoukori okmánytár* [Archival sources from the period of the Angevins], 6 vols., Imre Nagy, ed. (Budapest, 1878–1891), Gyula Nagy Tasnádi, ed. vol. 7 (Budapest, 1920), vol. 4, 8.

1385.²⁰ The patronyms of the Paulines in Hangony date back to the fourteenth century (1368) (the monastery founded by the Hangony family ceased to exist in 1460),²¹ while that in Tokaj is from the fifteenth century. The latest was founded first between 1466 and 1472 by Imre Szapolyai, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and for a second time by his son, János Szapolyai, dedicated to Saint Anne. It functioned until 1536.²² Other chapels and churches dedicated to the saint were in Ozora (1420, a chapel),²³ Panyit (Košický, Slovakia, 1349, a chapel),²⁴ Samobor (Samobor, Croatia, 1334, a church),²⁵ Sztára (Staré, Slovakia, 1335, a church),²⁶ and Turbina (Croatia, 1334, a church).²⁷ Several toponyms commemorated Saint Anne during the Middle Ages, which allows one to think that even if the medieval church no longer existed the village church was also dedicated to Anne. Patronyms from this period, the fourteenth century, are preserved from Liptovská Anna (Szentanna, Slovakia),²⁸ Sântana de Mureş (Marosszentanna, Romania),²⁹ and Sântana Nirajului (Nyárádszentanna, Romania).³⁰

It is important to present the case of Transylvania in more detail because data on patronyms have been preserved. One of the earliest is Sântana de Mureş;

²⁰ *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, ed. Mályusz, vol. 1, 470; Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, vol. 1, 338.

²¹ Csánki, *Magyarország*, vol. 1, 136; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 38.

²² Csánki, *Magyarország*, vol. 1, 339; Tamás Guzsik, *A pálosrend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon: összefoglaló és katalógus* [The ecclesiastical monuments of the Paulines in medieval Hungary: A summary and catalogue], *Magyar építészettörténet*, 2nd ed. (Budapest: Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem, Építészettörténeti és Elméleti Intézet, 1980), 18; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 99.

²³ Pál Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei* [The diplomas of the popes from the fifteenth century], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1931–1938), vol. 1, 96.

²⁴ *Anjoukori okmánytár*, vol. 5, 271.

²⁵ Georg Heller, *Comitatus Zagrabienensis* vol. 2. Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn 11 (Munich: Finnisch-Ugrisches Seminar, 1980), 96.

²⁶ *A nagymihályi és sztárai gróf Sztáray család oklevéltára* [The archival sources of the family of the counts of Sztáray from Nagymihály and Sztára], ed. Gyula Nagy, 2 vols. (Budapest: 1887–1890), vol. 1, 98.

²⁷ Dezső Csánki, *Körös megye a XIV. Században* [Körös County in the fourteenth century] (Budapest, 1893), 89.

²⁸ *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vol. 1, 666; Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, vol. 1, 221

²⁹ *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia* (Budapest, 1884), vol. 1/1, 97, 131, 140.

³⁰ *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 1/1, 96, 131, 140.

according to the tithe registers, a parish church dedicated to Saint Anne was present in Sântana de Mureș in 1332 in the archdeanery of Tileagd.³¹

Carmen Florea suggests that the presence of Franciscans in Târgu-Mureș had a cultural influence on the region.³² The monastery in Târgu-Mureș, founded in 1316, had great importance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³³ They copied literary works such as the Teleki codex during the sixteenth century.³⁴ The patronym, a church dedicated to Saint Anne and its presence in the toponym, could perhaps be the result of missionary activity in the region.³⁵

Nevertheless a Franciscan distribution of the cult can be detected later; in 1340 Bishop Andrew Báthori of Oradea (1329–1345) founded a Saint Anne convent for the Poor Clares.³⁶ According to Vince Bunyitay, before becoming bishop Andrew Báthori had been canon of the cathedral of Oradea, after which he became head of the Buda provostship and as such was close to the courtly

³¹ Antal Beke, *Az Erdélyi káptalan levéltára Gyulafehérvárt* [The Transylvanian chapter at Alba Iulia] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1896), 924; *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 1/1, 97, 131, 140.

³² Carmen Florea, “The Cult of the Saints in Late Medieval Transylvania (14th–16th centuries)” PhD dissertation, (Cluj-Napoca: Babeș-Bolyai University, 2013), 135.

³³ János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The history of Franciscans in Hungary until 1711], 2 vols. (Budapest: MTA, 1922–1923), vol. 1, 203–205.

³⁴ For a recent study on the history of the friary see Zoltán Soós, “The Franciscan Friary of Târgu-Mureș (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 249–253.

³⁵ Carmen Florea, “The Cult of the Saints,” 135. A fourteenth-century Holy Kinship fresco appears in the sanctuary of the church; see Tünde Wehli, “Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek” [Thematic and iconographic phenomena], in *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Art in Hungary 1300–1470] ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 211; Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance, 1460–1541* [Transylvanian renaissance, 1460–1541] (Cluj: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 34; Vasile Drăguț, *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic art in Romania] (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1979), 208–209; Tünde Wehli, “Falfestészet” [Frescoes] in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437* [Art in the time of King Sigismund 1387–1437], ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, Tünde Wehli (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1987), 342; Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben. Értékmérés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával*, [Medieval wall painting in Transylvania: Salvage work supported by the László Teleki Foundation], ed. Tibor Kollár (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008), 214–244; Ridovics, “The Changing Aspects of the Female Roles,” 54–55; Dána Jenei, *Gothic Mural Paintings in Transylvania* (Bucharest: Noi Media Print, 2007), 78–79; Emőke Nagy, *Narrative and Visual Sources*, 93–94.

³⁶ Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* [The history of the diocese of Várad from its foundation to the present], 4 vols. (Nagyvárad: 1883), vol. 3, 129–130; Carmen Florea, “The Cult of the Saints,” 132.

milieu of King Charles Robert. At the time, the royal family supported the propagation of the Franciscan Order.³⁷ Thus, Bishop Andrew Báthori meant a Franciscan affiliation at the royal court which probably influenced his propagation of the Poor Clares in Oradea. A Saint Anne altar was founded in the same city in the cathedral dedicated to Saint Ladislas before 1333.³⁸ In Huedin (Bánffihunyad, Romania), a chapel dedicated to Saint Anne in the parochial church is mentioned in the sources.³⁹

The cult of Saint Anne also received support in the case of the Alba Iulia cathedral at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The bishopric of Alba Iulia was the ecclesiastical unit under which all the other ecclesiastical units from Transylvania, except for the Saxon cities, were subordinate. Bishop Demeter (1368–1376) was a supporter of the cult of Saint Paul the Hermit. This affiliation can be seen by the fact that he restored the deserted Franciscan monastery in Alba Iulia to the benefit of this order. The “new” monastery was dedicated to Saint Elisabeth of Hungary and to Saint Anne. This act seems to show that the Pauline Hermits embraced the cult of Saint Anne. The order was a diligent promoter of the cult of the Virgin and they also became propagators of devotion to the Immaculate Conception.⁴⁰ An altar dedicated to Saint Anne is mentioned in the documents, as well as the names of several altarists in the cathedral of Alba Iulia, the first of them *Magister Ambrosius Altaris Beate Anne Matris Marie in eadem ecclesia nostra Albensi fundate rector* for 1505, 1506, 1508.⁴¹ Bishop Francis Várday (1514–1525) endowed a chapel of Saint Anne in the cathedral of Alba Iulia and selected it as his burial chapel in his last will in 1524.⁴² The altar dedicated to Saint Anne, which probably stood in the chapel named after the saint, did not survive. It is important that the bishop of Alba Iulia propagated the saint’s cult, because due

³⁷ Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története*, vol. 1, 172–181; Carmen Florea, *The Cult of the Saints*, 132.

³⁸ Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története*, vol. 3, 43.

³⁹ Géza Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The cathedral of Alba Iulia] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958), 186–187; idem, *Erdély építésze a XIV–XVI. században* (Transylvanian architecture from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) (Kolozsvar: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület Kiadása, 1996), 164, 529.

⁴⁰ János Temesváry, *Erdély középkori püspökei* [Medieval bishops of Transylvania] (Cluj-Kolozsvár: 1922), 208–209; Carmen Florea, “The Cult of the Saints,” 133.

⁴¹ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári*, 205

⁴² Vincze Bunyitay, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház későbbi részei és egy magyar humanista emlékezete* [The later parts of the cathedral of Alba Iulia and the memories of a Hungarian humanist] (Budapest: MTA [1893], 1940), 27–30.

to his position he could influence other ecclesiastical units in embracing the cult of Saint Anne.

Saint Anne Images in Upper Hungary and Transylvania

Saint Anne's popularity in late medieval Hungary can be measured through the large number, approximately seventy, of frescoes, altars, and sculptures that remain, mostly from Upper Hungary and Transylvania. Some iconographic aspects of these images have been described by Edit Sz. Lajta.⁴³ She analyzed the representations of Holy Kinship in Upper Hungary from the point of view of artistic influences and succeeded in establishing the process of the compositional evolution of the images. This approach does not refer directly to the features of the saint's cult in late Middle Ages, however. A more recent analysis, based on the works by Sándor Bálint and Edit Sz. Lajta, is the PhD dissertation of Anna Ridovics on the baroque Saint Anne devotion in Hungary, namely, on a prayer book with textual and visual sources.⁴⁴ She also included briefly the medieval period of the saint's cult incorporating foreign literature and interpretations about devotion to Saint Anne. In a separate publication she presents the medieval part of her research.⁴⁵ which she pursues using Edit Sz. Lajta's idea that structural changes in the images reflect changes in some aspects of the cult, especially gender roles.

⁴³ Edit Sz. Lajta, "A 'Nagy Szent család' ikonográfiája. A későközépkori művészet elvilágiasodásának tipikus példája" [Iconography of the Holy Kinship. A typical example of the laicism of late medieval art] *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1 (1954): 34–48.

⁴⁴ The ethnographic study of Sándor Bálint is a basic source for an overview of the saint's cult from the beginning of the twentieth century. See *Ünnepi Kalendárium. A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából* [Liturgical calendar. On the feast of the Virgin and other important feasts in Central European culture], 2 vols. (Budapest: Mandala, 1998), 2 vol., 95–118.

⁴⁵ Anna Ridovics, "Isten mindenhatóságának tárháza: Szent Anna barokk kori tisztelete és ábrázolásainak ikonográfiája egy korabeli imádságoskönyv tükrében" [The house of the Lord: Baroque devotion and iconography of Saint Anne's cult] PhD dissertation (Eötvös Loránd University, 2000), esp. 1–26; eadem "The Changing Aspects of the Female Roles through the Cult of Saint Anne in the Visual Art from the Historical Territory of Hungary (14th–16th c.)" in *The Iconology of Gender in Eastern and Western Traditions of European Iconography* 3, ed. Attila Kiss and György E. Szőnyi, Papers in English and American Studies XV (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem [JATE] Press, 2008), 49–62; eadem, "Isten mindenhatóságának tárháza: Szent Anna barokk kori tisztelete és ábrázolásainak ikonográfiája egy korabeli imádságoskönyv tükrében" [The house of the Lord: Baroque devotion and iconography of Saint Anne's cult], *Ars Hungarica* 25 (1997): 247–254.

These analyses did not, however, gather all the existing images in the Hungarian cultural area.⁴⁶ The question of the patronage of Saint Anne images has not been taken into consideration at all until now. Here I will try to define the social background of the images in cases where there is enough supporting information.

The late medieval flowering of Saint Anne's cult can be detected in some Upper Hungarian cities where a priest, a community, or an organization were so emotionally attached to the saint's cult that they ordered or dedicated an altarpiece in the saint's honor. In some cases, more than one Saint Anne altar was in use in a settlement. This phenomenon has led art historians to analyze and group some Saint Anne altars from this region as having been produced in one and the same center. Antal Kampis called the artist of these altars "the master of Saint Anne altars." He based this on the observation that a master can be noted in some cases as a stylistic follower of Veit Stoß (the Saint Anne altars from Levoča-Lőcse/Slovakia, Sabinov-Kisszeben/Slovakia and Vrbov-Ménhárd/Slovakia, and some thematically different altarpieces) in Upper Hungarian towns. This craftsman was as important as Master Pál, but he worked separately from him.⁴⁷ In the view of Gábor Endrődi, this practice of identifying one master for a group of altarpieces representing Saint Anne is the result of using a geographical interpretation based on economic factors for common stylistic phenomena in art history, which was the style of art history at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁸

Case Studies

Here I will discuss the Saint Anne altars from Košice (Kassa, Slovakia), Prešov (Eperjes, Slovakia), Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony, Slovakia), Spišská Nová Ves

⁴⁶ For a more complete enumeration and analysis of the large number of iconographic sources see Emőke Nagy, *Narrative and Visual Sources*, 90–114; eadem, "Reprezentările Sfințelor Neamuri în Ungaria Medievală. Imagine și Cult" [Saint Anne images from medieval Hungary: Image and Cult] in *Anuarul școlii doctorale "Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură"* [Annual of the doctoral school "History. Civilization. Culture"] ed. Toader Nicoară (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2006), 127–139.

⁴⁷ Antal Kampis, "A Szent Anna oltárok mestere," [The master of the Saint Anne altars], in *Domanovszky Sándor Emlékkönyv* [Festschrift for Sándor Domanovszky] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937), 3–23.

⁴⁸ According to Gábor Endrődi even some contemporaries of Antal Kampis had a critical attitude toward this observation. See Gábor Endrődi, "Kommentárok Pál mesterhez" [Comments on Master Paul] *Études sur l'histoire de l'art en honneur de Katalin Sinkó* (Budapest: Annales de la Galerie Nationale Hongroise, 2002), 37–58, esp. 50–51.

(Igló, Slovakia) Bardejov (Bártfa, Slovakia) and to some extent Biertan (Birthalm, Berethalom, Romania).

Košice

The number of Saint Anne altars in Košice (Kassa, Slovakia) cannot be estimated exactly. Archival information reports the functioning of a Saint Anne altar from 1473. The name of the priest responsible for the altar, the *altarista*, Joannes de Epperries, is mentioned as managing the donations for the altar.⁴⁹ Besides the main altar dedicated to Saint Elisabeth (1474–1477), other side altars mentioned in the sources were dedicated to Peter and Paul (1382), Saint Martin (1382), the Virgin Mary (1473), Saint Udalric (1453), the Auxiliary Saints (1483), Saint Nicolas (1500), Saint Barbara (1516), the Visitation (1516), the Rosary (1522), Saint Blaise (1522), and Saint Antony, The death of the Virgin, and so on. Several altarpieces were destroyed in a fire. Out of 18 altarpieces only 4 altars have survived, among them the altar dedicated to Saint Anne from 1556 and the Visitation altar.⁵⁰

The side altar dedicated to Saint Anne has not survived, but other Saint Anne images are preserved in the church. Although it is not certain, for a while there may have been another side altar, ordered by the pharmacist Bertalan Czotmann in 1516 (*Fig. 1*), next to the side altar dedicated to Anne. The donor's figure and the coat of arms of the settlement are featured on the only panel of this altar. The altar is located in the Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child chapel, named after the altar in the nineteenth century; before that the name of the chapel was the Annunciation of the Virgin, built in 1477. The chapel was built by the parents of György Szatmári, later bishop of Pécs and primate of Esztergom. He made a rich donation to the chapel in order to be prayed for and bestowed the patronage of the chapel on the town council.⁵¹ The original placement of the Saint Anne altar is unknown.

The painting of Anne with the Virgin and Child is a votive image from 1516, according to the inscription. The trio is in the center of the image, surrounded by saints in the style of the iconography of Jesse images. The main characters have two inscriptions: *S[ancta] Anna Mettercia ora* and *S[ancta] Maria ora*. Saint Anne is depicted in the style of the period, a young woman wearing a kerchief with two children on her arms. On her left arm she holds the child-sized Mary wearing a crown and on her right arm the nude Jesus. The tree has a “flower,”

⁴⁹ Béla Wick, *A kassai Szent Erzsébet dóm* [The Saint Elisabeth cathedral in Košice] (Kassa: Szent Erzsébet Nyomda, 1936), 232.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 231, 232.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 290.



Fig. 1. Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, Bertalan Czöttmann in 1516, Saint Elisabeth church, Košice (Slovakia). Photo: Hungarian National Gallery, Old Hungarian Art Department, no. 452. Reproduced by permission.

the Immaculate Mary, *Maria in Sole*. The founders, Bertalan Czotman and his wife, are kneeling in the lower part of the image. They are holding rosaries. Thus, Anne can be seen as strongly connected to the cult of the Virgin and the Rosary in this picture. Behind Bertalan Czotman, his patron saint, Saint Bartholomew, is represented with his attribute, a knife. An angel stands behind his wife, and as a good guardian he reaches for her shoulder as a sign of protection. Between the donors/founders a mortar is depicted, from which a tree springs. On the mortar is a hatchment of the city, while next to it a hatchment of the couple is featured separately.

The tree holds 22 figures, mostly martyr saints, enumerated from the right of the image towards the left, from the lower to the upper side as follows: Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Christopher, Saint Erasmus, Saint Fabian, Saint Sebastian, Saint Valentine, Saint Wolfgang, Saint Job, Saint Pongrat, Saint Josse, Saint Anthony, Saint Helen, Saint Odile, Saint Rochus, Saint Nicolas, Saint Veronica, Saint Hedwig, Saint Katherine, Saint Barbara, Saint Margaret and Saint Elisabeth of Hungary. Besides the representations of the popular saints of the period with their attributes and inscriptions of their names, the presence of Saint Cosmas and Damian as patron saints of doctors and pharmacists can easily be explained by the trade of the founder.

The Visitation altar (1470–1480), which survived the fire of 1556, definitely stood in the church for almost a century next to the Saint Anne altar (1473), which did not survive. The altar is important here because it contains a Holy Kinship group of sculptures in the Gothic pediment.⁵² The predella contains information on the person who ordered the altar. Along with the *Vir Dolorum* with the Virgin and Saint Michael, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Margaret of Antioch are depicted with their attributes. According to Lajos Kemény, Saint Michael was the patron saint of Michael Günther and Saint Margaret the patron saint of his wife, whose maiden name was Margaret Zimmermann.⁵³ Michael Günther, who ordered the altar, was a rich tradesman from Košice.⁵⁴

In the shrine the topic of the altar is the meeting of the Virgin and Saint Elisabeth. On the festive side the panels seem to have been changed. The Annunciation is on the lower right side of the altar, the Nativity of Christ is on the left side. In the upper part the Adoration of the Magi is depicted on

⁵² Ibid., 235–244.

⁵³ Lajos Kemény, “A kassai Szt Erzsébet egyház történetéhez” [The history of the Saint Elisabeth church in Košice], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* (1897): 461; Wick, *A kassai Szent Erzsébet dóm*, 240.

⁵⁴ Wick, *A kassai Szent Erzsébet dóm*, 235–236.

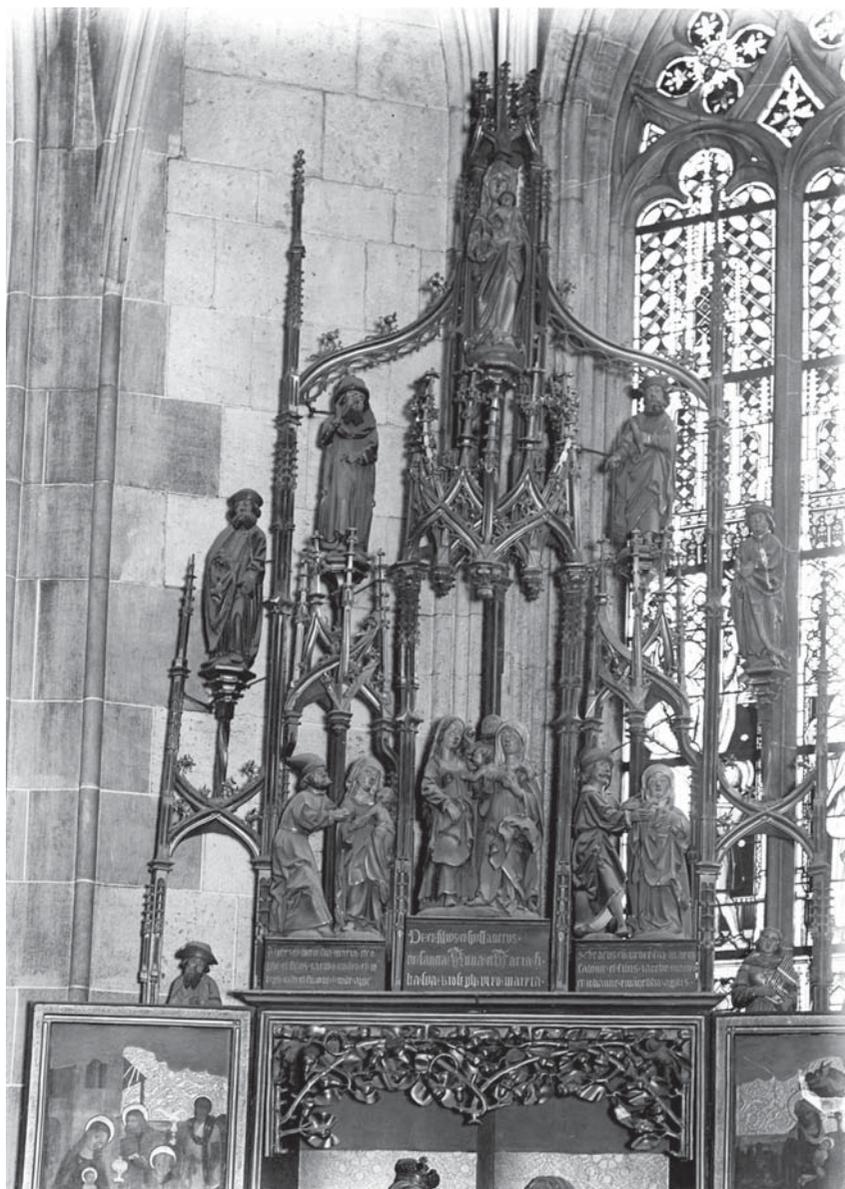


Fig. 2. Holy Kinship (pediment of the Visitation altar), Saint Elisabeth church, Košice (Slovakia), ca. 1470–1480. Photo: Hungarian National Gallery, Old Hungarian Art Department, no. 642. Reproduced by permission.

the right, while on the left is the Flight to Egypt. The everyday side of the altar features Saint Katherine, Saint Barbara, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint John the Evangelist.

The Holy Kinship is represented in the middle of the pediment with the statue of Anne-Mary-Christ (*Fig. 2*). The figures are of normal size. Thus, although the previously presented votive panel and the Visitation altar are approximately from the same year, the iconographical source differs for this trio, where the characters are represented in a natural way. Anne, an elderly lady, is holding the baby Jesus, who is nude and reaching towards his mother. Behind the group stands Saint Joseph, holding an apple and stretching towards the trio. This is an interesting iconographic solution for the symbol of the Eucharist, which is doubled through the nudity of Christ and through the apple (given by a beholder). An inscription on the lower side reads: *De[us] et fili[us] et Sp[irit]us Sanctus, cum sancta Anna et Maria filia sua et Joseph viro Mariae.*

Next to the main group of sculptures the two Marys are depicted with their husbands and children above the inscription: *Alphe[us] cu[m] uxore sua Maria Cleophae et filiis Jacobo minore et Joseph justo et Simone, Juda ap[osto]l[is]; Zebedeus cu[m] uxore sua Maria Salome et filiis Jacobo majore et Joanne evangelista ap[osto]l[is].* The women are represented similarly to Anne, wearing kerchiefs, holding one of their children in their arms. The other children's sculptures seem to be missing.

Prešov

Returning to the question of the promoters of the cult, besides laymen, brotherhoods could also have initiated the construction of a Saint Anne altarpiece in late medieval Hungarian towns. In Prešov, Saint Anne had four altars (according to András Kubinyi), following altars to the Virgin Mary (26), Corpus Christi (22),⁵⁵ Saint Michael (7), Saint Barbara (6), Saint Katherine (6).⁵⁶ Saint Anne's popularity in the late Middle Ages is shown by the functioning of brotherhoods dedicated to her in Bratislava, Prešov, Spišská Nová Ves, and Sibiu as well.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Devotion to the Eucharist brought with it the foundation of brotherhoods dedicated to the Corpus Christi all over Europe. See R. Weigand and B. U. Hergemöller, "Elendenbruderschaften," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Robert Auty (Munich: Artemis, 1991), 1803.

⁵⁶ András Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, ecclesiastical institutions and religiosity in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: METEM, 2000), 346.

⁵⁷ In Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava) in 1516 the last will of Jakab Aigner mentions the Saint Anne brotherhood. See Tivadar Ortvy, *Pozsony város története* [The history of the

In Prešov (Eperjes), besides the Saint Anne brotherhood, there were also other brotherhoods dedicated to the Corpus Christi, Virgin Mary, All Saints, and others. During the late Middle Ages the Corpus Christi brotherhood received the most donations,⁵⁸ followed by the Virgin Mary⁵⁹ and the Saint Anne brotherhoods.⁶⁰ Citizens of Eperjes, according to the archival sources, were members of more than one confraternity.⁶¹

In his last will, Sigismund of Rosenberger bequeathed to his daughter, Anne, and wife, Katherine, donations to the Corpus Christi brotherhood (*florenus* 1) and two donations separately to Saint Anne altarpieces: *ad fraternitatem sacratissimi Corporis Christi fl 1 solvit eidem filie sue Anne legavit; ad altare Sancte Anne similer fl 1 solvit; ad fraternitatem Beate Virginis in claustro etiam fl 1 solvit; ad altare Sancte Anne in claustro fl 1 solvit.*⁶²

This is quite interesting because it leads to the idea that two Saint Anne altars functioned in Prešov. The Saint Anne altar from *claustro* refers to the Carmelite monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity and founded in the second part of the fourteenth century.⁶³ According to the source, this altar was operated by the

town of Pressburg], 3 vols. (Pozsony: Stampfel Károly cs. és kir. udvari könyvkereskedő bizományában, 1903), vol. 2, no. 4, 414. In Eperjes in 1511 the last will of Margit Thiczner mentions a donation for the Saint Anne brotherhood, see Béla Iványi, *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára 1245–1526* [The archival sources of Prešov 1245–1526], 2 vols. (Szeged: Szegedi városi nyomda és könyvkiadó, 1931), vol. 2, 1048, for other donations see nos. 1084, 1088; A donation of Asszony Margit Ox Jánosné for prayer for the Saint Anne brotherhood in 1511; János Illéssy, *Igló korona- és bányaváros levéltára* [The archival sources of Spišska Nová Ves] (Budapest, 1899), 35; Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [The Religious life of the Hungarians during the Jagiellonian era] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940), Reprint (Budapest: METEM), 2000), 32; Lidia Gross, *Confreriile medievale în Transilvania (secoale XIV–XVI)* [The medieval brotherhoods in Transylvania, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries] (Cluj-Napoca: Grinta, 2004), 245–269.

⁵⁸ I base my statement on Lajos Pásztor's work. Lajos Pásztor uses Béla Iványi's *regesta*, which is not always precise. See Béla Iványi, *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára 1245–1526* (Szeged: Szegedi városi nyomda és könyvkiadó, 1931), vol. 2, no. 750, 849, 863, 872, 882, 895, 902, 915, 921, 955, 962, 1003, 1006, 1007, 1033, 1035, 1042, 1048, 1084, 1088, 1092, 1121, 1167, 1170, 1173, 1196, 1201, 1209, 1230, 1231, 1241; Pásztor, 34.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 758, 862, 872, 895, 955, 1053, 1201, 1231, 1241; Pásztor, 34.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1048, 1088, 1116, 1241; Pásztor, 34.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 863, 872, 886, 895, 902, 915, 955, 963, 1003, 1042, 1048, 1088, 1104–5, 1241; Pásztor, 34.

⁶² Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [Hungarian National Archives, State Archive], Budapest, Collection of Diplomatic Photographs (henceforth: MNL OL DF), Df. 229583; Iványi, *Eperjes*, 1231.

⁶³ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 28.



Fig. 3. Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, Senator János Hütter, Prešov (Slovakia), ca. 1520. Hungarian National Gallery, no. 53.566, Budapest. <http://www.hung-art.hu/index-hu.html>. Photo by Emil Krén, Dániel Marx. Reproduced by permission.

Virgin Mary brotherhood. In the other case the name of the church is unknown, but probably the data refer to the main church, Saint Nicholas. Unfortunately none of them has been preserved, but a votive image has been preserved, ordered by Senator János Hütter for the church of Saint Nicholas ca. 1520 (Fig. 3). The

image represents Anne with her daughter and the Christ Child. Behind Mary Saint Joseph is visible behind a barrier; it is rare for him to be represented in such a configuration. In the lower left corner of the image is a portrait of the senator, the only one in medieval Hungarian art. The surroundings in the background of the image are rich in detail; the mill is not only a genre painting element but has a symbolic meaning. As the wheat is crushed by the millstone to become flour and be used in baking sacramental bread, Jesus, held by the two sacred women, also has to die for the salvation of man.⁶⁴ Thus, the symbolic meaning of the mill reflects the Eucharistic value of Anne being represented with the Virgin and Child. In this case, Mary, covered in a white mantle, holds the nude Jesus, and he stretches out his arms toward his grandmother. Anne and Mary are sitting on a bench according to the composition rules of the fifteenth century. Anne is represented as relatively young. She does not have the older *matrona* look which was more frequently used in the style of the sixteenth century. Behind the kneeling senator and his son, John the Evangelist is shown, the patron saint of János Hütter. God the Father appears in the vertical line of the image above the head of the principal trio. Above the characters is an inscription of a prayer addressed to Mary or Anne, the mother of the Virgin: *Mater mea hic sunt fratres mei qui verbum dei audiunt et faciunt.*

Bratislava and Spišská Nová Ves

In the case of Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony, Slovakia) it seems that although more than one Saint Anne altarpiece functioned in the city, none of them has been preserved. The oldest altar dedicated to more than one saint, the Holy Virgin, Saint Anne, Saint Stephen, the protomartyr, Saint Oswald and Saint Erasmus is documented between 1307 and 1510⁶⁵ in the church of Saint Martin. The founder of the altar was Albert Hamboth, count and burgher of Pressburg. From 1446 onwards it was administered by the *Corpus Christi* confraternity. A separate altar dedicated to Saint Anne functioned in the church of Saint Lawrence. Information on it only exists for the year 1420. According to the archive document, it had as secular patrons Hans Gwald and his wife, Anna. Another Saint Anne altar

⁶⁴ János Véghe, "Szent Anna harmadmagával Eperjesről" [The Saint Anne Trinity from Prešov] in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria régi gyűjteményei* [Old collections of the Hungarian National Gallery], ed. Miklós Mojzer (Budapest, Corvina, 1984), 114.

⁶⁵ The foundation date is 1307 (the foundation charter was copied into the confirmation charter in 1360). See Judit Majorossy, "Church in the Town: Urban Religious Life in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills," PhD dissertation, (Central European University, 2006), vol. 2 Appendices.

from 1517 is from the Franciscan monastery. It was operated by the Saint Anne brotherhood. According to Judit Majorossy's research the confraternity and the altar received 767 donations in 1517.⁶⁶

In the case of Spišská Nová Ves (Igló, Slovakia) a donation from 1511 is preserved which indicates the existence of an Anne brotherhood.⁶⁷ The altarpiece dedicated to Saint Anne in the Virgin Mary church is from ca. 1520 (*Fig. 4*). I did not find a connection between the foundation of the altar and the activities of this brotherhood. The nude Christ is shown to the beholder, reaching toward Anne from his mother's arms. The husbands (Joachim, Salomas, Kleophas, Joseph)



Fig. 4. Saint Anne altar (festive side), Virgin Mary church, Spišská Nová Ves (Slovakia), ca. 1520. Photo: Emőke Nagy.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Illéssy, *Igló korona- és bányaváros levéltára*, 35.

are represented on the wing. Furthermore although it is known that Saint Anne brotherhoods existed in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben, Romania), there is no information on the existence of images of Anne.

Before the Reformation there were no well-developed customs for the trades' preference in patronage in Hungary. Although generally speaking Saint Anne was the patron saint of miners (e.g., as on the altarpiece in Rožňava (Rosenau, Rozsnyó, Slovakia⁶⁸), she was the patron saint of tailors in Sopron.⁶⁹

Bardejov

How many Saint Anne altars functioned in Bardejov (Bártfa, Slovakia) is unknown, just as in the case of Košice. In the Saint Egidius church of Bardejov two altars were formerly dedicated to Saint Anne, but not at the same time. The first mention of an altar foundation for Saint Anne is the confirmation of the foundation document of the *Mater Misericordiae* brotherhood from 6 May 1449. The document was issued at the request of Andreas/András (archdeacon de Tharczafew) and the priest Cristanni/Keresztély (prebendary of Eger), the abbot of Saint Egidius church and other priests from Bártfa before *Ladislaus de Hedrebwara* (Hédervári László), bishop of Eger. The document contains information that the foundation of the altar was connected to different donations, to the foundation of a brotherhood, and that prayers for the soul and votive prayers would be celebrated at the altar:

In dicta civitate Barthfa...altare sub vocabulo beate Anne matris Marie de novo fundare et de facultatibus a Deo ipsis datis sufficienter et laudabiliter dotare, in ipso que altari quondam confraternitatem seu kalendinum disponere ordinare et stabilire ac super ipso altari missas peculiales seu votives celebrari facere pro eorum salute concepissent et proposuissent sub articulis clausulis et formis verorum sequentibus et infra nominandis.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel paintings of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 419; *Dejiny Slovensko výtvarného umenia* [The history of Slovak plastic arts], ed. Dušan Buran, (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2003), 762–763.

⁶⁹ Jenő Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [The medieval ecclesiastical history of Sopron] (Sopron, 1939), 298–301; Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete* 44.

⁷⁰ MNL OL DF, 213218; Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára 1319–1526* [The archival sources of Bardejov 1319–1526], vol. 1 (Budapest: MTA, 1910), 531; Marie-Madeleine Cevins, “Les confréries en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'exemple de la confrérie »Mère de Miséricorde« de Bardejov (1449–1525),” *Le Moyen Âge: Revue l'Histoire et de philologie* 106, no. 2 (2000): 347–368; no. 3–4 (2000): 495–511.

A priest was appointed to lead the confraternity, his activity defined in the document. From the point of view of Anne's cult it is interesting that the document stipulates that in each quarter of the year priests of the confraternity should celebrate the cult of Anne and say prayers for the souls of the dead. Anne appears as the patron saint of the easy death and of death.

Another requirement of the foundation document is that the members of the confraternity have a *matura missa*, a prayer at dawn for the veneration of the Virgin Mary, every Saturday. The altar foundation is strengthened further with a privilege. The document enumerates the conditions under which one could receive forgiveness for 40 days. For example, those who made a form of pilgrimage or devotion every quarter year joined the group of priests for a prayer to receive 40 days of forgiveness from sin. This foundation document shows an attempt to propagate Saint Anne's cult. What is interesting is that the foundation letter refers to the establishment of a brotherhood of *Mater Misericordiae*, thus a *kalendum* for the Virgin of Mercy, and connected to it an altar foundation for Anne. Only one sentence mentions that each Saturday prayers for the Virgin Mary should be said by the members of the confraternity.⁷¹ The word *kalendum* usually refers to a special brotherhood, a community of priests, which lay members could join as well.⁷² Thus, these different obligations refer to the community of priests from Bardejov.⁷³ They were the ones who required the establishment of a Saint Anne altar as well. According to Kornél Divald this Saint Anne altar has not been preserved.⁷⁴ The altar was still functioning in 1450, when indulgences were given by bishops Altorgius and Prosper in Rome for those who prayed at the Saint Anne altar on special days (feasts).⁷⁵

The Saint Anne altar in the Saint Egidius church is dated to 1485 (Fig. 5). The document ordering the altar was issued on 15 April 1485 and is elaborated in the name of the bishop of Archadia and *Bernardus*/Bernát, a *comissarius* of the archbishop of Eger.⁷⁶ The document gives indulgences for those who pray on feasts on the occasion of the sanctification of the Saint Anne altar in the

⁷¹ Ibidem.

⁷² E. Hoffmann, "Kaland," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, 864–865.

⁷³ The confraternity of the Mother of Mercy joined the devotional community of the Saint Katherine confraternity from Mount Sinai in 1487. This shows the universal character of these confraternities. See C. Wagner, *Diplomatarium comitatus Sarosiensis* (Pozsony, 1780), 485–487; Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete* 22.

⁷⁴ Kornél Divald, "A bártfai Szent Egyed templom" [The Saint Egidius church in Bardejov], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 37(1917): 113–114.

⁷⁵ MNL OL DF, 213258; Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára*, 2400.

⁷⁶ MNL OL DF, 215160; Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára*, 2400.



*Fig. 5. Saint Anne altar (festive side), Saint Egidius church, Bardejov (Slovakia), 1485.
<http://www.hung-art.hu/index-hu.html>. Photo by Emil Krén, Dániel Marx.
Reproduced by permission.*

Saint Egidius church. They receive 40 days of forgiveness. The central image or sculpture is missing. According to Kornél Divald, it was changed or moved to another place. In his opinion, a Virgin Mary sculpture was placed in the shrine

until the renovation of the church, after which it was moved to its original place on the altar dedicated to the Virgin (1489) in the Mager-Serédy chapel (based on its stylistic similarity). Therefore, the altar was considered to be a Virgin Mary altar until Rezső Prónai⁷⁷ identified it based on the iconography of the wings of the festive side as an altar dedicated originally to Saint Anne. Nevertheless, the same Virgin Mary with child sculpture is today in the shrine. Mary and the child Jesus are represented with crowns, Mary holds a scepter in her hand, while Jesus has an orb in his hand. Four female martyr saints are represented in the shrine: Apollonia, Dorothy, Margaret, and Barbara.

The festive side shows episodes from the life of the Virgin's parents. The panels look as if they have been changed. On the left upper side Joachim's refusal by the priest is depicted. It is followed by the next scene, the Annunciation of the angel to Joachim, which is shown on the upper right side. The lower left side features the meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate, while on the lower right side Mary's presentation in the church is shown. Thus, the nativity scene is left out. Usually Mary's cycle is introduced with either the Meeting at the Golden Gate, or the Nativity of Mary. These scenes present primarily Mary's parents. It is logical to assume that probably an Anne sculpture (probably with the Virgin and Child) was originally placed on the shrine. On the predella the Veil of Veronica is represented.

The everyday side of the altar features the angel and Mary from the Annunciation scene from left to right in the upper part. On the lower part two female saints are depicted: Christine and Apollonia. Two sculptures of saints were originally placed on the Gothic arch of the pediment of the altar according to Viktor Myskowszky.⁷⁸

Another side altar in the Saint Egidius church has a double dedication, Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child and Apollonia (1500–1510). No exact information is available on when the Anne with the Virgin and Child was placed in the shrine. In Divald's view⁷⁹ the sculpture representing the trio was part of the Nativity of Jesus altar (1480–1490). It was probably placed on the pediment of the altar, where Saint Ladislav is represented today. According to Divald, the style of the

⁷⁷ Rezső Prónai, "Szent Anna a bártfai dóm műemlékein" [Saint Anne on the monuments from the cathedral of Bardejov], *Bártfai Katolikus Egyházi Tudósító* 3(1916), 3–5; Divald, "A bártfai Szent Egyed templom," 113–114; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 267.

⁷⁸ Viktor Myskowszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei. A szent Egyed templomának műrégészeti leírása* [The medieval monuments of Bardejov. A description of Saint Egidius church] (Budapest: 1879), 72–74; Radocsay, *A Táblaképek*, 267.

⁷⁹ Divald, "A bártfai Szent Egyed templom," 119.

Anne sculpture leads to this conclusion, especially because the child Mary wears clothes elaborated in the same manner as in the Nativity scene.⁸⁰ Today Apollonia and Saint George with the dragon are represented in the shrine next to Anne, Mary, and Christ. The Anne sculpture is elaborated in the Middle Rhenish style, indicated by the bonnet on Anne's head. Anne is holding the child Mary on her left arm and the child Jesus on her right arm. The two figures on Anne's arms do not touch each other. In the late fourteenth century Mary's child figure was still in use.

The festive and everyday sides of the altar refer thematically to a Saint Apollonia devotion rather than to Saint Anne. Martyrs from the era of persecution are featured on the festive side: The passion of the 10 000 martyrs, Saint Bibiana, Saint Desiderius, Saint Margarita, Saint Pantaleon, Saint Barbara, Saint Katherine, Saint Christopher, and Saint Sofia. On the everyday side Saint Fabian, Saint Eligius, Saint Kanut or Eustachius and Saint Urban are represented. Thus, from the iconographic point of view the altar was created to fit the main idea of representing the martyr saints, as one of the main sculptures from the shrine, Saint Apollonia, originally indicated.

Saint Anne had two altars dedicated to her and she had a sculpture on the Nativity of Jesus altar, from where the sculpture was moved to the shrine of Saint Apollonia's altar (which was probably referred to by the alternate name of Saint Anne). In conclusion, from the thirteen altarpieces two were dedicated to the mother of the Virgin (1449, 1485), and all the others to different saints. It is relevant that Saint Anne is the best-represented saint in the Church after Christ and the Virgin. Without doubt this phenomenon has to do with the growing popularity of Anne's cult beginning at the end of the fourteenth century and probably these dedications were in accord with the sudden flourishing of Anne's late medieval cult. Nevertheless, at least in the case of the remaining altarpieces, she is represented in more traditional and classical ways as part of the Virgin Mary's life.

Biertan

One of the most complete iconographic sequences of Saint Anne from late medieval Hungary is the altarpiece from Biertan (Birthălm, Berethalom, Romania). Although, as in the case of other cities in Upper Hungary, the Saint Anne altars were present in settlements relatively close to each other, making this a geographically isolated phenomenon.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 136–137.

The altarpiece is one of the richest in Transylvania from the iconographic point of view. Until 1971, art historians dated the execution of the altarpiece to 1515 on the basis of an inscription on the triptych.⁸¹ More recent research, however, has discussed the strong stylistic relation between the altar of Biertan and that of the Schottenstift in Vienna. The altar shows two phases of production: the first in 1483, when the pictures from the main corpus of the altar were finished (the date of 1483 is inscribed on the plaque showing the twelve-year old Jesus in the Temple), and the second one is 1515, for the images on the triptych.⁸²

The Virgin Mary altar was composed of 24 scenes (only 21 are preserved), 16 of the 24 scenes from the festive side of the altar represent a Marian cycle, and eight a Christological one. The row of saints on the everyday side of the main corpus is exemplary as they are either represented in thematic contiguity (e.g., Saint Sebastian, Saint Roch), or simply enumerated in the style of the era. The wings of the altar in the closed position represent the Church Fathers: Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory the Great, and Saint Jerome, together with their attributes. The iconography of the pediment represents the allegory of eternal life (namely, the allegory of Christ's crucifixion, the visions of the Emperor Augustine and Prophet Ezekiel), with the addition of Mary's figure and function of providing eternal salvation.

In addition, the predella has a central image and flexible wings with festive and everyday sides (*Fig. 6*). Regarding the structure of the altar and its iconographic program, the predella, representing an extensive Holy Kinship – 25 people – can even be considered a separate altar. Predellas of Saint Anne altars from late medieval Hungary with a similar iconographic program have been preserved in Upper Hungary, such as the Saint Anne altar from L'ubica

⁸¹ Victor Roth, *Siebenbürgische Altare* (Strassburg, 1916), 99–106.

⁸² Harald Krasser pointed out in a series of studies that the altar was stylistically influenced by that of Schottenstift in Vienna. See “Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei in Siebenbürgen. Zur Herkunft und Datierung der BIRTHÄLMER Altartafeln,” *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 14, no. 2 (1971): 9–24; idem, “Zur siebenbürgischen Nachfolge des Schottenmeisters. Die BIRTHÄLMER Altartafeln” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 27(1973): 109–121; idem, “Die BIRTHÄLMER Altartafeln und die siebenbürgische Nachfolge des Schottenmeisters,” in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustave Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streitfeld (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1976), 193–214; Gisela and Otmar Richter, *Siebenbürgische Flügelaltäre* (Innsbruck: Wort und Welt), 58–82.



Fig. 6. *Holy Kinship predella (festive side of the Virgin Mary altar), Virgin Mary church, Biertan (Romania) ca. 1517. Photo: Emőke Nagy.*

(Leibic, Slovakia), 1510–1520;⁸³ Levoča (Lőcse, Slovakia), 1520–1530;⁸⁴ Sabinov (Kisszeben, Slovakia), around 1510;⁸⁵ and Spišská Sobota (Szepesszombat, Slovakia), 1510–1520.⁸⁶

According to Michael Salzer, a historian from the nineteenth century, a Saint Anne *ymago* was brought to Biertan for 1 forint in 1524.⁸⁷ Based on this information, art historians such as Harald Krasser, Otmar and Gisela Richter, and Maria Crăciun have connected the production date of the predella to 1524, a date which was mentioned in the account book of the church.⁸⁸ In spite of this date,

⁸³ Gyöngyi Török, *Gótikus szárnyasoltárok a középkori Magyarországon* [Gothic winged altarpieces in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2005), 79, 126.

⁸⁴ *Dejiny Slovenského výtvarného umenia*, Dušan Buran, ed. 756; Jaromír Homolka, *Gotická plastika na Slovensku* [Gothic sculpture in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1972), 205; František Dluhoš and Ladislav Jiroušek, ed., *Chrám sv. Jakuba v Levoči. St. James Church in Levoča* [The church of St. Jacob in Levoča] (Prešov: Polygraf Print, 2004), 57–59.

⁸⁵ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 355; *Dejiny Slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. Dušan Buran, 756; Török, *Gótikus szárnyasoltárok*, 96–97, 130–131.

⁸⁶ Ridovics, “The Changing Aspects,” 57; Ladislav Jiroušek and Michael Lipták, ed. *Spišská Sobota* (Vydala: Lubafotopres, 2006), 92–93; Anton Cyril Glatz and Peter Zubko, *St. Georgs-Kirche in Georgenberg (Spišská Sobota)* (Košice: Agentura Saša, 2001) 34–39.

⁸⁷ “1524 erhält ein Maler 4 fl. Weniger 25 Dr. und für die Abholung des Bildes der Hl. Anna zahlt man 1 fl.” I could not find the account book of Biertan to see the context of the source. Salzer, who is quoted by the following art historians, does not give the context of this short mention. Johann Michael Salzer, *Der Königl. Freie Markt Birtbäl in Siebenbürgen* (Vienna: Graeses, 1881), 84–85.

⁸⁸ Harald Krasser, “Zur siebenbürgischen Nachfolge des Schottenmeisters. Die Birtbälmer Altartafeln,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 27(1973): 109–122; idem,

others think that the predella was executed in 1515. Ciprian Firea argues in his PhD dissertation that the later dating (1524) cannot be properly proved, especially because two blazons stand on the consoles on the two sides of the predella. The right hand blazon shows the coat of arms of priest Johannes, who ordered the creation of the altarpiece. The left hand blazon depicts the coat of arms of the settlement. On the priest's tomb the year 1520 is inscribed as the year of his death, which implies that the predella must have been constructed before 1520. Emese Nagy Sarkadi and Ciprian Firea assume that the main altar was adjusted with the triptych and the predella in the same year.⁸⁹ If this was so, to what can the date 1524 in the account book refer? In the sacristy of the church are some remnants of an altarpiece with no painted images on it. Ciprian Firea assumes that the source refers to the commissioning of a Saint Anne altarpiece by the next parish priest, Lucas, who followed Johannes in 1524. Firea also thinks that this altar could have functioned as a side altar in the church.⁹⁰ He points out that two Saint Anne altars were placed in the Virgin Mary church of Biertan in the Middle Ages; one was a predella of the main altar, namely, the Virgin Mary altar, adjusted later to the main corpus. The other one was a separate altar, a side altar which did not survive.⁹¹ In my opinion, although the remnants of an altarpiece indicate the existence of a side altar, this is not enough information to establish the dedication to Saint Anne.

Based on the work of Gisella and Ottmar Richter, Maria Crăciun argues that panels from the festive side of the altar were changed during the Reformation, repainted in order to have another accent on the iconography of the altar. Thus, the main corpus of the altar went through different changes, first when the pediment and the predella were added to the main corpus and again during

“Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei in Siebenbürgen. Zur Herkunft und Datierung der BIRTHÄLMER Altartafeln” *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 14, no. 2 (1971): 9–24; Gisela und Ottmar Richter, *Siebenbürgische Flügelaltäre*, 58–82; Maria Crăciun, “Iconoclasm și teologie. Înrupare și Mântuire în iconografia polipticelor transilvănene, Cazul Biertan” [Iconoclasm and theology. Incarnation and salvation in the iconography of Transylvanian polyptychs. The case of Biertan], *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 95(2004), 67–80.

⁸⁹ Ciprian Firea, “Arta polipticelor medievale din Transilvania (1450–1550)” [The art of medieval altarpieces from Transylvania, 1450–1550], PhD dissertation (Babes-Bolyai University, 2010), vol. 1, 173, vol. 2, 10–11; Emese Sarkadi, “Produced for Transylvania – Local Workshops and Foreign Connections – Studies of Late Medieval Altarpieces in Transylvania,” PhD dissertation (Central European University, 2008), 52–75.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 10–11.

⁹¹ Firea, “Arta polipticelor,” vol. 1, 173, vol. 2, 10–11.

the Reformation. The same art historians state that in the central panel before the Crucifixion scene there was a Nativity scene or the Adoration of the Magi (judging from the golden orb).⁹²

It appears that in the original iconographic program of the altar (that of 1483) the emphasis was put on Virgin Mary, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and the Incarnation. The introduction of Christ's life on the festive side of the altar provides the altar with a connection to the sacrament. In 1515, the iconographic emphasis moved to salvation, given by the sacrifice of Christ. Mary and Anne represent the role of the intercessor in salvation on the predella's iconographic motifs – the central image. Mary's role as an intercessor was already present on the original altar (1483). This character was even more accentuated in 1515 by the adjustment of the predella and the pediment.

The changes promoted by the priest Johannes gave the original iconographic program of the altar another, new, enriching aspect. The original iconography is respected, but there is a shift in the accent from Mary's life to her origin. Priest Johannes gave the altar of the Virgin Mary more emphatic iconographic content, also reacting to the promotion of Saint Anne's cult, which was flourishing in the German-speaking areas of the Hungarian kingdom at that time. This context explains his wish to promote Saint Anne's cult in Biertan.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, although the first promoter of Saint Anne's cult was the Order of Saint Augustine (fourteenth century), other religious orders such as the Poor Clares and the Paulines also promoted the saint's cult in the early stage of its spread. The toponyms dedicated to Saint Anne (Liptovská Anna, Sântana de Mureș, Sântana Nirajului) refer to the presence of the cult in rural environments at this time. A Franciscan distribution of the cult of Saint Anne can be suggested in the case of Sântana de Mureș (fourteenth century). Franciscan distribution of the cult can be detected later in the fourteenth century through Andrew Báthori, who founded the convent of Saint Anne for the Poor Clares (1340). The fact that the bishopric of Alba Iulia propagated the saint's cult in the time of Bishop Demeter and Bishop Francis Várday is important because due to its position it could influence other ecclesiastical units to embrace the cult of Saint Anne during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The surviving textual evidence (sermons and legends) also leads mostly in the direction of Franciscan distribution of the cult later in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁹² Richter, *Siebenbürgische Flügelaltäre*, 60–62; Crăciun, “Iconoclasm și teologie,” 68–69.

A fair amount of archival information connected to images is extant, especially for the territories inhabited by German settlers (Upper Hungary and Transylvania) who were active in propagating the cult. The members of the Holy Kinship family, represented in urban clothing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were probably models for the inhabitants of the *oppidum* in their everyday life at the beginning of the sixteenth century. As in the cases of Košice, Prešov, Bratislava, Spišská Nová Ves, and Bardejov, people from different social strata were among the promoters of the cult of Saint Anne. Some laypeople acted individually (in Eperjes, Košice, Prešov, and Bratislava), some laypeople acted in common (the Saint Anne brotherhood in Bratislava) and some followed clerical initiative (the *Mater Misericordiae* brotherhood in Bardejov). Seen in the example of Biertan, even clerics operating individually could take the initiative to strengthen the cult of Saint Anne. In the case of Spišská Nová Ves there is not enough information to decide whether the devotee burghers or a Saint Anne brotherhood operated the Saint Anne side altar.

HOLY HELPERS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SAINTLY PATRONAGE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Ottó Geeser 

The term “patron saint” is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as “[a] saint chosen or regarded as a protector of or intercessor for a person, place, occupation, etc.”¹ And, indeed, a Google search of the term “patron saint” or browsing the related indices of printed dictionaries of saints, results in long and varied lists of categories that a saint can patronize. The list under the letter “A” on catholic.org, for example, begins with *AIDS care-givers*, *AIDS patients*, *Abandoned children*, *Abbeville (France)*, *Abdominal pains*, *Abingdon (England)*, *Abortion (protection against)*, *Abruzzo (region of Italy)*, *Academies (Roman Catholic)*, *Acadians (Cajuns)*, *Accountants* and so on.² The length and variety of such lists creates the impression that almost everything has a patron saint (or even more than one), and that patronage is quite a versatile relationship that can extend to a wide range of categories, including cities, regions, ethnic groups, organizations, professions, social conditions, and diseases.

The connection between saints and patronage is, of course, as old as their cult itself. But such all-encompassing lists are fundamentally a-historical. It is not that some of the items – like *AIDS patients* or *Cajuns* – cannot be pinned down to particular historical periods, but such lists tend to conceal the historical development of the concept and phenomenon of saintly patronage itself.

This paper focuses on one specific kind of relationship between saints and their worshippers, which I will call *auxiliary patronage* – patronage of people in need of help to survive a calamity, recover from an illness or resolve a more mundane problem like finding lost objects. The holy men and women who specialized in such particular forms of assistance will be called *helper saints* or *holy helpers*. The general category of helper saints has received little scholarly attention, even if

¹ This article is based on research I conducted at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton with the support of the Herodotus Fund and it was completed with the help of a grant I received from the Research Support Scheme of the Central European University in connection with a research project (NN 81446) of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA). I’m grateful to Gábor Farkas Kiss and Gábor Klaniczay for their comments on various versions of this text, as well as to Dorottya Uhrin for helping me with the literature on the cult of female martyrs. www.oed.com (last accessed April 8, 2016).

² www.catholic.org/saints/patron.php (last accessed April 8, 2016).

individual saints belonging to this category – or some of their groupings, like the fourteen holy helpers – are well-researched. Within the limits of this paper I will not be able to supply all the missing results, but I can at least attempt to clarify some of the conceptual and chronological issues involved.

After a short overview of the development of some of the major forms of saintly patronage in medieval Europe, I will jump to the very end of the period, when auxiliary patronage can be identified as a theological problem on its own, and then proceed back in time to show how this situation came about. Finally, I will look at the associations between saints and their supposed expertise in the cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, the *Legenda aurea* and other hagiographical sources.

Forms of Saintly Patronage

From the fourth century onwards, the saints in their newly emerging cults, orchestrated by local bishops, took on, in the already classic interpretation of Peter Brown,

all the features of a late-Roman *patronus*. The saint was the good *patronus* ... whose intercessions were successful, whose wealth was at the disposal of all, whose *potentia* was exercised without violence and to whom loyalty could be shown without constraint. The bishop could stand for him. Lavish building, splendid ceremonial, and even feasting at such a shrine washed clean the hard facts of accumulated wealth and patronage, as they were now practiced in real life, even by bishops, a short distance away within the walls of the city of the living.³

The clients of such a heavenly patron and his representative on earth, the bishop, were the residents of a city, or a part of a city, including some of the surrounding areas.

With the proliferation of rural monasteries having their own local saints and the emergence of landownership as the primary basis of power in the early Middle Ages, many of the inhabited territories were distributed among patron saints in an almost literal sense. As is well known, the landed properties of ecclesiastical institutions around the grave or some important relic of a particular saint were frequently called *his* lands, like *terra sancti Benedicti* or *patrimonium sancti Petri*, and donations to ecclesiastical institutions were frequently given to the saint

³ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 41.

himself.⁴ To be sure, one reason for this is that the saint stood for the institution as differentiated from the individuals constituting it, that is, for something like its *juridical person*, but such donations to the saint himself should not be seen as mere formalities. For instance, considerable land donations to some great monasteries of the Carolingian period were not connected to their foundation but to their reception of significant relics. Thus, the royal messengers who carried its foundation charter to the monastery of Fulda read it aloud to a gathering of local noblemen and exhorted them on behalf of the king to donate land to the monks. Based on charter evidence, however, the local nobility remained largely deaf to the royal exhortation until the arrival of the relics of St. Boniface after his death ten years later, in 754. In a similar vein, it was the immediate aftermath of the translation of the relics of the Roman martyr St. Nazarius to Lorsch in 765, and not the foundation of the monastery three years earlier that saw an upsurge in land donations.⁵

Apart from donations, such a territorial logic of patronage – as Thomas Head, for example, has shown concerning the diocese of Orléans between Carolingian times and the twelfth century – was modeled on reciprocal personal relationships. In the words of Head, it:

relied on an explicit or implicit contract between the ‘father’ and his servants. The monks and canons who had vowed to serve their patrons had become the legal equivalent of serfs. Many of the inhabitants of the property of a monastery were also part of the *familia* of that community’s patron. They were supposed to refrain from work on their patron’s feasts. ... [They] were bound to the service of their saints just as they were to their overlords. When they did not render proper service to their patron, they were forced to pay a fine or an alternate form of service. ... If much was expected of both the monks and the *familia* of the saints, those saints were expected to uphold their end of the bargain as well. A formula copied at Fleury around the year

⁴ Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. Patrick J. Geary (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 326–327; Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 221–222.

⁵ Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 29.

1100 promised that the serfs who belonged to [St.] Benedict would be provided *securitas* [by the saint].⁶

Security – and similar legally binding promises found by Head in other contemporary documents – included all kinds of assistance to worshipers. Local patron saints were deemed to require personal loyalty in exchange for help in every trouble. Head compares this relationship to feudal ties, but it also seems to show a parallel with predominantly autarchic economies. Just as it was mostly local produce that inhabitants of a region lived on, it was the local saint they turned to with most of their problems.

This territorial concept of patronage did not disappear in later periods, of course, and it lives on until today in the cult of urban, regional, and national patron saints. Its intensity must have, nevertheless, diminished from the later Middle Ages onwards. In a sermon for the feast of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia in 1382, the renowned theologian Henry of Langenstein (1325–1397), made the following remark:

It should be known that, in accordance with the general opinion of theological tradition, angels undertook the care and governance of regions and races, cities and men. Similarly, the saints of God are entrusted with the spiritual care of and power over peoples, regions, and cities where they happily lived and were buried, and [where] they left their relics, shined forth through miracles and bequeathed their examples of sanctity or, at least, where through the consecration of churches in their honour they had been received as patrons or patronesses. Consequently, when any race, city and country is placed under the rule of these leaders who immediately minister to the supreme governor, with good reason every race venerates its saintly men and women as its own gods and goddesses with enhanced solemnity, prays for them with greater devotion, and fears their anger and resentment more. Hence I am astounded with great wonder how it could happen that the most blessed Elizabeth, goddess of Hesse and divine patroness of Germany, is not venerated everywhere in these regions, and even where she is, is not celebrated as gloriously as she deserves.⁷

⁶ Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 188, 189, and 190.

⁷ Henry of Langenstein, *Sermo de sancta Elisabeth in die natali*, Darmstadt, *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek*, 792, f. 117r–v: “*Sciendum quod, iuxta communem theologice tradicionis assercionem, angeli susceperunt regionum et gencium, urbium et hominum curam et gubernandi presidenciam. Ita et*

Langenstein seems to suggest that in some way or another (not excluding the possibility of transferring relics from one place or church to the other) the assignment of territorial or ethnic units to specific patron saints follows some sort of a divine plan or fits into a divine order of the world.⁸ His remark, however, also implies that the devotion to such patron saints, in spite of the pre-established harmony between the heavenly government and earthly territories, can wear out over time. The intensity of devotion to territorial patron saints probably lasted longer in those cases where the territory under the auspices of such “gods and goddesses” – as Langenstein put it – coincided with autonomous polities, as in the Italian city-states.⁹

Whether the cult of territorial patron saints remained intense or not, however, other forms of heavenly patronage were juxtaposed to it. I will leave aside dynastic patronage, which was as old as territorial patronage and frequently overlapped it, as well as the problem of personal patron saints, which also goes back to the times of the earliest martyr cults.¹⁰ In contrast to these well-studied forms, the saintly patronage of crafts, trades, and professions remains as neglected as the cult of holy helpers, hence I can mention it here only briefly for the sake of conceptual precision. Released from specific territories

sanctis Dei cura est spiritualis et commissa potestas super populos, regiones et urbes ubi feliciter conversati, sepulti sunt et reliquias dimiserunt, claruerunt miraculis, et exempla sanctitatis reliquerunt, aut certe ubi per ecclesiarum in honore ipsorum consecrationem in patronos vel patronas recepti sunt. Ergo cum his presidibus, summo gubernatori immediate subministrantibus, gens quelibet, urbs et patria subdatur regenda, rationabiliter quelibet gens sanctos suos et sanctas, tamquam deos et deas proprios, maiori solemnitate veneratur, ampliori devocione invocat et eorum iras et offensas plus formidat. Proinde est quod grandi ammiracione stupeo quomodo evenerit, quod beatissima Elyzabeth Hassie dea et Germanie diva patrona in eisdem regionibus nec ubique veneratur, nec ubi colitur, tam gloriose ut meruit celebratur. For a longer quotation and context, see Ottó Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235–ca. 1500*, Medioevo francescano, Saggi 15 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo [CISAM], 2012), 133–135. If not indicated otherwise, all emendations and translations of the sources are mine, O.G.

⁸ For the translation of relics according to the intentions or with the permission of the saints and, thus, redrawing the map of *patrocinia*, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd ed, rev. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), esp. 113–114 and 124–125.

⁹ See Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996).

¹⁰ For dynastic patronage, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For personal patronage, see Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 50–68; and Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, 233–238.

in a pattern of recurrent linkages between saints and craftsmen, tradesmen or professionals, occupational patronage was supported by and also contributed to the diffusion of certain cults as well as to the crystallization of occupational identities throughout Europe. Thus, St. Crispin was frequently the patron saint of cobblers or shoemakers, St. Eligius of goldsmiths or other metalworkers, St. Luke of painters, and St. Sebastian of archers, even if such correspondences between saints and occupations were colored by historical contingencies, local traditions, and the influence of more universal, all-encompassing cults. For instance, in 1508 at Saschiz/Keisd/Szászkézd in Transylvania, the altar of the Holy Cross and St. Sebastian belonged to the shoemakers' apprentices, while in late medieval Bruges the altars of the basket makers, coopers' apprentices, ships' carpenters, shoemakers' apprentices, tapestry weavers, and wine-measurers were all dedicated to the Virgin Mary alone.¹¹

It is far more important for my argument, however, that the recurrent linkages between saints and craftsmen, tradesmen, and professionals presupposed the formation of similar occupational categories and associations everywhere and, hence, could not arise very early – probably not much earlier than the thirteenth century. The emergence of these linkages may have been related to the diffusion of centralized international religious orders like the Cistercians and the Carthusians, and later the mendicant orders, where the cult of the founder saint was reiterated in each local community and could serve as a model for similar patterns.

Criticisms of the Cult of Holy Helpers

Between the summer of 1516 and the beginning of the next year – not long before the completion of the ninety-five theses on the eve of All Saints in 1517 – Martin Luther delivered a series of sermons on the Ten Commandments in the castle church of Wittenberg. The German original of the sermons is now lost but a revised Latin version – in a form rather close to late medieval Decalogue commentaries for pastoral use – was published in Latin in the summer of 1518.¹²

¹¹ For Saschiz/Keisd/Szászkézd, see Fredrich Müller, *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen: Aus schriftlichen Quellen des zwölften bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Steinhaussen, 1864), 161; for Bruges, see Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges, c. 1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 321–328 (Appendix 5).

¹² Edited as *Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicata populo. 1518*, in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [henceforth: WA], 80 vols. (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–1929), 1:398–521. For Luther's preaching activity in Wittenberg between 1514 and 1517, see Martin Brecht,

By the beginning of the 1520s, it was available in six Latin, five German, two Dutch, and one Czech editions. It is the first work of Luther translated into a foreign vernacular.¹³

The text itself looks quite traditional. Just like a typical preacher of the later Middle Ages, Luther divided his subjects in parts and parts of parts through a range of interrelated conceptual distinctions, thus creating a labyrinth of arguments that his readers or listeners were to explore with his guidance. Even the fact that he preached in German but published his sermons in Latin aligns him with authorial strategies of preceding centuries.

It was much less usual, however, that in expanding on the first commandment, Luther considered not only superstition as a major concern within its purview, but the cult of the saints as well. His starting point is the following distinction: “The saints are venerated and invoked by us in two ways. In the first, for worldly and bodily things alone ... In the second, saints are venerated truly and inwardly.”¹⁴ Those exhibiting the first kind of devotion “venerate the saints falsely – or, rather, [venerate] themselves in the saints – as they look for what belongs to them and not to God, and thus almost transform the saints into idols for themselves.”¹⁵ Luther then goes on to elucidate the nature of this false belief and practice by discussing “some of those saints whose superstitious cult is known to everyone.”¹⁶

He examines, at shorter or greater length, the cult of twenty-two (from the second edition only twenty-one) saints divided into male and female groups: Anthony the Abbot, Sebastian, Martin, Roche, Valentine, Vincent, Christopher,

Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation, 1483–1521 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1981), 150–154. Examples of late medieval Decalogue commentaries include: Johannes Nider (d. 1438), *Praeceptorium divinae legis, sive expositio Decalogi* (Paris: Ulrich Gering, 1482); Hendrik Herp (d. 1477), *Speculum aureum decem praeceptorum Dei* (Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 1474); and Gottschalk Hollen (d. ca. 1481), *Praeceptorium divinae legis* (Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, 1481).

¹³ See the editor’s introduction in WA, 1:394–398. The published German version (see footnote 17 below) is a translation from the Latin.

¹⁴ WA, 1:411 and 419: *Duobus modis coluntur a nobis et invocantur sancti. Primo propter temporalia et corporalia duntaxat. ... Secundo coluntur sancti vere et interne.* For an analysis of the first sermon focusing not on the saints but on more traditional forms of superstition, see Uwe Rieske, “Glaube und Aberglaube: Luthers Auslegung des Ersten Gebotes 1516/18,” *Lutherjahrbuch* 69 (2002): 21–46; for Luther’s pre-Reformation views on saints in a broader context, see Jörg Haustein, “Luthers frühe Kritik an der Heiligenverehrung und ihre Bedeutung für das ökumenische Gespräch,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 124 (1999): 1187–1204.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 411: *hii false colunt sanctos, immo magis seipsos in illis, qua sua quaerunt, non ea quae dei sunt, ac ideo sanctos prope in idola sibi transformant.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 412: *Atque quo haec clarius intelligantur, aliquot enumeremus sanctorum, quorum superstitiosus cultus omnibus notus est.*

Lawrence, Florian, Vitus, Erasmus, Lewis of Toulouse, Wendelin, Anne, Barbara, Katherine, Dorothy, Margaret, Juliana, Odile, Apollonia, and Scholastica.¹⁷ The common characteristic of this diverse company is auxiliary patronage. Each of these saints is invoked against one particular problem: Anthony against the so-called St. Anthony's fire (usually identified with ergotism), Sebastian and Martin against the plague, Valentine against falling sickness (epilepsy), Christopher against sudden death, Lawrence and Florian against fire and so on.

In the eyes of Luther, their association with specific kinds of help dwarfs their real sanctity, their virtues, and exemplary lives, which should be the focus of their veneration. The demand for specialized intercession also diminishes the dignity of the saints: "We Christians are not ashamed to divide up worldly business among the saints in such a way as if they had been made our servants or craftsmen's apprentices."¹⁸ Finally, the auxiliary patronage of saints creates the false impression that – instead of God – they themselves are responsible for the assistance they provide, which leads us to paganism: "We would go back to the chaos of Roman gods and rebuild some sort of a Pantheon, and all this for nothing else but to be well in his world."¹⁹ In other words, the main target of Luther's most detailed (pre-Reformation) criticism of the cult of the saints was their alleged specialization, ultimately linked to paganism and an entirely materialistic conception of their significance.

After expounding his detailed critique of auxiliary patronage, Luther examines and refutes three possible objections against his views. According to the last one, "some are convinced (as Jean Gerson thinks) that gifts of this sort are distributed among saints in heaven in the same way as they had different spiritual gifts on earth."²⁰ To this objection he gives the following answer:

I know their new opinion [*nova opinio*], that just as in their lives the saints were given various spiritual gifts, so now in heaven, too, they have various capacities of help. But I cannot see how it could be proven if not by arguing from similarity, which is a very harmful [type

¹⁷ Ibid., 412–416. Roche is in the first edition only but Sebastian Münster's German translation also includes him; see *Der x gebot ein nutzliche erklerung: Durch den hochgelerten D. Martinum Luther Augustiner ordens beschriben und gepredigt, geistlichen und weltlichen dienende; Item ein schoene predig von den vii todsünden, auch durch in beschriben* (Basel: Adam Petri, 1520), f. 14r.

¹⁸ WA, 1:415: *non pudet nos Christianos ita in sanctos partiri negocia rerum temporalium, ac si essent nunc facti servi et mancipia artificum.*

¹⁹ Ibid.: *Ut rursus Romanorum illud Cabos[!] deorum et quoddam pantheon denuo extruxerimus, atque hoc ipsum non pro alia causa, quam ut hic tantummodo bene habeamus.*

²⁰ Ibid., 417: *nonnullis sit persuasum (ut Ioannes Gerson sentit) sanctis in caelo sic esse distributa dona eiusmodi, sicuti in terris habuerunt dona diversa spiritus.*

of] argument in matters of faith. For what else does the devil do, when he appears as an angel of light, if not arguing from similarity? ... Thus be it remarked that all saints can do everything.²¹

Apart from suggesting that specialization, if it exists, cannot be known save from misleading similarities, he also makes two chronologically interesting references: one to Jean Gerson, the great theologian and chancellor of the university of Paris, and another to the novelty of the opinion attributed to him and rejected here. Of course, *nova opinio* can also mean strange or unusual opinion, but at any rate Luther seems to think that the theological view of positing a division of labor among saints in heaven is new or unusual in his times; even its supposedly most famous advocate had died less than a hundred years earlier.

It appears, however, that regarding Gerson, Luther's memory betrayed him. In Gerson's sermon for All Saints' Day *Exultabunt sancti in gloria* ("The saints shall rejoice in glory," Ps. 149:5) an allegorical female figure, a certain *Studiositas Speculatrix* ("Speculative Curiosity") interrupts him and asks eighteen questions about the condition of saints in heaven. None of these questions or the answers given to them by Gerson formulates or implies the view attributed to him by Luther.²² Moreover, in his treatise *De directione cordis* ("On the direction of the heart") Gerson explicitly mentions questionable practices related to the cult of saints, such as:

That one gift or another, like a rooster for boys and a hen for girls, should be offered to St. Christopher and to St. John the Baptist; that countless particular rites are to be performed to St. Hubert against the bite of a rabid dog, which have no rational foundation whatsoever. And, hence, such ritual borders on superstition, because it is nothing else but false religion. It is called false because it is without reason or effect. It is a similar case that St. Anthony has more power to cure sacred fire than other saints. Or again that in this church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, her power is greater to perform miracles than in

²¹ *Ibid.*, 418: *Scio novam illam opinionem eorum, quod sicut in vita sancti diversis donis spiritus erant dotati, ita et nunc in caelo eosdem habere diferentes gratias auxiliandi: sed ego non video, quomodo id possint probare nisi arguendo a simili, quod argumentum in iis quae sunt fidei est nocentissimum. Quid enim aliud facit diabolus, quum in angelum lucis sese transfiguratur, quam quod arguit a simili? ... Ideo sciendum est, quod omnes sancti omnia possunt.*

²² Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 11 vols. (Paris: Desclée, 1960–1973), 5:265–278. For the context, see Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 65.

another; and this is because of a certain image of hers, or because of a customary pilgrimage; and so on in countless similar cases.²³

Thus, Gerson regards the invocation of holy helpers as superstitious but he lumps it together with a range of other questionable practices concerning the cult of the saints. For him it is not a phenomenon on its own. It is also striking in Gerson's approach that, in contrast to Luther, he regards these practices as irrational and not as sinful in the first place. In other words, Gerson seems to relegate the problem to the religiosity of the uneducated folk.

This is not the position Luther had in mind. But an important theologian much closer in both time and place to him did indeed advocate the view Luther attributed to Gerson. In his sermon for the feast of St. Sebastian, Gabriel Biel made the following general comment on the capacities of holy helpers:

Saints, who were distinguished with unique gifts and victories by God on Earth, are endowed with specific privileges in the state of glory as well, in order to obtain similar gifts and victories for those who venerate them. Whence all saints may be universally invoked for each and every necessity, it is not less so that one may have recourse to specific [saints] in order to procure specific kinds of help, as is proven by the assistances and revelations in the most trustworthy histories written by the holy fathers.²⁴

Interestingly enough, Biel does not attribute this view to Gerson or to any particular authority. In my interpretation this is because he provides here nontraditional theological justification for a practice that by the end of the fifteenth century had become quite widespread in all social milieus. That it was not a phenomenon restricted to the uneducated folk is already evident from

²³ Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 8:108: *quod offeratur tale munus vel tale, sicut gallus pro pueris, gallina pro puellis beato Christophoro et beato Joanni Baptistae; quod ad sanctum Hubertum pro morsu canis rabidi, fiant innumerae particulares observantiae quae nullam videntur habere institutionis rationem; et ita talis ritus transit in superstitionem quae nihil aliud est quam vana religio. Dicitur autem vana, quia caret ratione vel effectu. Similiter est de hoc quod sanctus Antonius habeat plus virtutis in curando sacrum ignem quam alii sancti. Rursus quod in hac ecclesia dedicata beatae Virgini, ipsius virtus sit potentior ad faciendum miracula quam in altera; et hoc ratione talis imaginis suae vel solitae peregrinationis; et ita de similibus absque numero. See also McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 272–273.*

²⁴ Gabriel Biel, *Sermones dominicales de tempore tam hyemales quam estivales ...* (Augsburg: Rynman, 1515), f. 382r: *Sancti qui singularibus donis et victoriis in terris a Deo sublimati sunt, etiam in gloria specialibus privilegiis obtinenda similia suis cultoribus sunt donati. Unde licet omnes sancti per singulis necessitatibus catholice invocari possunt, non minus pro specialibus impetrandis auxiliis ad speciales recursus haberi potest, ut probant auxilia et revelationes in probatissimis historiis a sanctis patribus descriptis.*

Luther's sermon. With reference to St. Christopher and his alleged specialization in preventing sudden death through his images, usually placed on the outer walls of churches or other buildings, Luther quotes a Latin mnemonic verse:

*Christophere sancte, virtutes tibi tantae:
Qui te mane videt, nocturno tempore ridet,
Nec Satanas caedat, nec mors subitanea laedat.*²⁵

(O Christopher the saint, your powers are so great:
Who looks at you in the morning is cheerful at night,
Satan does not smite him, nor sudden death hurt him.)

This verse is probably not the Latin version of an originally German one because the German translator of Luther's sermons on the Ten Commandments, Sebastian Münster, renders it in prose.²⁶ In other words, a belief in the protective capacities of images representing St. Christopher was also advertized for those on the higher rungs of the social ladder, presumably for school children, who by memorizing the verse could more easily develop the habit of looking devotedly at all such images when coming and going in the streets. As to the *origin* of certain auxiliary patronages, however, Luther suggested phonetic-etymological explanations which he contrasted with the written lives of the saints, implying a lowly birth for these beliefs:

Sebastian [is called] 'Sanct Pastian' [or *Bastian*, which sounds like 'Pestian' from *Pes*] as if he worked against the plague alone, while nothing can be read about pestilence in his Life. ... Now, St. Roche has a name that in German sounds like vengeance and anger [*Rache*], as if he were useful to avert God's vengeance. ... Valentine, the prefect of falling sickness: Since we have not read about him to have had anything to do with this disease, I would almost swear that his being related to such assistance comes from an allusion in German. For *vallen* means 'to fall,' which alludes to Valentine as closely as possible. It is not surprising either that superstitious foolish women [*mulierculae*], led by the same [kind of] allusion, have similarly assigned St. Vincent to finding lost things, for in German 'to find' is *vinden*.²⁷

²⁵ WA, 1:413.

²⁶ *Der x gebot ein nutzliche erklerung*, f. 14v: "welcher in am morgen ansicht, der lachtet zu obent, und mag im weder der Boeß find noch der gehe tod schaden thun."

²⁷ WA, 1:412 (Sebastian and Roch are missing from the second and subsequent Latin editions): *Sic et Sebastianus "sanct pastian" quasi pro peste idem valeat solus, cum nihil in eius vita de pestilentia legatur. ... Iam sanctus Rochius nomen habet, quod alemanice vindictam sonat et iram, quasi*

The superstitious *mulierculae* are not meant to represent the worshipers of holy helpers in general but those who need to find things at home on a regular basis. It seems that this is why the beneficiaries of auxiliary patronage are gendered here in contrast to other cases (with the exception of childbirth, of course).²⁸

In an already mature phase of the Lutheran movement, in a passage of his *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* written in 1530, Melancthon makes explicit the point that the cult of holy helpers was a socially undifferentiated phenomenon: “Among theologians this error also prevails: that a special sphere of activity has been assigned to each saint. Thus Anne bestows riches; Sebastian fends off the plague; Valentine heals epilepsy; George protects knights.” Melancthon’s words seem to echo Luther’s invective in the *Large Catechism* of 1529 against “what we used to do in our blindness under the papacy,” in terms of which “[a]nyone who had a toothache fasted and called on St. Apollonia; those who worried about their house burning down appealed to St. Laurence as their patron; if they were afraid of the plague, they made a vow to St. Sebastian or Roch.”²⁹

ipse ideo utilis sit vindictam dei avertere. ... Valentinus, morbi caduci praefectus: quem cum nihil legimus egisse cum hoc morbo, prope iurarem ex allusione germanica eum in huius auxilii sortem venisse. Nam cadere “vallen” significat, quod ad Valentinum quam proxime alludit. Nec mirum, cum et sanctum Vincentium supersticiosae mulierculae deputaverint rebus perditis inveniendis, eadem ductae allusione: Germanice enim invenire “vinden” dicitur.

²⁸ The same holds for a comparable passage in Thomas More’s *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), where a series of first person plurals (“we”) is broken by a reference to “women” – again in the context of finding lost objects: “Saint Eligius we make a horse-doctor, and must let our horse run unshod and injure his hoof rather than shoe him on his feast-day, which in that respect we must more religiously keep high and holy than Easter day. And because one smith is too few at a forge, we set Saint Hippolytus to help him. And on Saint Stephen’s day we must bleed all our horses with a knife because Saint Stephen was killed with stones. Saint Apollonia we make a dentist and may speak to her of nothing but sore teeth. Saint Sitha women appoint to find their keys. Saint Roche we appoint to attend to the plague because he had a bubo.” Modernized version quoted from a longer excerpt in Brett Edward Whalen, ed., *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 360; for the original version, see *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, ed. Thomas M. C. Lawler, Germain Marc’Hadour, and Richard C. Marius, bk. II, ch. 10, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 6:226–227.

²⁹ Philipp Melancthon, *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, art. 21, in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, trans. Charles P. Arand et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 242; Martin Luther, *Large Catechism*, *ibid.*, 387 (the italics are mine, O.G.). For early Protestant views on the saints, see Carol Piper Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517–1531*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 65 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2003).

The pronoun in the first person plural, *we*, used by Luther is not accidental. In a table talk of 1539 he himself tells the story of how he became an Augustinian friar. On the way to Erfurt, being a student there, he was caught by a terrible storm close to his destination near Stotternheim in 1505; he was so afraid that he cried out to St. Anne, who was believed to protect from tempests: “Help St. Anne, I want to be a monk!” But fortunately, at least in Luther’s retrospective rationalization, God understood his vow not in German but in Hebrew with the word “Anne” meaning “by grace, not by law” (*sub gratia, non legaliter*) and thus he was right in leaving the cloister later.³⁰

It may well have been a vertical diffusion of the cult of holy helpers up the social hierarchy that provoked more focused criticism of this phenomenon from the turn of the fifteenth century onward. Luther’s argument in his sermon on the first commandment was probably informed by the opinion of Erasmus in *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier* published in 1503:

One person greets Christopher each day, but only if he sees his image. To what end? Evidently because he is convinced that thus he will be preserved from a violent death that day. Another worships a certain Rocco, but why? Because he thinks that this saint will ward off the plague from his body. Another mumbles special little prayers to Barbara or George to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. Someone else fasts in honour of Apollonia so that he will not have toothaches. Still another makes visits to statues of holy Job to escape the itch. Some assign a certain portion of their profits to the poor so that their merchandise will not be lost in shipwreck. A candle is lit to Hiero for the recovery of lost goods. In short, in this way we

³⁰ D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe; Tischreden, 6 vols. (Weimar: Böhlau, 1912–1921), no. 4707, 4:440: 16. Iulii, in die Alexii, dicebat: Heute ist die jerige zeit, do ich in das kloster zu Erfurt gezogen. — *Et incipiebat recitare historiam quomodo novisset votum, nam cum fuisset vix 14 diebus ante in itinere et fulmine prope Stotternheim non longe ab Erphordia ita consternatus, ut in terrore dixisset: Hilff du, S. Anna, ich wil ein monch werden! Sed Deus tum Hebraice meum votum intellexit: Anna, id est sub gratia, non legaliter.* Johannes Agricola also recalled that in his youth, when he was afraid, he turned to the saints: “Wenn ich in Aengsten war, so lief ich zu den Heiligen. ... Da mußte mich St. Barbara, wenn ich ihren Abend fastete und ihren Tag feierte, schützen, daß ich nicht ohne das Sacrament stürbe. St. Rochus mußte dienen für die Pestilenz, St. Sebastian für die Schüsse, St. Anna selbdritte, wenn ich ihr Lichtlein aufsteckte, und St. Erasmus mußte reich machen. St. Gertrud beschert gute Herberge, St. Leonhard und St. Niclas helfen vor Gefängnis.” Quoted in Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben: Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin: Hertz, 1881), 9.

have appointed certain saints to preside over all the things we fear or desire. These differ with each nation, so that in France Paul has the same importance that Hiero has for us, while James and John are not equally powerful in all places. If this sort of piety is not turned from mere consideration of material advantages or disadvantages and redirected towards Christ, then far from being Christian it is not much removed from the superstition of those who pledged a tenth part of their substance to Hercules so that they might become rich or a cock to Aesculapius in order to recover from some illness or sacrificed a bull to Neptune for a safe crossing.³¹

Just like Luther, Erasmus separates the cult of holy helpers from other forms of superstition and sees the main problem with it in materialism and paganism; but unlike the later reformer, he is either ignorant of or uninterested in denouncing the theologians who endorse the belief in auxiliary patronage. Erasmus, however, makes it clear that the phenomenon was not restricted to the German-speaking territories and that the same function could be assigned to

³¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, trans., ann. C. Fantazzi, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 66 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 8–127, at 63–64. Erasmus was not against the invocation of saints in all its forms. In a letter written from Paris in 1497, six years before publishing the *Handbook*, he claims to have recovered from quartan fever “not by a physician’s help (though I had recourse to one) but by the aid of Ste Geneviève alone, the famous virgin, whose bones, preserved by the canons regular, daily radiate miracles and are revered: nothing is more worthy of her, or has done me more good.” In the same letter he also attributes the end of an unceasing rainfall in the city to the intercession of Geneviève. In another letter, three years later, he writes with reference to his fears of relapsing into the same fever that “I trust in Ste. Geneviève, whose ready help I have more than once enjoyed.” See Hilmar M. Pabel, *Conversing with God: Prayer in Erasmus’ Pastoral Writings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 74–75. Erasmus may have considered personal or territorial patronage easier to “redirect toward Christ” (as he urged in the *Handbook*) than auxiliary patronage, because focusing on one saint provides a higher chance of identifying with him or her and, thus, of not seeking intercession alone but trying to follow his or her saintly example as well. “No devotion is more acceptable and proper to the saints than striving to imitate their virtues. Would you like to win the favor of Peter and Paul? Imitate the faith of the one and the charity of the other, and you will accomplish more than if you were to dash off to Rome ten times. Would you like to pay the greatest homage to Francis? You are arrogant, you are a worshipper of money, you are quarrelsome. Make this gift to the saint: Control your feelings and be more modest after the example of Francis; despise sordid gain and covet the goods of the mind. Abandon your contentiousness and conquer evil with good. That saint will value this honour more than if you were to light a hundred candles before his shrine.” Erasmus, *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, 71–72.

different saints depending on local customs as in the case of the Frisian (originally Irish) St. Hiero in the Netherlands and St. Paul in France.

Before Erasmus, the status of auxiliary patronage as a problem in its own right does not seem evident. Gerson was not the only one who tended to lump it together with other forms of superstitious beliefs and practices in the cult of saints. At the diocesan synod of Brixen/Bressanone in 1455, Nicolaus Cusanus forbade, that “*superstitiosa* about St. Blaise, Barbara, Katherine, Dorothy, Margaret, and so on, contained in the *legenda lombardica* be preached to the people.”³² Sherry Reames has pointed out that the Lives of these five saints in the *Golden Legend* seem to have only one “superstitious thing” in common: All of them attribute auxiliary patronages with divine approbation to the saints.³³

Whether this is the only possible interpretation or not, the synod returned to the problem of saints and superstition once again. According to a note appended to the constitutions, Cusanus, having experienced great uncertainty among the priests of his diocese about which feasts of saints are to be observed and how, made a thorough inquiry into local ways and came up with a scheme of four types of feasts. The first type is observed “by written law, the second by general custom of the clergy and the people, the third by a particular custom of certain places, the fourth by one’s own consideration or superstition rather than some kind of divine adoration.”³⁴ This scheme was meant to reflect local norms and to serve as a basis for Cusanus’ rather strict guidelines in the matter. The first two types are mandatory. The feasts of

the third [type] are neither mandatory nor is their observance to be encouraged; but those who entrust themselves devoutly to God through

³² Gustav Bickell, ed., *Synodi Brixinenses saeculi XV* (Innsbruck: Rauch, 1880), 41: *Item inbibemus ... ne populo praedificentur superstitiosa, quae in legenda lombardica habentur de S. Blasio, Barbara, Catharina, Dorothea, Margaritba, etc.* For Cusanus’ activity in Brixen/Bressanone, see Brian A. Pavlac, “Nicolaus Cusanus as Prince-Bishop of Brixen (1450–1464),” *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 21 (1995): 131–153.

³³ Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 50 and 234, n. 15: “they promise in unequivocal terms that acts of devotion to the saints in question will magically guarantee one’s deliverance from certain evils, among them illnesses, poverty, and damnation itself. ... Typically these guarantees are requested by the saint just before his or her martyrdom and ratified at once by a voice from heaven.” I will return to the role of the *Legenda aurea* in the proliferation of auxiliary patronages below.

³⁴ Bickell, ed., *Synodi Brixinenses*, 44–45: *prima ex jure scripto, secunda ex generali consuetudine cleri et populi, tertia ex particulari quadam consuetudine certorum locorum, quarta ex proprio sensu et superstitione potius, quam ex aliquo cultu laetiae.*

the intercession of these saints in their prayers, when participating in the divine office at least in the morning, before going to work, are regarded as acting laudably. ... The feasts of the fourth [type], however, must not be observed at all; should anyone observe them against this prohibition, he is not to be absolved by any priest but, as if having a wrong conception of the Catholic faith, is to be submitted to episcopal authority.³⁵

The strictly forbidden fourth type looks like a mixture of problematic cases: (1) new or unusual holidays (in the sense of workless days) like the Fridays after Ascension and Corpus Christi; (2) relocations or repetitions of established feasts like celebrating St. Stephen, St. John and the Holy Innocents in the days after Resurrection and Pentecost; and (3) the observance of certain saints, occasionally through specific rituals (such as fasting), *because* of the auxiliary patronage connected to them, like the octave of St. Valentine against animal diseases and falling sickness, the octave of Epiphany and the feast of Sts. John and Paul against tempests, or St. George's day against fever.³⁶ Interestingly enough, none of the five saints whose Lives in the *Golden Legend* are said to contain "superstitious things" belong to the fourth type: Katherine is put in the second, Barbara, Blaise, and Margaret in the third, and Dorothy is not mentioned at all.

Thus, even if superstitious beliefs and practices in the cult of saints are a more serious issue here than in Gerson, for example, the problem of helper saints is not separated from its cognates – it is not a problem in its own right, let alone the main problem with attitudes to sanctity. Three years after the synod, in his arguably most important text on church reform, the *Reformatio generalis*, it is merely

³⁵ Bickell, ed., *Synodi Brixinenses*, 45–46: *Tertia nec mandentur nec ad observandum exhortentur; laudabiliter tamen, facere perhibentur, qui saltem in mane, antequam ad labores divertant, divinis officiis interessendo per intercessionem illorum sanctorum precibus suis se Deo devote commendent. ... Quarta vero festa observari omnino prohibet, quae si quis contra huiusmodi prohibitionem observaverit, tamquam male sentiens in fide catholica non absolvatur ab aliquo sacerdote, sed ad auctoritatem episcopalem mittatur.* According to Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens* (Freiburg: Herder, 1902), 297–298, Cusanus was exceptionally strict in this respect among his fellow German bishops.

³⁶ Bickell, ed., *Synodi Brixinenses*, 45: *Quarta, ut puta: octava S. Stephani et inventio eiusdem, [in cod. alt. deest:] OCTAVA EPIPHANIAE contra tempestates, Valentini contra morbum bestiarum et morbum caducum, feriae sextae post Ascensionis et Corporis Christi festa pro requie Domini, [in cod. alt. add. Johannis et Pauli contra tempestates,] sed et dies post dies Resurrectionis et Pentecostes in honore S. Stephani, Johannis et Innocentium, etiam observationes jejuniorum S. Gregorii contra febres et Achatii pro toto anno et similia.* The small caps and the additions in square brackets are mine (O.G.) but follow the critical apparatus of Bickell's edition.

the authenticity of relics and the material or worldly motivations behind their exhibition and worship that Cusanus highlights in connection to saints and their cults as issues to be investigated in the course of ecclesiastical visitations. Helper saints or auxiliary patronages are not even mentioned.³⁷

In sum, by the beginning of the sixteenth century focused criticism of the cult of holy helpers, with recurrent arguments and saints adapted to local circumstances, became visible in various places in northern Europe. As noted above, Luther perceived the theological justification of the phenomenon, the theory of similarities, as new or unusual. Likewise, the criticism focused on auxiliary patronage itself seems to have been a novelty in the times of Erasmus and Luther as far as a set of arguments clearly distinguished from general objections against superstitions is concerned.

The reason behind such more focused criticism may well have been the wider diffusion of the cult of holy helpers, especially vertically, up the social ladder. An initially folkloric belief may have gradually become generally accepted, even among those of higher standing. Gerson still connected auxiliary patronage with the uneducated; Luther saw its origins in misinterpretations of saints' names based on vernacular words, but in his own times he – like Melanchton – seems to have regarded it as a socially undifferentiated phenomenon justified by theologians as well. In addition, Luther and other reformers tended to talk about the erroneous cult of holy helpers, with reference to the recent past, in the first person plural.

Such an upward spread of venerating saints for their specialized assistance is, however, not the only conceivable change that could have provoked more focused criticism. Another option was the proliferation of holy helpers, the increasing number of saints who were believed to exercise auxiliary patronage. This option is not incompatible with the upward spread hypothesis, but it is different. It implies that saints who had no specialization earlier gradually became holy helpers as well, or became holy helpers in the first place. I argue below that this is precisely what happened in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Proliferation of Holy Helpers

According to an anonymous account first published in 1519, Hermann Leicht, the son of the shepherd of the Cistercian monastery of Langheim in Upper

³⁷ Nicholas of Cusa, "A General Reform to the Church," in *Writings on Church and Reform*, ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 33 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 550–591, at 572–575 (§.22).

Franconia, had a series of four visions in 1445–1446.³⁸ In the first two he merely saw a child out in a field who laughed at him and disappeared as he wanted to get closer, but in the third the child was already surrounded by fourteen other children who, responding to Hermann’s inquiry, told him that: “We are the Fourteen Holy Helpers and we want to have a chapel and to rest there graciously, and should you be our servant, we want to be your servant, too.”³⁹ This answer seems to have been enough for Hermann, as he posed no further questions about their identity. Shortly after the reported date of the visions, in 1448, a local chapel – the predecessor of the still extant eighteenth-century *Basilika Vierzehnheiligen* – was dedicated to the saints, who were by no means unknown in the area, even if membership in the group was not entirely stable. The most typical selection, the so-called *Normalreihe*, appeared in the extant sources around 1400. A Bavarian manuscript written in 1408, for example, contains the following prayer:

George, Blaise, Erasmus and Pantaleon,
 Vitus, Christopher, Denis and Cyriacus,
 Achatius the Great, Eustace and Giles,
 With Margaret, with Barbara, with Katherine,
 Let them pray for us and make heavenly favors pour forth.⁴⁰

It was also in the period around 1400 from which the earliest pictorial representations of the entire group have survived, but even the earliest incomplete image which may have been conceived as a representation of the group, in the

³⁸ The anonymous account is reprinted in the appendix of Klaus Guth, “Vierzehnheiligen und die Anfänge der Nothelferverehrung: Anatomie einer Wallfahrtsgenese,” in *Kultur als Lebensform: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, 3 vols., ed. Elisabeth Roth (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1995–2009), 1:305–324.

³⁹ Guth, “Vierzehnheiligen,” 323: “wir sein die vierzehn nothelffer/ vnd wöllen ein Cappel haben/ auch gnediglich hie rasten/ vnnd biss unser diener/ so wöllen wir dein diener wieder sein.”

⁴⁰ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26926, half title (the hand is identical to that of the main, dated content of the ms.): *Georgius Blasius Erasmus / Pantaleonque Vitus Christophorus / Dyonysius et Cyriacus Achatius / magnus Eustachius Egidiusque / Cum Margareta cum Barbara cum Katharina / Pro nobis orent et cetera munera rorent*. Quoted in Josef Dünninger, “Sprachliche Zeugnisse über den Kult der Vierzehn Nothelfer im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Festschrift Matthias Zender: Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte*, 2 vols., ed. Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegmann (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1972), 1:336–346 at 345. Two variants of the same prayer – once without the last line, once with an additional line and slight changes in the order of saints – have also survived in Clm 23435 and Clm 22237, both of which are difficult to date but are either contemporary or later; see Dünninger, “Sprachliche Zeugnisse,” 344–346. For the interpretations of *magnus* in the prayer as a separate saint (a St. Magnus) or as an epithet, see *ibid.*, and Walter Pötzl, “Die Verehrung

Dominican church of Regensburg, is no older than the 1320s.⁴¹ It was primarily pilgrimage to *Vierzehnheiligen*, as the place of the visions came to be called, that contributed to a relatively speedy diffusion of the cult in Central Europe from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards.⁴²

In the long-lasting research on the Fourteen Holy Helpers much effort has been invested in identifying the source of their cult with the method of finding the place where each individual saint of the *Normalreihe* was venerated before the middle of the fifteenth century. A rather widespread consensus holds Regensburg to have been this place but even this hypothesis seems to be rather sensitive to the way the veneration of the individual helpers is demonstrated and to what counts as veneration in this or that case.⁴³ For the present argument, however, it is not the birthplace of the *Normalreihe* that matters but the association of each saint with various auxiliary patronages.

The earliest references to the fourteen helpers as a group do not yet attribute any specialized assistance to them. Each of them could be invoked in any kind of trouble. In the vernacular legendary, *Der Heiligen Leben*, composed in Nuremberg around 1400, the Life of St. Erasmus ends with the following remark: “He is one of the fourteen helpers and may come indeed to the rescue of all people in all their necessities of the soul and the body.”⁴⁴ Erasmus was not yet the helper specialized in intestinal diseases; he was one of the fourteen helpers who still help in everything – which, by the way, all saints are supposed to do. In other words, the constitution of the group and the beginnings of its veneration preceded the emergence of the auxiliary patronages associated with the member saints or, at least, these associations were not known to the early adopters of the cult and the original criterion behind the selection of saints was different. According to the hypothesis of Walter Pötzl, the cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers may have originated in a list of relics placed in an altar in the course of its consecration.⁴⁵ Comparing the *Normalreihe* with the twenty-two saints discussed by Luther in his

der Vierzehn Nothelfer vor 1400,” *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* n.s. 23 (2000): 157–186, at 182–183.

⁴¹ Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1968–1976), 8: 548.

⁴² Guth, “Vierzehnheiligen,” 320–322.

⁴³ For the most mature version of the Regensburg hypothesis, see Guth, “Vierzehnheiligen,” 306–311; for a criticism, see Pötzl, “Die Verehrung.”

⁴⁴ *Der Heiligen Leben: Der Sommerteil*, ed. Margit Brand et al., *Texte und Textgeschichte* 44 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 136: “wan er is der vierzehen nothelfer ainer vnd mag avch alln menschen wol zv helf kvmen jn alln irn noten an sel vnd an leib, alles daz si begern.”

⁴⁵ Pötzl, “Die Verehrung,” 185–186.

first Wittenberg sermon on the Decalogue, only six names are common to both lists: Christopher, Erasmus, Vitus, Barbara, Katherine, and Margaret. Thus, even in early-sixteenth-century Germany, not very far from its possible places of origin, the *Normalreihe* was not a ready-to-use set of examples for the phenomenon of auxiliary patronage.⁴⁶

If the cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers as a group seems neither to have originated in the phenomenon of auxiliary patronage nor to have been particularly representative of its late medieval scope, then one must look for the supposed growth of helper saints elsewhere. Of the forty-two men and women mentioned in various lists of holy helpers discussed above (see *Tables 1a* and *1b* for details), twenty-five appear in the original version of the *Legenda aurea* reconstructed by Paolo Maggioni.⁴⁷ Out of these twenty-five saints, only five are connected to some sort of auxiliary patronage in the same legendary: Blaise, Giles, Katherine, Leonard, and Margaret.

In the chapter *De Sancto Leonardo* – which, in fact, tells the lives and deeds of two closely related saints of the same name, Leonard of Limoges and Leonard of Corbigny – the first Leonard achieves his expertise, eventually demonstrated in many miracles, with royal support but without any single act of divine authorization, while the second Leonard is said to “have obtained [it] from God” without any specification of how or why. The martyrs (Blaise, Katherine, and Margaret) pray for it before their death and a celestial voice announces a positive answer. Giles receives it as an extra, without asking for it, as he is praying for the remission of a horrible unnamed crime of King Charles (the Great).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ In fact, I could find no medieval source that lists the auxiliary patronages of each and every saint of the *Normalreihe*; sources referred to in the literature are much later.

⁴⁷ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea: Con le miniature del codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, rev. ed. and commentary Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 2008); henceforth: LA.

⁴⁸ Blaise (LA, 1:294): *Ipse autem oravit ad dominum ut quicumque pro infirmitate gutturis uel alia quacumque infirmitate eius patrocinia postularret, exaudiri continuo mereretur. Et ecce uox celis ad eum uenit quod sic fieret ut orauit.* Giles (LA 2:988): *Sequenti igitur dominica dum Egidius celebrans pro rege oraret, angelus domini eidem apparens cedulam super altare posuit in qua scriptum erat per ordinem regis peccatum et Egidii precibus iam dimissum, si tamen penitens et confitens ab illo deinceps abstineret. Adiunctumque erat in fine quod quisquis sanctum Egidium pro quocumque commisso inuocaret, si tamen ab illo desisteret eius meritis sibi remissum non dubitaret.* Katherine (LA, 2:1356 and 1358): *Que cum ad locum deducta fuisset, erectis in celum oculis orauit dicens: ‘O spes et salus credentium, o decus et gloria uirginum! Ihesu, rex bone, obsecro te ut quicumque passionis mee memoriam egerit seu in exitu anime uel in quacumque necessitate me inuocauerit tue propitiationis consequatur effectum.’ Factaque est uox ad eam dicens: ‘Veni, dilecta mea, speciosa mea! Ecce, tibi celi ianua est aperta. Nam et hiis qui passionem tuam celebrauerint optata presidia promitto de celis.’* Leonard (LA, 2:1188): *Qui [i.e., Leonardus] a deo similiter impetrauit ut quicumque in carcere teneretur mox inuocato suo nomine*

Table 1a: Male saints included in various lists discussed here. For the 14 Holy Helpers (Normalreihe): see the text at footnote 40; for Agricola see footnote 30; for Erasmus see text at footnote 31; for Gerson see footnote 23; for the Legenda aurea (original version) see footnotes 47-48; for Luther see footnote 17; for Melanchton see footnote 29; for More see footnote 28; for the Synod of Brixen (Cusanus) see footnote 36. I have omitted saints whose auxiliary patronages were not named in the respective source with the exception of the Fourteen Holy Helpers (Normalreihe). A black dot preceding the name of the saint means that his or her Life is included in the original version of the Legenda aurea (without auxiliary patronage, in most cases).

	MALE SAINTS	MENTIONED AS HOLY HELPERS BY/IN
1.	Achatius	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
2.	• Anthony	Gerson, Luther
3.	• Blaise	<i>Legenda aurea</i> (original version), 14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
4.	• Christopher	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>), Erasmus, Luther
5.	• Cyriacus	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
6.	• Denis	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
7.	Eligius	More
8.	Erasmus	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>), Luther, Agricola
9.	• Eustace	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
10.	Florian	Luther
11.	• George	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>), Synod of Brixen (Cusanus), Erasmus, Melanchton
12.	• Giles	<i>Legenda aurea</i> (original version), 14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
13.	Hiero	Erasmus
14.	Hippolytus	More
15.	Hubertus	Gerson
16.	Job	Erasmus
17.	• John and Paul	Synod of Brixen (Cusanus)
18.	• Leonard	<i>Legenda aurea</i> (original version), Agricola
19.	• Lawrence	Luther
20.	• Louis of Toulouse	Luther

solueretur.” Margaret (LA, 1:692): Illa autem impetrato orandi spatio pro se et suis persecutoribus necnon et pro eius memoriam agentibus et se innocantibus deuote orauit addens ut quecumque in partu periclitans se innocaret illesam prolem emitteret; factaque est uox de celo quod in suis se nouerit petitionibus exauditam.

	MALE SAINTS	MENTIONED AS HOLY HELPERS BY/IN
21.	• Martin	Luther
22.	• Nicholas	Agricola
23.	Pantaleon	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>)
24.	Paul	Erasmus
25.	Roche	Erasmus, Luther, Agricola, More
26.	• Sebastian	Luther, Agricola, Melanchton
27.	• Stephen	More
28.	• Valentine	Synod of Brixen (Cusanus), Luther, Melanchton
29.	• Vincent	Luther
30.	• Vitus	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>), Luther
31.	Wendelin	Luther

*Table 1b: Female saints included in various lists discussed here
(see details of reference in Table 1a caption).*

	FEMALE SAINTS	MENTIONED AS HOLY HELPERS BY/IN
32.	Anne	Luther, Agricola, Melanchton
33.	• Apollonia	Erasmus, Luther, More
34.	Barbara	14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>), Erasmus, Luther, Agricola
35.	Catherine	<i>Legenda aurea</i> (original version), 14 Holy Helpers (<i>Normalreihe</i>), Luther
36.	Gertrudis	Agricola
37.	Dorothy	Luther
38.	• Juliana	Luther
39.	• Margaret	<i>Legenda aurea</i> (original version), Luther
40.	Odile (Othilia)	Luther
41.	Scholastica	Luther
42.	Sitha	More

A closer look at these auxiliary patronages clarifies that not all of them imply specialized assistance to worshippers.⁴⁹ Katherine granted the gift of help “at the end of life or in any necessity.” Anyone could invoke Giles for the remission of “any crime” if not committed again. Blaise has a more specific field of intercession, “diseases of the throat,” but he is also a generalist who can be petitioned “for any other disease” as well. It is only Leonard and Margaret who

⁴⁹ See the quotations in footnote 48.

are endowed with real specializations: Release from captivity and protection of the newborn during birth.

In spite of not always being specific enough, all auxiliary patronages attached to these five saints in the *Legenda aurea* are rather old. The most widespread Latin *Passio* of St. Katherine (BHL 1663), composed between 784 and 1052/1087, already contains the pre-execution prayer for those who ask her intercession “at the end of life or in any difficulty.”⁵⁰ The tenth-century Life of St. Giles (BHL 93), just as in the *Legenda aurea*, gives the story of the saint’s receiving a letter from heaven with the postscript that “whoever invokes St. Giles because of any crime, as far as he does not commit it again, he can believe to have been pardoned by the Lord beyond doubt.”⁵¹ In the Latin Acts of St. Blaise, considered the oldest by the Bollandists (BHL 1370), the saint implores God before his death to ensure his capacity of help, if “some kind of prickle or a bone were stuck in the throat of any person or, similarly, if he were assailed by various diseases, distress, or danger, or suffered persecution.”⁵² The Latin Passion of St. Margaret called the

⁵⁰ “Passio S. Katerine: ‘Vulgate’ Version,” in *Sainte Katerine: Re-Edited from MS Bodley 34 and other Manuscripts*, ed. S. R. T. O. d’Ardenne and E. J. Dobson, Early English Texts Society, Supplementary series 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 132–203 at 201–202: *Quod cum spiculator annueret, ipsa, eleuatis in celum oculis, orauit, dicens: ‘O decus et salus credentium, o spes et gloria uirginum, Iesu bone, gratias tibi ago, qui me intra collegium ancillarum tuarum connumerare dignatus es. Fac ergo hanc cum ancilla tua, obsecro, misericordiam, ut quicumque in laudem et gloriam tuam passionis mee memoriam egerint, siue in exitu anime sue aut etiam in quacumque angustia me invocauerint, celerem propitiationis tue obtineant effectum ...’ Necdum orationem compleuerat, et ecce uox huiusmodi, de sublimi nube emissa, ad eam redditur: ‘Veni, dilecta mea, speciosa mea. ... Veni ergo, et ne solliciteris de donis que postulas; nam his qui passionem tuam deuotis mentibus celebrauerint, et qui in periculis et necessitatibus te inuocauerint, presidia optata et opem celerem de celo promitto.’* For the dating of the text, see Tina Chronopoulos, “The Date and Place of Composition of the Passion of St Katherine of Alexandria (BHL 1663),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 130 (2012): 40–88.

⁵¹ E.-C. Jones, *Saint Gilles: Essai d’histoire littéraire* (Paris: Champion, 1914), 109: *Proxima namque Dominica, dum vir sanctus missam de more celebrans, pro jam dicto rege Dominum in canone deprecaretur, apparuit ei angelus Domini, super altare scedulam ponens, in qua descriptum erat ordine et ipsum regis peccatum, et Aegidii precibus ei dimissum, si poenitens tantum ab illo desisteret. Adiunctum quoque cernere erat in fine, quod quisquis sanctum Aegidium pro quolibet commisso invocaret, si tantum ab illius perpetrato [in ed. perpretatione] cessaret, remissum esse sibi a Domino procul dubio crederet.*

⁵² Jean Bolland et al., ed., *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, 68 vols. (Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1940) [henceforth: AASS], Febr. 1:339, §. B (modernized punctuation): *Sanctus autem Blasius orauit dicens: ‘Domine Deus meus ... exaudi me seruum tuum, et si quis procidens adorauerit hoc sacrificium, qualiscumque spina, aut etiam os in guttur cuiuscumque personae impegerit, si etiam et in diuersas infirmitates inciderit, siue in tribulationem aut periculum, aut si persecutionem patitur, suscipe, quaeso, petitionem fideliter petentium te, Domine.’ Haec autem eo orante*

Mombritius version (BHL 5303), with its oldest known manuscripts written in the ninth century, contains a pre-martyrdom prayer of the saintly woman for all those who cherish her memory by reading her legend or listening to it, lighting candles at their cost in her church, building a church in her honor, writing or buying a book of her passion, and so on. The divine benefits Margaret pleads for in exchange are mainly disregarding sins and release from post-mortem suffering, but in the case of church builders and book providers she asks God to “fill [them] with his holy spirit, the spirit of truth, and in [their] home[s] no child may be born lame, blind, or dumb.” As she finishes her prayer, a dove with a cross comes down from heaven and lets her know that “all that [she] asked for are heeded to.”⁵³ According to his eleventh-century *vita* (BHL 4862), St. Leonard of Limoges – inspired by the example of St. Remigius – obtained royal authorization that any prisoner he visited was to be released from captivity. Later this – initially legal – capacity took on miraculous form so that “if someone put in prison invoked his name, his chains having been broken he was set free.”⁵⁴ In the *vita* of St. Leonard

descendit nubes de caelo, et infulsit in eum, dixitque ei Dominus: ‘Omnem petitionem tuam adimplebo, athleta dilectissime.’

⁵³ Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, 2 vols., ed. Benedictines of Solesmes (Paris: Fontemoing, 1910), 2:195 (modernized punctuation): *Tunc beata Margarita coepit orare et dicere: Deus ... exaudi deprecationem meam, ut si quis legerit librum gestae meae, aut audierit passionem meam legendo, ex illa hora deleantur peccata eorum. Et quisquis lumen fecerit in basilica mea de suo labore, non imputentur peccata eorum. Et quisquis lumen fecerit in basilica mea de suo labore, non imputetur peccatum illius ex illa hora; quisquis fuerit in illa hora in iudicio terribili, et memor fuerit nominis mei, libera eum de tormento. ... Adhuc peto domine, ut qui basilicam in nomine meo fecerit, et scripserit passionem meam, uel qui de suo labore comparauerit codicem passionis meae, reple illum spiritu sancto tuo, spiritu veritatis, et in domo illius non nascatur infans claudus aut caecus vel mutus ... Tunc facta sunt tonitrua, et columba venit de caelo cum cruce et loquebatur beatae Margaritae: ... quidquid petisti exaudita sunt.* For the Latin legends of St. Margaret, see Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7–23.

⁵⁴ François Arbellot, *Vie de Saint Léonard solitaire en Limousin: Ses miracles et son culte* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1863), 278 and 286: *Ad imitationem ergo boni magistri Remigii, Leonardus, / bonus discipulus, / Hoc ipsum expetiit a rege humillimis precibus, / Quatenus omnes qui in ergastulorum custodia detinerentur, / Si eos ipse voluisset visitare, omnino solverentur. / Quam rem rege cum benivolentia impetravit, / Et, ubicumque incarceratos esse audiebat, / Non piger ad eorum absolutionem totis viribus concurrebat. ... In tantum denique magnificabat Dominus Sanctum suum, quod / si quis in carcere positus, / Invocasset nomen ejus / Ruptis catenis liber fiebat.* The much shorter version of the Life in Bruno Krusch, ed., *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), 396–399 omits the reference to releasing prisoners by a miracle. For the cult of St. Leonard in the later Middle

of Corbigny (BHL 4859) there is no trace of any specialization in releasing prisoners.⁵⁵

Thus, if the *Legenda aurea* is a good indicator of broad interests in the cult of saints in the thirteenth century, then these interests included much less specialized assistance than two centuries later. In the few cases where a saint is explicitly associated with some kind of auxiliary patronage in the *Legenda aurea*, however, such an association was essentially not of James' making. It is true that no expertise is mentioned in the oldest Life of Leonard of Corbigny, but the added reference to it in the *Legenda aurea* is simply meant to underline the similarity of the two Leonards and, thus, to justify their inclusion in the same chapter. The most extensive changes in the above cases were made – by James or someone before him – to the pre-martyrdom prayer of St. Margaret, where all divine benefits to worshippers, with the exception of giving birth to healthy children, were left out and the whole scene was remodeled according to its counterparts in the Passions of Blaise and Katherine with a celestial voice approving of the requests instead of a dove with a cross. As a consequence (intended or not), Margaret received a real specialization, in contrast to the divine promises obtained by Katherine and Giles, which remained very general in the *Legenda aurea*, while the auxiliary patronages of Leonard and Blaise were already quite specific in their earlier hagiographic dossier. In fact, a Byzantine doctor, Aëtius of Amida, enlisted the expertise of Blaise as early as the sixth century. In a chapter of his handbook on medicine dedicated to bones or other sharp objects stuck in the throat, after describing some medical solutions in a stricter sense, Aëtius adds this further advice:

Turn immediately to the seated patient, and tell him to pay attention to you, and say: 'Come out bone!' In case the bone, or straw, or whatever else finally arises, [add:] 'Just as Christ led out Lazarus from the grave, and just as Jonas from the whale.' Additionally, having grasped the throat of the patient, say: 'Blaise, martyr and servant of Christ, says: ascend or descend!'⁵⁶

Ages, see Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 137–140.

⁵⁵ AASS, Oct. 7:47–47.

⁵⁶ Quoted from the Latin translation by Giano Cornario: *Aetii Medici Graeci Contractae ex veteribus medicinae sermones XVI* (Venice: Gryphius, 1549), VIII, I, f. 435r (modernized punctuation): *Aliud. Ad eductionem eorum, quae in tonsillas devorata sunt. Statim te ad aegrum desidentem converte, ipsumque tibi attendere inbe, ac dic: 'Egredere os! Si tamen os, aut festuca, aut quicquid, tandem existit: Quemadmodum Iesus Christus ex sepulchre Lazarum eduxit, et quemadmodum Ionam ex ceto.' Atque adprehensio aegri gutture dic: 'Blasius martyr et servus Christi dicit, aut ascende, aut descende!'*

The recommended practice closely resembles exorcism and it is not impossible that relics of Blaise were frequently used for such a purpose in his – otherwise very obscure – early cult.

At any rate, if holy helpers were indeed as insignificant in the contemporary cult of saints as their frequency in the *Legenda aurea* suggests, and if James of Varazze – as noted above – felt little or no urge to multiply their number or make their promised assistance more specific, then auxiliary patronage must have increased enormously between his time and Luther's. But if it is true that most holy helpers as holy helpers (that is, with their own auxiliary patronage) only came late, then – supposing that dangers, diseases, and other troubles existed previously as well – what explains this late appearance? Eamon Duffy tentatively connects the increasing association of saints with particular kinds of help in late medieval Europe to “the impact of successive waves of epidemic disease.”⁵⁷ Huizinga points to the iconography of the helper saints, to their “sensational attributes that stimulated the imagination” and contributed to associating them with the kinds of assistance which are suggested by their signs of identification.⁵⁸ Luther supposed, that auxiliary patronages had originated in vernacular allusions of the names of holy helpers.

All these suggestions may cover elements of a more comprehensive explanation, but they are insufficient in themselves and it is unclear how – in what proportions – they should be combined. Epidemics can hardly explain specializations like helping to find lost things, which are unrelated to diseases. Even Luther might have found some of his phonetic-etymological interpretations of the names of helper saints unconvincing and this was why he left them out of the second edition of his Wittenberg sermons on the Ten Commandments.⁵⁹ Iconographic attributes did sometimes result in the formation of auxiliary patronages; sometimes they did not. It is a striking feature of the saints who became holy helpers in the later Middle Ages that only a few of them were canonized *sancti moderni*. With the notable exception of St. Roche – who was new but not canonized – most holy helpers were old saints who had lived, or were supposed to have lived, in Late Antiquity or the Early Middle Ages. If Huizinga were right, why did St. Elizabeth of Hungary, usually represented with a beggar,

⁵⁷ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 178.

⁵⁸ Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitsch (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 198.

⁵⁹ See footnote 27 above.

not become a protector against poverty or St. Peter Martyr, usually represented with a knife in his head, a protector against assassination?

Auxiliary patronage was different from other forms of saintly patronage in its focus on problems instead of social affiliations. Previously, saints were credited with offering special favors to various firmly entrenched social groups, including residents of cities and towns, members of religious orders, aristocratic clans and ethnic groups, serfs and tenants of various overlords, or practitioners of crafts, trades, and professions. The worshippers of helper saints did not constitute any such group. Those who happened to have contracted the plague or feared tempests did not belong to stable communities or social organizations. They just happened to have the same problems which cut across all social affiliations. It may be the case that saints strongly associated with certain social groups, like mendicant saints, did not lend themselves easily to this new function of help.

Conclusion

Patronage was at the heart of the cult of saints right from the beginning and, in consequence, it was more than a thousand years old around 1500. Its long history up until then cannot be covered easily in any single publication, not to mention a short article. In addition, given its essentially traditional nature, radical changes – with the final disappearance of certain elements and the emergence of entirely new ones – are unlikely to have ever occurred. Such difficulties notwithstanding, I have argued in the preceding pages that a major shift took place in saintly patronage in late medieval Europe. In terms of this shift, auxiliary patronage became far more prominent than it had been in the thirteenth century. I did not consider parallel changes in other forms of relationship between saints and their worshippers but probably the growing importance of holy helpers coincided with a similar growth in occupational patronage and together they point to a general trend of functional differentiation in the cult of saints.

What I have tried to do in order to substantiate my claim is, first, to reconstruct the advent of more focused criticisms of venerating saints for their specialized assistance – venerating them as holy helpers. Theologians with strong pastoral concerns from, at least, Gerson onwards were aware of this phenomenon, but before the sixteenth century they relegated it to more general categories of superstitious practices. It seems that auxiliary patronage as a problem in its own right first appeared in Erasmus' *Enchiridion*. As to the causes of why this became a separate problem and why then, I have suggested that by ca. 1500 the cult of holy helpers had become widespread all over Europe and in all social strata, including the highest ones, and thus, it became far more visible with all its

contradictions than before. Apart from the (vertical) diffusion of their cult, such growing visibility of specialized helper saints could also have followed from their proliferation through more and more saints becoming assigned to specific kinds of assistance. Among the saints who were mentioned as holy helpers in various sources at the beginning of the sixteenth century very few were regarded as such already by James of Varazze in his *Legenda aurea*, and initially even the Fourteen Holy Helpers – frequently considered the paradigm case of saintly specialization – had little or nothing to do with auxiliary patronage.

The wide range of specialized helper saints venerated at end of the Middle Ages implies an extensive division of labor in heaven. This, in turn, presupposes that the worshipers of saints were commonly knowledgeable about a sufficiently high number of different holy men and women. Otherwise, it would not have been possible to distribute so many specific kinds of assistance among them in relatively widespread and stable patterns. Certainly, ecclesiastical calendars were full of saints right from the beginning, but this does not imply that their feasts were observed by broader circles of the population. That these broader circles did indeed become better informed about heavenly intercessors (not necessarily holy helpers) in the later Middle Ages is also suggested by their multiplication in last wills. As has been pointed out by Jacques Chiffolleau, testators in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (in the diocese of Avignon, at least) tended to name more and more saints whose benevolence they wanted to secure for themselves and the members of their families.⁶⁰ Therefore, the most essential question to answer in any systematic explanation of the proliferation of holy helpers is: Why did locally venerated saints multiply? This, however, raises the broadest questions of cult diffusion, which cannot be addressed within the limits of this article.

⁶⁰ Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'An-Delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320 – vers 1480)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 47 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1980), 386–387.

Empire and Nation:
The Best Papers Presented at the
2015 Undergraduate Conference



PREFACE

This issue of the *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* showcases the outstanding research of five undergraduate students who participated in the Empire and Nation Undergraduate Conference at CEU on August 6-9, 2015. This interdisciplinary conference, co-organized by faculty and graduate students from the Department of History and the Department of Medieval Studies for the first time, featured twenty-two panels with over seventy participants from around the world. Although paper presentations differed significantly in terms of thematic and regional focus, all the contributions addressed the shifting concepts of empire and nation in historical perspective. After careful review, the organizing committee selected five papers that displayed compelling argumentation, intellectual rigor, and original research for the “Best Paper Award,” all of which have been revised and are being published in the present volume. From the emergence of early modern empires to contested representations of national identity in the twentieth century, these essays reflect the diversity of topics explored during the conference. We would like to congratulate these talented students once again on their accomplishments, and we hope that our readers will enjoy perusing their work in the following pages.

Harrison King

**HYBRID IDENTITY/PURE PERFORMANCE:
LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE AND THE CREATION OF A
GLOBAL SPANISH EMPIRE**

Shweta Raghu¹ 

Introduction

At first glance, Miguel Cabrera's painting, *De Español y d'India, Mestisa* (Mexico City, Private Collection, 1763) (a similar image is depicted in *Fig. 1*) appears to depict a traditionally-clad Amerindian woman, a wealthy Spanish man, and their *mestiza* child standing before several bolts of cloth in an outdoor space.² The Spanish man's status is revealed through his elite Bourbon dress and powerful stance; his face is turned and his body forms a visual barricade between the viewer and his wife. The woman's status is also clear as she holds their child, with a demure expression marking her elegant visage. While his garb signifies his noble European origins, hers points to her indigenous identity. Although she is without elaborate jewels, the colors she wears are bright like the fabrics that are stacked in the stall behind her. It may therefore be surprising that such dress was not characteristic of her time and that it would have been unusual for a noble Spanish man, an Amerindian woman, and a child to sit outside a cloth market.³

Such contrived depictions are characteristic of eighteenth-century *casta* painting, which illustrated the changing demographics of the Spanish colonies. Scholars such as Magali Carrera and Ilona Katzew⁴ have thoroughly described caste paintings in their colonial contexts, while Ruth Hill⁵ and Maria Elena Martinez⁶ have detailed the discourses on race, caste, and status that permeated New Spain. As Carrera argues, eighteenth-century *casta* paintings came to represent the larger

¹ Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. This article is based on my AB thesis, "The Art of Performing Power: Philip II of Spain's Reception of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*."

² Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 26.

³ Carrera, *Imagining Identity*, 26.

⁴ Ilona Katzew, ed., *Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico*, exhibition catalog (New York: Americas Society, 1996).

⁵ Ruth Hill edited a special issue entitled *Categories and Crossings: Critical Race Studies and the Spanish World* of the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10, no. 1 (2009).

⁶ Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Menlo Park: Stanford University Press, 2008)



Fig. 1. De Espanol y Mestiza, Castiza (*Museo de America in Madrid*).
Image in the public domain.

“regulatory narratives” and taxonomic structures of the Spanish Empire.⁷ But systems that attempted to control the hybrid colonial body were not deployed exclusively in the American colonies.

Indeed, the rhetoric of *limpieza de sangre* or purity of blood, which is frequently reflected in the discourse on social structure in the Americas, also regulated religious life and policed religious hybridity in Spain. The original discourse was transformed to accommodate new forms of hybridity that emerged in the

⁷ Carrerra, *Imagining Identity*, xviii.

colonies, but ultimately it reflected many of the same anxieties that characterize most colonial contexts. Indeed, late-eighteenth-century discourses on hybridity, which were expressed in colonial language, laws, literature, and art, attempted to construct boundaries between people, thereby creating a precarious social hierarchy that marginalized hybridity in its many forms. Yet hybridity also offered a means to circumvent the traditional social order. Thus, the act of policing cultural hybridity, which commenced in the sixteenth century, remained an important facet of Spain's imperial enterprise for centuries afterward. In this paper, I will connect the discourses on status and class that permeated the American colonies to discourses on hybridity that existed in sixteenth-century Spain. By doing so, I hope to highlight that in the Spanish Empire, discourse on hybridity was both a means to police marginalized positions and a weapon for resisting the rigid colonial order.

The Formation of a Discourse: *Limpieza de Sangre* in Sixteenth-Century Spain

Despite the fact that the Iberian peninsula was one of the most religiously diverse regions of medieval Western Europe, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw repeated systematic efforts to eliminate this diversity through mass conversion to Christianity.⁸ Metropolises such as Toledo, where Jews, Muslims, and Christians had previously coexisted, became nodes of the Spanish Inquisition. Contemporary conversion efforts imposed religious homogeneity on populations. Therefore, in sixteenth-century Spain, Christian practice was no longer a differencing tool because religious diversity had, for the most part, been eliminated.⁵ Historian David Nirenberg notes, "The conversion of a large number of people whom Christians had perceived as profoundly different transformed the old boundaries and systems of discrimination rather than abolished them."⁶ Thus, to quell the malaise of Old Christians, whose social dominance flagged as the Spanish population became religiously homogenous, new social hierarchies were imposed. As such, the discourse of "religious difference" transformed into a discourse of "religious origin." It was at this juncture of changing religious demographics and

⁸ David Nirenberg, "Race and the Middle Ages: The Case of Spain and Its Jews," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Racial and Religious Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo, Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 75. As Nirenberg notes, "the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed massive attempts to eliminate that diversity through massacre, segregation, conversion, Inquisition, and expulsion."

Old Christian malaise that the ideological framework of *limpieza de sangre* – “purity of blood” – originated.

Language was also used to maintain boundaries between Old and New Christians, as members of the former group, who were known as *Cristianos de natura*, *cristianos viejos*, and *limpios*, were distinguished from members of the latter, who were called *Cristianos nuevos*, *conversos*, *confessos*, and *marranos*.⁹ According to *limpieza* statutes, Jewish and Muslim blood was inferior to “pure Christian blood,” and any amount of inferior blood made individuals more morally corruptible.¹⁰ It is therefore unsurprising that the *limpieza* statutes in the clergy rose during the sixteenth century and by the end of the century twenty-one of thirty-five cathedral chapters employed purity laws.¹¹

But although the rhetoric of *limpieza de sangre* arose during the Spanish Inquisition, its reach was not exclusively spiritual. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with papal and royal support, the doctrines of *limpieza de sangre* gained momentum and were written into Spanish laws, as mixed ancestry was nowhere ever a criminal transgression. During these early years, Old Christians constantly modified and molded genealogical formulas in order to further cement their power in the changing religious landscape.¹² *Conversos* were thus prevented from holding some forms of public office, entering universities, brotherhoods, guilds, and cathedral chapters. In the 1560s King Philip II (1527–1598) formalized the hierarchy of *limpieza* in town councils and government offices as well, requiring members of the public bench in Toledo’s town council to submit genealogical credentials.¹³ *Limpieza* therefore contributed to the resilience of class hierarchies and social immobility. Because genealogy became tethered to social

⁹ Ibid., 75. Much like previously described forms of race-making, these new discriminations were rooted primarily in natural realities.

¹⁰ Ibid., 75. Therefore, no matter how distant, these descendants of Jews and Muslims had to be kept in check in all walks of life.

¹¹ Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 45.

¹² Ibid., *Genealogical Fictions*, 42. Martinez notes that the requirements of *limpieza* were extended from *conversos* to other groups as well. The formulas became increasingly essentialist, as the doctrine’s relationship to both race and gender changed over time in order to meet the needs of the Old Christians. As Martinez notes, the processes of genealogical “inheritance” changed over time, adopting not only racial (through the discourse of *raza*) but soon gendered notions as well, as the previously patrilineal systems of religious inheritance were modified to make the female body a “vessel of contamination.” The description of the female body as a source of contamination corresponds closely to ideas about Eve’s body, and therefore all women’s bodies, as vehicles for sin.

¹³ Ibid., 44.

class, it became impossible for those who were not born into socioeconomic privilege to attain social status.

In this sense, difference was not rooted in religious performance. Rather, the divergence between genealogical identity and public performance manufactured a hybridity that itself was reason for persecution. To the modern student, it may seem obvious that religion is *performative*, as per Judith Butler's definition, yet in medieval Spanish society, religious "identity" was understood much like anatomical sex is today, as immutably sewn into each individual's biological identity.¹⁴ The act of conversion created a divergence between anatomical and performative religion, marking the body with the taint of its Trans*gression.¹⁵ In this sense, *limpieza de sangre* statutes represented the nascent efforts of the Spanish crown to regulate hybridity.

Anxieties over hybridity are not unique to the Iberian Peninsula or to the Spanish Empire. As Homi K. Bhabha argues, the liminality of hybridity is a characteristic feature of the colonial paradigm.¹⁶ Hybridity offers a means to circumvent social order; by embracing his body's hybridity, the marginalized subject could begin to identify with the powerful, threatening colonial stratification. As a result, hybridity allowed colonized subjects to destabilize attempts to control them, through performative identification with systems of power. Thus, in Spain, the hybrid subject (the *converso*) was placed in an ambivalent social position since he could identify with both the powerful Christian and the marginalized Jew. This tension existed in the Spanish colonies as well.

Expansion into the Americas: *Limpieza de Sangre* in New Spain

Upon colonial contact in the sixteenth century, *limpieza de sangre* transformed into a transatlantic discourse. As soon as Hernán Cortes (1485-1547) and his fellow *conquistadores* landed in the Americas, they endeavored to eradicate all forms of

¹⁴ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 136. Butler describes performativity: "In other words, acts gestures, and desire produce this *on the surface of the body*, through a play of signifying the absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means."

¹⁵ I use the term Trans*gression to highlight similarities between the understanding of the religiously transformed body and the Trans* body today.

¹⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

indigenous spirituality while propagandistically circulating Christian images.¹⁷ Indeed, an elaborately formulated document, known as “the Requirement,” written by legal scholar Juan Lopez Palacios Rubios (1450-1524), argued that Spanish conquest in the New World was justified by faith and power.¹⁸ This document also contained some forceful impositions of faith:

I beg and require of you as best as I can...[that] you recognize the church as lord and superior of the universal world, and the most elevated pope...and His majesty in his place as superior and lord and king...We will not compel you to turn Christians. But if you do not do it...with the help of God, I will enter forcefully against you, and I will make war everywhere and however I can, and I will subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and his Majesty.¹⁹

Therefore, Christian conversion practices in the Americas mirrored those in Inquisition-era Spain. Religious conversion and subsequent opportunities for social disruption also presented new challenges for elite members of Spanish society.²⁰

Only after the missionary Bartolome de las Casas’ (1484–1566) illustrated book, *Brevisima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias* became a bestseller in Spain did the crown consider the immorality of the conquest.²¹ Images in this book show the gruesome violence to which indigenous inhabitants were subjected. The torturous prints suggest that Aztecs and other Mexican indigenes were unable to counter the Spaniards’ horses, weapons, and diseases.²²

¹⁷ Benjamin Lieberman, *Remaking Identities: God, Nation, and Race in World History* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013), 90. Cortes was particularly opposed to the tradition of human sacrifice, although this custom was probably less common than was described by Spanish conquerors.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

²⁰ Martinez, *Geneological Fictions*, 46. These changes also created a new statute that required Old Christian ancestry as a prerequisite to going to Spanish America. Perhaps this ensured that the “religious” missions of the conquest were not “compromised” by “unstable” converts who endangered the propagandistic message that conquistadores and missionaries embraced.

²¹ Some of the horrors of Spanish conquest are also depicted in de las Casas’ *History of the Indies*, Bartolome de las Casas, *Brevisima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*, ed. José Miguel Martínez Torrejón (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1554 [orig.], 2013 ed.)

²² Lieberman, *Remaking Identities*, 94; Bartolome de las Casas, *Brevisima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*. The inhabitants of the Americas knew nothing about Christian (or Abrahamic) religions prior to the conquest and no other European nation had ever attempted previously to embark on such a large-scale Christian conversion effort. That

Regardless of its brutal violence, colonial conquest allowed illiterate and previously lower class colonists to achieve status and mobility; mixed-race descendants of conquerors attained socioeconomic status in Spain because of the plundered wealth that they had inherited. *Limpieza* subsequently responded to these demographic shifts. Given these disruptions to the social hierarchy, the expansion of *limpieza de sangre* in the Americas may be seen less as a sign of anxiety about the spiritual lives of the colonists and more as a technique for maintaining social order in the face of new methods of social mobility. *Limpieza*, as a technology of control, offered a mechanism to suture the performative to the innate, in this case marginalizing those whose “genealogical class” conflicted with their new performed status.

These tensions were further augmented by the illegibility of race in the colonies, especially after several centuries of interracial miscegenation. Therefore, in the eighteenth century, *limpieza de sangre* in the Americas signified the juncture of *calidad*, or status, and *raza*, or lineage. Indeed, eighteenth-century colonial America was organized as a *sociedad de castas*, or “society of castes.”²³ *Casta*, a Spanish and Portuguese term, signified a “stock, kind, breed, religious community or descent group,” and the word was used to describe humans, animals, and plants alike.²⁴ The idea of *casta* was not biological, but rather, according to Ruth Hill, it consisted of “somatic, economic, linguistic, geographical, and other circumstances that carried from town to town.”²⁵ These constructs differ from modern racial discourse, since the latter does not often describe “race” in cultural terms.²² *Calidad* and *raza* are performative, while race often describes inherited skin color. Because caste too was performative, *casta* hybridity was policed much like religion was in Spain.

is, while Islam was rising in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, North Africa, and Spain, the inhabitants of those realms had already been introduced to the practices, and in some cases cohabited territories with Muslims. The Spanish conquest in Mexico was paradoxical in several ways; conquistadors competed with each other in addition to oppressing natives and constantly pushed power outward. A similar *limpieza* phenomenon occurred in the New World as native and Spanish communities were physically segregated and natives remained in lower ranks, despite the fact that Spanish adventurers depended on local leaders to navigate the lands.

²³ Ruth Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 231; Hill responds to the scholarship of Magnus Moerner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), noting that Moerner suggests incorrectly that the idea of caste was interchangeable with the idea of mixed-blood race.

²⁴ Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 231.

²⁵ Ruth Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America: A Postal Inspector's Expose*, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), 200; Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, xvi.

Casta implied “mixture,” a concept that in the Hispanic empire had been laden with negative connotations since the sixteenth century.²⁶ The linguist Cesar Oudin associated mixture with “disarray and confusion” in his 1607 book, *Tresor des deux langues, Françoise et Espagnole*.²⁷ Oudin’s contemporary, Sebastian de Covarrubias, argued that to “bring together different things was to bring together things of unequal value.”²⁸ In the eighteenth-century Spanish Royal Academy of Language’s *Diccionario de Autoridades*, the verb “*mixturar*” connoted confusion, incorporation, and the loss of origin.²⁹ Skeptical views of hybrids also existed in Pliny’s *Natural History*, which saw a revival in sixteenth-century Spain.³⁰ Cross-bred, “half-wild” animals were known as *hybrides*, and by the seventeenth century the Portuguese word *hybrid*, which was equivalent to the Spanish words *mestizo* and *borde*, referred to a child born to parents of different national origins.³¹

Francisco Davila, noted seventeenth-century extinguisher of idolaters in Cuzco, used arguments about *casta* in his *Tratado de los Evangelios*.³² Davila’s statement illustrates the belief that since Spaniards and Indians shared typological origins, they should adopt similar ways of living.³³ Because Amerindians’ religious performance, not inherent racial identity, differed from that of white Spaniards, evangelical operations could act as effective antidotes to incorrect performance.³¹

²⁶ Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 233.

²⁷ Cesar Oudin, *Tresor des deux langues françoise et espanolle: auquel es contenu l’explication de toute les deux respectivement l’un par l’autre* (Paris: Marc Orry, 1607). Cited in Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 233.

²⁸ Sebastian de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Espanola segun la impresion de 1611, con las adiciones de Benito Remigo Noydens publicadas en la de 1674*, ed. Martin de Riquer (Barcelona: Horta, 1943), 803. Cited in Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 233.

²⁹ Real Academia Espanola, *Diccionario de autoridades [Diccionario de la lengua Castellana (1726–1739)]*, facsimile edition in 3 vols (Madrid, 1979), ii, 580. Cited in Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 234.

³⁰ Hill, “*Casta* as culture,” 240.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 240. *Bordes* were illegitimate children born to whores in brothels or *burdel*.

³² Ruth Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud*, 202; Francisco Davila argues, “Have I not told you that Indian and Spaniard are of the same stock? So, how is it that the Indian’s color is brown and the Spaniard’s white? Look here: you see here this ear of corn whose kernels are all white... The seed of this ear was a white kernel, and therefore all of the kernels are white... now then, how can it have other kernels through here that are black and gray?... due to some unknown cause, they get that black shell from the dirt itself. The same thing happens to us. Besides, does a female guinea-pig, all white, not give birth to black, brown, and white and rust-colored guinea pigs?” *Tratado del los Evangelios que Nuestra Madre la Iglesia propone en todo el año desde la Primera Dominica de Adviento hasta la última Missa de Difuntos, Santos de España...* (Lima, 1648), 299.

³³ Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud*, 202.

Just as Jesus sacrificed his blood and body to purify the human race, Spanish-Indian mixing could be seen as a redemptive process that could recreate “pure” whiteness from the sinful states of *mestizo* and *bordo*, in three generations.³⁴

Ultimately, Native Americans were seen as redeemable because they were believed to be descendants of non-deicidal Jews.³⁵ But blacks were equated to Muslims, so they were deemed unredeemable apostates.³⁶ The black body was therefore a source of contamination, and any child born to a black parent would be considered black as well.³⁷ The gender imbalances in the slave population of colonial Mexico meant that it was difficult for black men to couple with only black women, resulting in the burgeoning of mixed-race children in the colonies. Thus, the racial hierarchy was governed by the principle that “Spanish or white blood is redeemable; Black is not.”³⁸

Cabrera’s painting, like *Figit*, illustrates the cultural implications of caste. Although the woman does not wear costly ornaments like her white Spanish contemporaries, the colors she wears are bright. Her *calidad* (status), however, is signified through the intricacy of her dress and her family’s propriety, as the *mestizo* family unit observes the proper hierarchical order, wherein the husband is the powerful head of the household and the wife cares for the well-behaved child. Through the perspective of biological race, this racially mixed family would be degenerate and unredeemable, yet the family’s *calidad* signals otherwise. When they conformed to the strict mores of colonial behavior, *mestizos* could redeem themselves. Thus, this painting communicates an understanding of caste that is tied more to status than to skin color.

Group portraits like Cabrera’s depicted different known mixed castes, which were organized into approximately sixteen categories although the impossibility of categorizing hybrid populations resulted in the existence of many more categories in some accounts.³⁸ These paintings also allowed Spanish and creole elites to exorcise anxieties about the evanescence of social order, artificially preserving an imperial hierarchy by presenting on canvas a rigidly ordered society that tethered biological race to social performance. As in sixteenth-century Spain, *casta* painting

³⁴ Martínez, “The Black Blood of New Spain,” 3-4. Mixed race descendants of Indians and Spaniards were granted *limpieza* certification if their blood was at most one-quarter Indian.

³⁵ Maria Elena Martínez, “The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2004): 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 3.

³⁸ Ilona Katzew, ed., *Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico*, 10.

was tethered to ideas about purity and descent, and mixed-race and mixed-caste individuals were only redeemable when they conformed to the strict mores of colonial performance.³⁹ Thus, one function of *casta* painting was to taxonomize and control hybrid populations in the Americas. Ultimately, *casta* painting, much like the underlying rhetoric on caste, lineage, and status, effectively distinguished among groups, even though hybrid bodies in society could less easily be assigned specific social statuses due to the indecipherability of race on the colonial body, more homogenous dress, and increased access to public social spaces.

Through its appeals to hybridity, caste painting also allowed residents of the colonies to “imagine identity” in new ways, and to create a self-image that corresponded both to Spanish ideas about the hybrid colonial body and to the burgeoning sense of individual identity that permeated the colonies.⁴⁰ Caste painting allowed the colonial subject to manufacture an identity by freely depicting wealth and status while creating a constructed version of reality that corresponded to desired forms of self-representation.⁴¹ Thus, mixed-race residents of the Americas were not portrayed as degenerate, but rather in proper accordance with the mores of their *calidad*. Hybrid individuals could then also identify with the wealth and power of the Spanish crown.

Just as the demographics of the colonies changed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so too did *casta* paintings. Before 1750 *casta* paintings were generally marked by uniform luxury; indigenous women wear elaborately adorned *huipils* and *castizos* (those with mostly white blood and less than one-quarter Amerindian blood) and Spaniards alike wear exquisite attire.⁴² The emphasis on luxury and grandeur in pre-1750 *casta* paintings is emblematic of the patriotic sentiments that circulated in the colonies.⁴³ By foregrounding the wealth and status of all inhabitants, residents of the colonies could prove to Spain that the Americas were progressive and financially successful.⁴⁴ Thus, despite differences in social class, early caste painting displayed residents of the

³⁹ Ruth Hill, “*Casta* as Culture and the *Sociedad de Castas* in Literature,” in *Interpreting Colonialism*, ed. Byron Wells and Philip Stewart (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004), 232. The author argues that in the early modern Hispanic world, mixture was “not only material and biological: it was cultural.”

⁴⁰ Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*.

⁴¹ Katzew, ed., *Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico*, 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-19. As the author argues, those who left Spain hoped to surpass the nation in wealth in order to justify their exile, while those born in the colonies sought to demonstrate that they were firmly rooted in and enjoying their homeland.

colonies as a unified and wealthy whole, in some ways surpassing the rigid social hierarchies of Spain that many colonists had escaped. This did not mean that the liminal status of hybridity had disappeared. Rather, common proto-nationalistic goals created a need to manufacture a reality that would place colonial society in a more positive, albeit contrived, light. This unified depiction of colonial society soon disintegrated.

Late-eighteenth-century caste paintings reflected elites' responses to an uncomfortable reality of contemporary New Spain, the blurring of boundaries between social groups and the evanescence of rigid delimiters of social order.⁴⁵ Many of these categorization attempts were direct results of the Spanish crown's constant written requests for classification.⁴⁶ The need for these classifications also illustrates hybrid populations' ambivalent social positions. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, dress could be used to mask class identity rather than to signify it. For example, Juan de Viera once described Mexico City's women: "It is wonderful to see them in churches and promenades, often without knowing which is the wife of a count, which of a tailor."⁴⁶ In these paintings, occupations were once again signified through other accoutrements and embellishments, mainly in order to distinguish the lower-class *aguador* (water carrier) from the upper-class merchant.⁴⁷

The use of clothing as a caste signifier is especially visible in the first two images in Cabrera's caste cycle, *De Espanol y de India, Mestisa* and *De Espanol y Mestiza; Castiza*. As de Viera's quote illustrates, the clothing in these paintings did not correspond to the realities of contemporary dress, but rather to the desire to categorize people by controlling their modes of self-expression. As Ilona Katzew argues, Cabrera and his contemporaries' use of clothing as a signifier of social position responded to the Spanish lament about the loss of social boundaries in the colonies.⁴⁷ Clothes could therefore be used to impose social hierarchy upon bodies that had rejected these forms of visual signification. Thus, *casta* painting effectively distinguished among groups when hybrid bodies in society could less easily be assigned specific social statuses due to more homogenous dress and

⁴⁵ Katzew, ed., *Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico*, 20.

⁴⁶ Katzew, ed., *Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico*, 12–13. Many Spaniards lamented the blurring of social boundaries. One account reads, "It is virtually impossible to distinguish the noble from the plebian, the rich from the poor, the honorable from the low; and from here originate vanity, arrogance, the abandonment of agriculture and of all work; and ultimately evil altogether. My Lord [King Philip V] provide that each dress according to his class, so that his dress bespeak his profession, and nobles not be confused with plebeians, nor rich with poor."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

increased access to public social spaces. But such depictions also allowed creole elites to impose a new social order when Spanish control was dwindling. Thus, late-nineteenth-century *casta* painting recreated caste in a society where it was being lost, in order once again to impose order in a colony that was slipping away from its original master. *Casta* painting, much like the larger *limpieza* discourse, was a way to create order out of chaos, to categorize that which was uncategorizable, and to bridle that which could not be controlled.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the discourses on *casta*, which were influenced by the larger discourses of *limpieza de sangre* and hybridity, represented Spain's attempts to maintain order and hierarchy in her growing empire. As in the original *limpieza* statutes, negative connotations of mixed-race and socioeconomically-passing individuals were rooted in the same social anxieties that relegated converted Jews to inferior status in Inquisition Spain. But hybridity in all of these cases allowed for the possibility of class disruption and thereby became a resistance mechanism and a way for colonial subjects to assert their unique identities. Pseudo-biological claims about purity of blood tied to acceptable performance masked the vulnerability of a society whose class structures had previously been based on public performance of religion, dress, and language. The materialistic motivations for maintaining a rigid racial hierarchy also have implications for the modern day, as we can now rethink and begin to amend the mechanisms through which race and class have been joined in history.

WALLERSTEIN AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: EXPLORING THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND BRITISH HEGEMONIES

*Jack F. Stein*¹ 

Within Immanuel Wallerstein's description of the capitalist world-economy, a singular historical system that applies from the seventeenth century to the present, he identified three hegemonies around which the other powers pivoted. Through the use of Wallerstein's model of decline, this paper discusses how Great Britain, the second hegemon, supplanted the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the first, over the course of the eighteenth century. Wallerstein believed that the Dutch lost their competitive edge in production and commercial exchange because they no longer served as the primary entrepot of Europe. Although he provided a model for determining hegemonic success and failure, Wallerstein did not explore the factors contributing to the transition of superiority from the Dutch to the British. Of these, Britain's colonial possessions and the changing geopolitical situation proved the most important. This paper seeks to explore this element.

Appearing primarily in the context of the changing geopolitical environment in Europe, these factors discernably negated the United Provinces' early comparative advantages in finishing and re-exporting high value goods. Great Britain was able to resist these changes due to a combination of their expanded, centralized tax system – an important element that Wallerstein did identify – and by focusing on the demand of their domestic and colonial sectors. Wallerstein did not account for the impact of colonies on Britain's ability to supersede the Dutch. Although Wallerstein's arguments do have their shortcomings as a result of a lack of detail, they still provide the best model for how this transition occurred, especially when the colonial network and changes in geopolitics are taken into account.

Within the history of the capitalist world-economy, a system that began in the sixteenth century and has lasted until the present, Wallerstein discussed three hegemonies around which both nations and markets pivoted.² States only achieved this status by gaining the competitive edge over their rivals in different economic sectors, principally the industrial, commercial, and financial.³ In order to maintain

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² Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: New Press, 2000), 255.

³ *Ibid.*

their lead, the hegemon relied on a strong navy to protect their interests and ensure their access to overseas markets.⁴ At the apex of their power between 1625 and 1672 – a period identified by Wallerstein – the Dutch illustrated that they possessed these strengths as their colonial enterprises, such as the Dutch East India Company, enabled them to reach their valuable possessions unmolested.⁵ Their virtual monopoly over these colonial goods, as well as their strategic position on Europe's rivers and waterways, contributed to their emergence as the first significant manufacturer on the Continent; the Dutch imported unprocessed wool from England, for example, and re-exported the finished product through the entrepot of Amsterdam.⁶ As a result, and through their role as the traditional carrier of the Habsburg-Spanish trade, the Dutch secured their position as hegemon throughout the seventeenth century.⁷ Wallerstein, however, indicated that the loss of these advantages could lead to their collapse as the hegemon and their transformation into a junior partner of their successor.

This scenario occurred during the eighteenth century when the merits of Britain's system of taxation and colonies began to have far-reaching results. Though Wallerstein accounted for the effects of an efficient tax system, he failed to associate this factor with others that influenced state power vis-à-vis the status of hegemon; he mainly focused on its effects on entrepreneurial enterprise.⁸ By examining the differences between the British and Dutch systems of taxation during this period, it becomes apparent how the former were better able to resist the deleterious effects of the changing geopolitical environment in Europe and even emerge as a stronger state.

Because of the organization of the government of the United Provinces, a basis for instituting a successful, centralized system of taxation never existed. Instead of a national bureaucracy, individual provinces used tax farmers to collect revenue and then contribute a percentage of that to the national treasury.⁹ The federal governing apparatus reflected its pecuniary status as the United Provinces employed only 350 salaried officials who oversaw excise and duty collection.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 257.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁶ Douglas A. Irwin, "Strategic Trade Policy and Mercantilist Rivalries," *The American Economic Review* 82 (1992): 136.

⁷ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 611.

⁸ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein*, 260.

⁹ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 127.

Conversely, 8000 bureaucrats staffed the English fiscal administration.¹⁰ Simultaneously, due to its status as an entrepot, indirect taxation based on custom duties formed a major part of Dutch revenue, necessitating that the United Provinces, especially Holland, remain a center for re-exportation in order to remain solvent. The protectionist policies of the eighteenth century and the improvement and expansion of other European merchant marines caused this policy to founder when indirect sources of income declined as trade was redirected. Attempts were made to implement reform, such as after the commissioning of the State General's *Proposite* of 1751, which found that for the past twenty-five years trade had been "remarkably diminished and in many branches lost;" these failed as the majority of officials were wealthy merchants who feared that raising tariffs would further threaten their ability to conduct business.¹¹ This decline and desperation became further evident in *An Essay on Circulation and Credit* by Isaac de Pinto. Pinto argued for the United Provinces to become a free port available to all states as a means of reviving Dutch commerce; he claimed that they could rely on Britain for protection, confirming the United Provinces' junior status in relation to the new hegemon.¹² The very nature of Dutch commercial power collapsed due to their inability to rectify a systemic weakness that compromised their fiscal flexibility and ability to raise taxes.

Immediately following the Glorious Revolution in 1688, the English Parliament made a concerted effort to expand and centralize the tax bureaucracy in order to maintain themselves financially against their Continental rival. This growth was evident in the two largest revenue departments: Customs and Excise. The total number of administrators for the Excise Department for the port of London alone, for example, burgeoned from 164 in 1690 to 1192 in 1783.¹³ Simultaneously, these forms of indirect indemnities grew in importance, surpassing the value of the traditional land tax by 1713; at this point, taxes on property contributed less than 30 per cent of all state revenue.¹⁴ This had two effects, one that fit directly into Wallerstein's argument regarding the role of entrepreneurial enterprise in hegemonic advantage. Whereas reliance on direct taxation was always a cost to the domestic producer, the burden of indirect levies

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹¹ C. H. Wilson, "The Economic Decline of the Netherlands," *The Economic History Review* 9 (1939): 117.

¹² Koen Stapelbroek, "Dutch Decline as a European Phenomenon," *History of European Ideas* 36 (2010): 144-145.

¹³ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 104-105.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.

could be shifted to his competitors, preventing their access to domestic markets while still allowing British industry to import basic resources.¹⁵ Such a system, moreover, allowed the government to make regular payments to its creditors, who controlled the state's expanding long-term debt; between 1713 and 1785, the national debt came to absorb over 40 per cent of Great Britain's regular revenue.¹⁶ Not only did this enable the British to prosecute their wars effectively without fear of bankruptcy, it also made the private sector appealing to outside investment as the economy appeared stable. Because of this, although William Putney complained, "to look into the Indexes, where for several Columns together we see nothing but Taxes, Taxes, Taxes," the British, unlike the Dutch, were able to meet the increased costs of empire made necessary by the changing geopolitical environment of Europe.¹⁷

Of these, the most important, especially to Wallerstein, was the expansion and maintenance of the navy as a means of safeguarding overseas commerce. Indeed, British lawmakers, who both determined the budget for the Royal Navy and oversaw tax collection, viewed defense spending not only as a means of making war but also as furthering the empire's colonial network.¹⁸ Throughout the eighteenth century, the British navy continuously asserted its dominance over both its rivals, especially France, and its allies, specifically the Dutch. A symptom of their decline and junior status in their relationship with Britain in the context of Wallerstein's model, the Dutch provided warships to the British at a ratio of 3:5 during the War of Spanish Succession.¹⁹ By the second half of this period, as a result of the systemic institutional issue posed by operating five separate admiralties instead of one funded from the central treasury, the Dutch no longer possessed a naval force of any merit.²⁰ In the 1770s, for example, the United Provinces could field only four ships with seventy cannon – some over a century old – whereas Britain and France each had two ships of a hundred guns or more.²¹ For the British, the increase in revenue and long-term debt enabled them to constantly enlarge the Royal Navy, while the pecuniary status of the individual Dutch admiralties meant that few built any naval vessels; Zeeland only

¹⁵ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein*, 260.

¹⁶ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 114.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁸ Patrick O'Brien, "Mercantilism and Imperialism in the Rise and Decline of the Dutch and British Economies 1585–1815," *De Economist* 148 (2000): 475.

¹⁹ E. N. Williams, *The Ancien Regime in Europe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 51.

²⁰ Patrick O'Brien, "Mercantilism and Imperialism," 493–494.

²¹ Hendrik Willem Van Loon, *The Fall of the Dutch Republic* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913); facsimile edition (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2006), 78.

constructed four small frigates between 1700 and 1746.²² This weakness was evident during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in 1780 when the Royal Navy, despite also fighting the French and United States at the same time, seized undefended Dutch colonial possessions in the Caribbean. Britain only fought one sea battle against the Dutch, winning easily.²³ The inability of the Dutch to finance their navy was symptomatic not only of their inefficient system of taxation but also of their growing secondary status in the geopolitical environment.

Such a shift became evident in the growth of national populations and the enlargement of standing armies that occurred during the eighteenth century throughout Europe, factors Wallerstein did not consider. Unlike Great Britain, an island nation, the United Provinces was forced to maintain a sizable army composed of significant numbers of expensive mercenaries along with their navy in order to resist French and Prussian territorial pressure. Both of these neighbors effectively threatened Dutch access to inland European markets over the course of a period when these grew in importance as revenue from overseas commerce diminished. The French, for example, had a proclivity for seizing the Southern Netherlands, an important consumer of Dutch goods, effectively removing them from the United Provinces' economic sphere for the duration of a conflict.²⁴ At the same time, the Prussian monarchy, which had claims to estates of the House of Orange in several Rhineland duchies, principally Julich and Berg, could prevent the Dutch from accessing the Rhine River if they asserted themselves over these territories.²⁵ The War of the Austrian Succession made these overextensions in military affairs discernable as the French not only occupied the Southern Netherlands despite a sizable Dutch garrison, but in a matter of weeks also captured the extensive border fortifications that protected the United Provinces.²⁶ The inefficient Dutch tax system was not able to support the maintenance of their navy or of their army, preventing the Dutch from responding effectively to threats posed by their neighbors.

The combination of European states implementing protectionist policies while expanding their military strengths served to weaken Dutch power. Dutch protectionism deleteriously affected their industrial, commercial, and financial advantage because it made conducting trade difficult. This threw their whole

²² *Ibid.*, 79-81.

²³ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1989), 402-404.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 996.

²⁵ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 990.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 996-997.

economic structure into disarray due to its reliance on the re-exportation of finished goods. Indeed, Prussia, for example, banned the export of its own raw wool in 1718 and then subsequently forbade the import of finished cloth in 1720, negatively affecting the Dutch textile industry on two levels: production and sale.²⁷ Britain acted similarly by instituting several Navigation Acts that restricted foreign commercial access to their colonies, an expanding market.²⁸ Compounding this issue, the United Provinces' weakened navy could no longer ensure safe trading conditions with their own oversea interests. Their traditional monopolies in the Levant and Atlantic decayed as the navies of more powerful nations asserted themselves. The French effectively gained control of the Mediterranean, enabling them to supplant the Dutch as the primary traders with the Ottoman Empire; between 1702 and 1719, the number of Dutch trading firms in Smyrna, the principal point of exchange for European and Ottoman goods, collapsed from eighteen to two.²⁹ Improvements in shipbuilding at the same time allowed both first- and second-rate powers to increase the size of their merchant marines and avoid Amsterdam altogether as an entrepot. Such factors prevented the Dutch from securing the duties necessary for supporting state revenue.³⁰ This trend was evident when, for example, by 1751, three-fourths of Dutch tobacco bypassed Amsterdam and was carried elsewhere for processing.³¹ By taking these combined factors into account, within the context of Wallerstein's argument, the United Provinces discernably fits Wallerstein's general model as he does describe this transition.

Because Amsterdam and other Dutch ports were largely bypassed by other evolving European economic systems, the industrial base of the United Provinces withered, as they could no longer export high-value goods. Even those produced were no longer economically viable to sell abroad as the protectionist policies of the surrounding European countries simply made any exchange too costly. This became evident in the declining rate of Dutch freightage leaving the United Provinces for other markets. The number of Dutch ships travelling to and from the Baltic through the Sont collapsed from a high of 4 000 in 1697 to only 11 by 1782.³² Their declining commercial exchange with England, moreover, was also representative of this because exports from Holland declined from £507 000 to

²⁷ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, 384.

²⁸ Patrick O'Brien, "Mercantilism and Imperialism," 471.

²⁹ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, 383.

³⁰ E. N. Williams, *The Ancien Regime in Europe*, 52-53.

³¹ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, 388.

³² Hendrik Willem Van Loon, *The Fall of the Dutch Republic*, 56-57.

£412 000 from 1696 to 1773. Conversely, imports from England grew by over £400 000.³³ In a similar period, the number of vessels leaving for Russia fell from almost 200 in the early eighteenth century to 1 in 1795.³⁴ The industrial base suffered from this reduction in demand, as only 6 708 *lakens* (a type of woolen fabric) were produced in 1740 compared to 20 000 in 1717–1718, for example.³⁵ The herring fisheries, furthermore, one of the traditional manufactures of the United Provinces, also proved insecure. The expansion of British, French, Danish, and Swedish fishing fleets caused the Dutch market share in the Baltic herring industry to contract to 15 per cent.³⁶ Although their financial sector remained vibrant, much of the capital invested by the upper classes went abroad to nations like Great Britain, whose economies proved healthier, safer, and more lucrative. This further harmed domestic production, as industry could not keep pace with technological development or produce a home market suitable for absorbing nationally produced goods. Not only did this provide more resources to British manufacturers, it also led to the overdevelopment of credit, one of the principal causes of the Dutch financial crisis of 1763. The end of the Seven Years War caused a massive deflation in prices and demand that fully disrupted the Dutch economy.³⁷ That being said, this does not necessarily explain how British industry came to eclipse the Dutch during this same period as they too were affected by protectionist policies, something Wallerstein neglected to explain.

Unlike the Dutch, who based their commerce on foreign trade, the British were able to rely on their expanding domestic population and colonial network to provide the demand for their finished goods. During this period, England's population – not including Scotland, Ireland, and Wales – expanded by two and a half million, while that of their colonies in North America reached three million by the time of the Revolution in 1775.³⁸ The Union with Scotland and the consolidation of their control over Ireland, moreover, removed the trade barriers between these three areas, with the Irish Export Duty abolished in 1705, for example.³⁹ It was believed that “the Wealth and Prosperity of Ireland is not only [c]ompatible with that of England, but highly conducive also to its Riches,

³³ C. H. Wilson, “The Economic Decline of the Netherlands,” 114.

³⁴ Hendrik Willem Van Loon, *The Fall of the Dutch Republic*, 58.

³⁵ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, 387.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 389.

³⁷ C. H. Wilson, “The Economic Decline of the Netherlands,” 123.

³⁸ Ralph Davis, “English Foreign Trade, 1700–1774,” *The Economic History Review* 15 (1962): 290.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 287–288.

Grandeur and Prosperity.”⁴⁰ British industry now not only had direct access to a large domestic population to supply, but the basic resources needed for production, such as wool from Scotland and cotton from the American South and later India. This led one gentlemen’s magazine in 1739 to comment, “the manufacture of cotton, mixed and plain, is arrived to great perfection... that we not only make enough for our own Consumption, but supply our Colonies and many of the Nations of Europe.”⁴¹ Such a statement illustrated that British commerce was not based solely within the empire. Rather, because of their victory in the War of Spanish Succession, Great Britain secured the *asiento*, the United Provinces’ former prerogative to be the carrier of Spanish goods, principally the transportation of slaves to Spain’s colonies.⁴² The Dutch could do little to stymie the success of their rival. Baron J. D. van Capellan unrealistically suggested that Dutch capital should be reinvested in France in order to weaken Britain in his *Address to the People of the Netherlands*.⁴³ Though not identified by Wallerstein as a contributing factor to the transformation of Britain into the world hegemon, their success in using their colonial network was indicative of his other arguments, especially the role of naval power. Without the Royal Navy, funded by expanding revenue and long-term debt, the British would not have been able to protect their overseas holdings against their rivals or secure the sea-lanes for Atlantic commerce. As such, although the factors contributing to Britain’s succession to the role of hegemon required elucidation, Wallerstein’s general model holds true for the eighteenth century phase of transition.

Conclusion

Despite their defeat in the American Revolution, the British Empire’s economic vitality was not greatly affected. Indeed, their former subjects in the new United States continued to rely on English manufacturers to provide them with finished products until they too began to implement protectionist policies during the Napoleonic Wars.⁴⁴ Conversely, what remained of the United Provinces’ mercantile strength was further reduced as a result of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁴¹ A. H. John, “Aspects of English Economic Growth in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century,” *Economica* 28 (1961): 185.

⁴² Patrick O’Brien, “Mercantilism and Imperialism in the Rise and Decline of the Dutch and British Economies 1585-1815,” 486.

⁴³ Koen Stapelbroek, “Dutch Decline as a European Phenomenon,” 144.

⁴⁴ P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, “The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914,” *The Economic History Review* 33 (1980): 468–472.

War and the British seizure of Dutch possessions in the Caribbean, an action that directly led the Bank of Amsterdam to declare bankruptcy.⁴⁵ Such events served to prove the conclusion of Wallerstein's model in that the former hegemon became a junior partner to its replacement. By centralizing its tax system, as well as relying primarily on the demands of its domestic sector and colonial network rather than servicing international markets, Britain emerged unscathed from the Continental protectionism of the eighteenth century. These policies, however, only served to further weaken the Dutch industrial and commercial advantage by reducing the United Provinces' role as an entrepot. The continued deterioration of their geopolitical position exacerbated this as their neighbors exerted greater territorial and economic pressure. Although both their government in the middle of the century and individual writers like Isaac de Pinto called for change, institutional inability hindered reform. As such, while Wallerstein's general system of hegemonic succession holds true, especially in its conclusions, it is necessary to consider the factors contributing and affecting this period as he neglects to discuss them. By expanding upon these, why Great Britain supplanted the United Provinces as hegemon and avoided their symptoms of decline is discernible.

⁴⁵ C. H. Wilson, "The Economic Decline of the Netherlands," 127.

THE FIGHT FOR YUGOSLAVIA: LEFT-WING NATIONALISM AMONG YUGOSLAV STUDENT ÉMIGRÉS IN PRAGUE

Stefan Gužvica 

In 1943, at the Second Session of the AVNOJ,¹ the Yugoslav communists finalized their proposal for Yugoslavia as a federation of equal socialist republics of South Slavic nations. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ)'s attempt to solve the national question was a result of their experiences in the interwar period. This paper will look into how the experiences of KPJ members in the 1930s shaped their view of the national question. In particular, it will deal with the activities of radical Yugoslav student émigrés in Prague, many of whom later became influential in the post-war Yugoslav state. The KPJ developed a left-wing nationalist vision of Yugoslavia as a response to the reigning right-wing nationalist ideology. The communist vision sought to resolve the national question by reconciling the nations and recognizing their right to self-determination within Yugoslavia rather than trying to force a unifying Yugoslav identity on them. In practice the unifying Yugoslav identity of the monarchy was manifested as Serbian hegemony. The approach of Prague's leftists to the Yugoslav national question will be examined here from the creation of Comintern's (an international communist organization that advocated world communism) Popular Front policy in August 1935 until the departure of anti-fascist Yugoslav students from Prague for Spain in early 1937.

Yugoslavia in the Interwar Period

Yugoslavia was created on 1 December 1918 as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It developed under the idea that the three nations are one and that all differences among them are marginal and would be abolished in the new state.² The limitations of this model became apparent early on, however, since the formation of distinct ethnic identities among Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was mostly over by 1918. The proponents of a supra-national identity were mostly liberal Serb, Croat, and Slovene intellectuals whose political influence was greater

¹ The Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) was the central governing body of the Yugoslav anti-fascist resistance movement. Founded in 1942, by the end of 1943 the Allies had recognized it as the legitimate government of Yugoslavia.

² Branislav Gligorijević, "Jugoslovenstvo između dva svetska rata" [Yugoslavism between the two world wars], *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis* 21, no. 1 (1986): 79–80.

than their actual share of the population.³ Furthermore, the unitarist Yugoslav model, which was expressed in political and economic centralization, proved to be a tool for achieving Serbian hegemony. The royal dynasty was ethnically Serbian and the Serbian elite's political and military dominance before WWI made the unitarist and centralist model particularly advantageous for the Serbs.⁴ This model was particularly problematic for the Croats, for whom it meant a loss of statehood, as they had had significant rights under the Habsburg state. The opposition to Serbian hegemony was led by the Croatian Peasant Party, which replaced the ideology of "historical rights" typical of the old nationalist forces in Croatia with the modern idea of the right to self-determination, suggesting a federalist Yugoslav model in place of a centralist one.⁵ The federalist opposition, although influential, remained weak due to its heterogeneity. The only common ground of the opposition was the preservation of the South Slavic state, but with an acknowledgement of historical differences and preservation of regional political and economic interests.⁶ Given that the former was too vague and the latter often conflicting, there was little chance for success.

The deadlock in which the centralists and the federalists found themselves was a constant source of tension throughout the 1920s. The nationalist tension culminated in June 1928, when a Serbian representative shot and killed three Croatian Peasant Party MPs in the National Assembly. King Alexander tried to end the ensuing political crisis by suspending the Assembly and the Constitution and establishing a personal dictatorship on 6 January 1929. By October, the country was officially renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and divided into nine administrative units separated along geographical rather than ethnic lines. The king tried to reinforce the unitarist idea of a single Yugoslav nation, strengthening centralism and suppressing all claims to national distinctiveness. However, as Pešić writes, "the temporary popular satisfaction with termination of inter-party conflicts was soon followed by an intensification of national contradictions."⁷ Gligorijević called this unsuccessful attempt at resolving national differences "Yugoslavism by decree."⁸

³ Branko Petranović, *Jugoslavija 1918–1988*, vol. 1: *Kraljevina Jugoslavija 1914–1941* [Yugoslavia 1918–1988: vol. 1: The Kingdom of Yugoslavia] (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), 3.

⁴ Gligorijević, "Jugoslovenstvo između dva svetska rata," 84–85.

⁵ Gligorijević, "Jugoslovenstvo između dva svetska rata," 78–79.

⁶ Desanka Pešić, *Jugoslovenski komunisti i nacionalno pitanje* [Yugoslav communists and the national question] (Belgrade: Izdavačka radna organizacija "Rad," 1983), 24–25.

⁷ Pešić, *Jugoslovenski komunisti i nacionalno pitanje*, 247.

⁸ Gligorijević, "Jugoslovenstvo između dva svetska rata," 85.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia from Its Foundation until the Eighth Congress of the Comintern

In this period, the views of Yugoslav communists on the new state changed radically several times. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia emerged as the fourth largest party in the Constitutional Assembly, but was banned soon after and remained marginalized throughout the interwar period. The KPJ initially viewed Yugoslav unification as a positive event, a fulfillment of the historical role of the bourgeoisie whose successful national revolution was a precondition for a future social revolution.⁹ Support for Yugoslav unitarism came not as a form of nationalism, but first and foremost as an expression of Marxist internationalism.¹⁰ The change in attitude only came as a consequence of interference from Moscow. In effect, starting from 1922, the KPJ's opinion of Yugoslavia was conditioned by the geopolitical needs of the Soviet Union.¹¹ The Comintern was "generally hostile to the post-Versailles world order,"¹² and thus it had pressured the KPJ into adopting a negative stance towards Yugoslavia. Starting from the Fourth Congress of the KPJ in Dresden in 1928, the party argued for dissolution of the Yugoslav state, considering it a project of the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie. Such a sharp turn in policy was a result of the vast national inequality in Yugoslavia and widespread dissatisfaction with the pro-Serbian line of the regime in Belgrade.¹³

In the end, the consequences of this turn to supporting secession from Yugoslavia proved detrimental and pushed the party even further to the margins of the country's political life. Furthermore, a great number of party members themselves were dissatisfied with the policy.¹⁴ The change, which was met with great relief by most party members, came due to the rise of Nazism in Germany. The Fourth Land Conference of the KPJ in Ljubljana in 1934 repeated the need for an armed uprising against the "fascist" Yugoslav dictatorship, but this time without calling explicitly for the dissolution of Yugoslavia.¹⁵ Anticipating changes in the Comintern, the KPJ organized a Central Committee Plenum in Split in June

⁹ Pešić, *Jugoslovenski komunisti i nacionalno pitanje*, 21–22.

¹⁰ Hilde Katrine Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia: Tito, Communist Leadership and the National Question* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 23, ProQuest ebrary. Accessed May 31, 2015.

¹¹ Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 20.

¹² Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 20.

¹³ Ivo Banac, *With Stalin against Tito: Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 55.

¹⁴ Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 41.

¹⁵ Pešić, *Jugoslovenski komunisti i nacionalno pitanje*, 264–265.

1935, which stated that the KPJ, whilst supporting national self-determination, “does not insist on the break-up of Yugoslavia at any cost.”¹⁶ The KPJ returned to its Yugoslavist roots, now in a federalist form, distinguishing between Yugoslav nationalism and national chauvinism.¹⁷ While the KPJ did not yet finalize its vision of a federal organization of Yugoslavia, it accepted the basic tenets of national equality, a fight for political freedom, and the creation of a Popular Front of all democratic (meaning anti-fascist) forces. The same ideas were adopted by the Comintern at the Seventh Congress two months later. KPJ’s new stance led to the development of left-wing Yugoslav nationalism and made the national question one of the most important issues for the KPJ by 1935.¹⁸

Communist Activity among Student Organizations in Prague

The KPJ was quite popular among young radicals who were university students, many of whom decided to leave the country and settle temporarily in places such as Czechoslovakia, a democratic country where political views which were illegal in Yugoslavia could be expressed more freely. Colonel-General Gojko Nikoliš of the Yugoslav People’s Army, who spent two months in Prague as a medical student in an exchange program in the summer of 1934, wrote in his memoirs that he was “pleasantly surprised to see that one can openly discuss things for which one would go to prison in Yugoslavia, whether on the city streets, in an apartment, or in a café on Wenceslas Square,” and that books of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin were sold legally in bookstores.¹⁹ Furthermore, as all Yugoslav students in Prague lived close together regardless of ethnicity, political agitation for an idea of a democratic, communist, and federal Yugoslavia was much easier than in the South Slavic Kingdom. Nonetheless, the political atmosphere among Yugoslav students in Prague was not uniformly left wing. The major exception was the oldest and most important students’ association – the “Jugoslavija” Academic Society – founded in 1919.²⁰ Even though the society was officially apolitical, the Yugoslav Ministry of Education wrote in 1931 that the state needed to send

¹⁶ Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 40.

¹⁷ Pešić, *Jugoslovenski komunisti i nacionalno pitanje*, 277.

¹⁸ Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 18.

¹⁹ Gojko Nikoliš, *Korijen, stablo, pavetina (Memoari)* [Root, tree, clematis (Memoirs)] (Zagreb: SN Liber, 1981), 89, znaci.net (last accessed 9 March 2016).

²⁰ Momčilo Mitrović, “Saradnja Beogradskog univerziteta sa univerzitetima u Čehoslovačkoj 1918–1939” [Cooperation of the University of Belgrade with the universities in Czechoslovakia 1918–1939], *Studia Balcanica Bohemo-Slovaca* 6 (2006): 304.

“Jugoslavija” monetary aid in order to “battle against our communists abroad.”²¹ Until 1935, the society was under the strict control of the Yugoslav Embassy in Prague and was accused by left-wing students of being monarchist, nationalist, and reactionary.²²

The leading left-wing organizations, which formed the core of resistance to the right-wing leadership of “Jugoslavija,” were the “Matija Gubec” Academic Club (banned in 1935), the Society of Yugoslav Technical School Students (*Društvo jugoslovenskih tehničara*), the Collective of Croatian Academics (*Zadruga hrvatskih akademičara*), and the Society of Agricultural Technicians (*Društvo agrikulturnih tehničara*).²³ By the mid-1930s, most of these Yugoslav student societies in Prague were controlled by communists or their sympathizers in line with the KPJ directives on communist infiltration into students’ associations.²⁴ Many of the disagreements between the two groups revolved around practical issues of student life, such as the distribution of scholarships and the desire of student societies to have a say in the management of the Yugoslav student dormitory (which the leftist students called a “struggle for students’ self-management”²⁵). Nonetheless, one can clearly discern an underlying political note in the arguments between these groups throughout 1935 and 1936. Several of their pamphlets explicitly refer to the political situation in Yugoslavia, and all of them clearly show a deep rift between the right and the left over what it means to be a Yugoslav.

Opposing Conceptions of Yugoslavia

By 1935, a fierce battle of words was going on between the students who supported the governing Yugoslav National Party and the United Opposition. 1935 was important for Yugoslavs because a parliamentary election took place on 5 May. It was the first election in which opposition candidates were actually allowed to run since the 1929 coup. Furthermore, the federalist and pro-democratic parties

²¹ Mitrović, “Saradnja Beogradskog univerziteta sa univerzitetima u Čehoslovačkoj 1918–1939,” 304–305.

²² Zora Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga” [The departure of Yugoslav students from Prague] in *Španija 1936–1939: Zbornik sećanja jugoslovenskih dobrovoljaca u Španskom ratu* [Spain 1936–1939: A collection of memories of Yugoslav volunteers in the Spanish war], ed. Čedo Kapor (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1971), 5:350.

²³ Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga,” 350–351.

²⁴ Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 42.

²⁵ “Svim jugoslovenskim studentima u Pragu” [To all Yugoslav students in Prague], *Archiv Univerzity Karlovy (AUK), Všestudentský archiv (1848–1953)*, collection [fond] IV. Mezinárodní a jinonárodní spolky, B 337, 3 May 1935.

created a common platform and went to the election as the United Opposition, with the support of the KPJ.²⁶ The election coincided with the break between left-wing organizations and “Jugoslavija” over the issue of student self-management of the dormitory, which prompted the leftists to organize their own student assembly. It took place just four days after the Yugoslav parliamentary election and was attended by all the major student organizations: the Society of Yugoslav Technical School Students, the Collective of Croatian Academics, the Slovenian Student Collective (*Slovenska Dijaška Zadruga*), and the Society of Agricultural Technicians. Only “Jugoslavija” and the Collective of Academics from Serbia, Montenegro and the Bay of Kotor (*Zadruga akademičara Srbije, Crne Gore i Boke Kotorske*) did not attend.²⁷ Interestingly enough, one can discern from this that the left wing organizations were closer to Croatian and Slovenian student groups than to Serbian groups. This was most likely a consequence of the new Comintern-encouraged battle for federalism through the Popular Front as much as it was a consequence of the older communist view that Yugoslavia was merely an imperialist project of the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie. The only pro-government student organizations remaining at this point were ethnically Serbian.

Opposition to the centralist Yugoslav model was not received lightly; an anonymous flyer published in support of the “Jugoslavija” Academic Society in early May accused those who organized the student assembly of being “quasi-communists and separatists.”²⁸ These accusations were primarily directed at the Society of Yugoslav Technical School Students (DJT), which was also accused of hijacking the student assembly. The DJT leadership responded with a pamphlet which did not directly address the accusations of communism and separatism, but focused instead on emphasizing their struggle for improving the material position of Yugoslav technical school students. Their response was framed in Marxist terms, emphasizing the lower-class origin of most of their students, pointing out their poverty and the refusal of the government to aid graduate students, which they considered an “antisocial and reactionary measure.”²⁹ Another flyer, which the DJT published on 26 October 1935, was broader in focus, looking at the political situation in Yugoslavia. This one did not look at the issues troubling the students, but rather at the struggle of the United Opposition against an authoritarian,

²⁶ Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia*, 43.

²⁷ AUK, VA (1848–1953), B 337, 1 May 1935. Letter from the DJT to the Collective of Academics from Serbia, Montenegro and the Bay of Kotor.

²⁸ “Jugoslavenskim studentima” [To Yugoslav Students], AUK, VA (1848–1953), B 337,

²⁹ “Svima praškim studentima” [To all Prague students], AUK, VA (1848–1953), B 337, 18 May 1935.

“anti-people and anti-democratic government.”³⁰ They intentionally referred to the alleged last words of King Alexander in 1934, “Save Yugoslavia!” in order to emphasize that the government which claimed to be preserving Yugoslavia was actually destroying it through its reckless dictatorial policies. The DJT called for the government to turn to “strengthening old close ties with the Little Entente and France and establishing new ones with the USSR.”³¹ This sentence more than anything else serves as a testimony to the reorientation of Yugoslav communist students towards the Popular Front policy. The document was signed by, among others, Marko Spahić and Branko Krsmanović, both of whom joined the KPJ less than a year later,³² and Ilija Engel, the former president of the banned Academic Club “Matija Gubec” and a left-wing activist since his high school days.³³

Left-Wing Nationalists and Anti-Fascists

Other organizations close to the DJT showed a greater openness to framing the debate in national rather than class terms. The Collective of Croatian Academics (ZHA), although left wing, was ethnically a Croatian organization. This was not in contradiction to KPJ’s policies on nationalities in Yugoslavia, so the communist students cooperated with them. Before 1935, they had dealt with many of the issues relevant to Croatian nationalism, organizing lectures on the national question in Yugoslavia³⁴ and on the life of the Croatian nationalist leader Eugen Kvaternik.³⁵ A feeling of pride in the nation’s past, as long as it did not involve hatred towards other nations, was not seen as negative by the Yugoslav communists in the Popular Front period. Considering that the organization’s president, Ivan Ropac, went to Spain as one of the first Yugoslav volunteers from

³⁰ “Svima demokratski raspoloženim jugoslavenskim studentima” [To all democratic-minded Yugoslav students], AUK, VA (1848–1953), B 337, 26 October 1935.

³¹ “Svima demokratski raspoloženim jugoslavenskim studentima,” AUK, VA (1848–1953), B 337, 26 October 1935.

³² Lazar Udovički, “Venceremos!,” *Republika – Glasilo građanskog samooslobođanja* 1 July – 31 August 2013, <http://www.republika.co.rs/552-555/20.html>, [accessed July 5, 2015].

³³ Institut za savremenu istoriju, *Narodni heroji Jugoslavije* [People’s heroes of Yugoslavia], 2d ed. (Belgrade: Mladost, 1975), 137, znaci.net, [accessed 9 March 2016].

³⁴ “Policejnimu ředitelství (spolkové oddělení)” [To the police office (Associations department)], Archiv hlavního města Prahy (AHMP), Spolkový katastr, X/242, 13 February 1934.

³⁵ “Policejnimu ředitelství ‘spolkové oddělení?,” AHMP, SK, X/242, 10 June 1933.

Prague in December 1936,³⁶ one can conclude that the left-wing element of their struggle was not ignored.

A good testimony to the impact of the communists on Croatian students is the case of the student Matija Šiprak. Šiprak went to Prague in 1936 to study law. He came from a devoutly Catholic family which traditionally supported the Croatian Peasant Party.³⁷ He was also an anti-fascist, however, and after he arrived his colleagues introduced him to radical left ideas.³⁸ Joining the group of Yugoslav students that left Prague for Spain, he died in the Battle of Jarama.³⁹ The eulogy to Šiprak was produced by the leader of the Prague students, Veljko Vlahović, who became a high-ranking official and party ideologue after World War II.⁴⁰ Vlahović reiterated the vision of a nation of antifascists, opposed to the nationalist and chauvinist ideas of Franco's sympathizers; some Croatian fascists also went to Spain as volunteers to fight on the Nationalist side and this speech was aimed at attacking them as much as glorifying a fallen comrade:

We are convinced that the entire Croatian nation together with us will solemnize and avenge your heroic death, helping us in our struggle against fascism and condemning that group of misguided children at the University of Zagreb who think that politically and nationally they are closer to you, Comrade Šiprak, than us – followers of other parties and sons of different nations – and who extended their hand across your grave to the murderer of the Spanish people, the enemy of the Croatian people, General Franco. We are convinced that the entire younger generation of the Croatian people is not going to follow their example, but yours, Comrade Matija. May your glory be everlasting, worthy son of the Croatian nation!⁴¹

³⁶ Ćedo Kapor, ed., "Borci u Internacionalnim brigadama – Indeks imena P, R, S, Š," [Fighters in the International brigades – Index of names P, R, S, Š] in *Španija 1936–1939: Zbornik sećanja jugoslovenskih dobrovoljaca u Španskom ratu* (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1971), 1, https://www.inicijativa.org/tiki/tiki-index.php?page=SGR_P%2CR%2CS [accessed July 7, 2015].

³⁷ Vjeran Pavlaković, "Radicalization at the University of Zagreb during the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939," *Historical Journal* 62, no. 2 (2011): 500, <http://hrcak.srce.hr/70239?lang=en> [accessed July 5, 2015].

³⁸ Đuro Gajdek, *Španjolski borci Siska i Banije* [Spanish fighters from Sisak and Banija] (Sisak: Muzej Sisak, 1985), 145.

³⁹ Gajdek, *Španjolski borci Siska i Banije*, 151.

⁴⁰ Institut za savremenu istoriju, *Narodni heroji Jugoslavije*, 503.

⁴¹ Ćedo Kapor, *Krv i život za slobodu*, [Blood and life for freedom], 4th ed. (Belgrade: Unija-publik, 1978), 42, quoted in Pavlaković, "Radicalization at the University of Zagreb During the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939," 500.

Although he was a “son of the Croatian nation,” he was nevertheless closer to “followers of other parties and sons of different nations” – that is, his communist comrades of other Yugoslav nationalities – than he was to the people who also considered themselves “sons of the Croatian nation” but fought for the fascists. This “internationalist nationalism,” according to which a fellow Yugoslav of a different ethnicity is closer than a member of the same ethnic group who fought alongside the fascists, became the cornerstone of Yugoslav communist ideology in World War II.

The Takeover of “Jugoslavija”

The final victory for the leftists came just before the group of Yugoslav students went to Spain to fight in the Civil War. In 1936, the communists successfully infiltrated the largest Yugoslav monarchist and nationalist stronghold in Prague – the Academic Society “Jugoslavija.” Throughout 1936, while the leadership was still nominally in the hands of the nationalists, the leftists were able to set their own agenda for “Jugoslavija.” “Jugoslavija” started to criticize both the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak governments and established cooperation with various left-wing and anti-fascist international student organizations.⁴² The takeover was finalized on 4 November 1936, when the communists Ratko Pavlović and Veljko Vlahović became the president and vice-president of the society, respectively.⁴³ Both had been members of the SKOJ (League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia) and the KPJ for several years.⁴⁴ Several months later, the police started investigating the society, only to find that 9 out of 17 board members of the society had disappeared from the country and gone to Spain by the time the society’s headquarters were raided in February 1937.⁴⁵ The investigation found no proof of any abuse of the society’s funds by the new leadership, but the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior suggested banning the organization because its statute strictly prohibited political activity and affiliation with any political party.⁴⁶ As the funds of the society were left intact, it is safe to assume that the takeover of the “Jugoslavija” Academic Society was part of a broader strategy of infiltrating reactionary student groups rather than a means of getting to Spain. However,

⁴² Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga,” 360.

⁴³ Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga,” 351.

⁴⁴ Institut za savremenu istoriju, *Narodni heroji Jugoslavije*, 363.

⁴⁵ Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga,” 359.

⁴⁶ Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga,” 360.

looking at the importance that the takeover had in communist historiography, it had strong symbolic significance for leftist students in Prague.

Conclusion

Even before the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the Yugoslav Communist Party began a shift towards Yugoslav federalism. In a multiethnic country with the political hegemony of one ethnic group over the others, the best way to appeal to the people was to recognize their national oppression rather than ignore it. In many cases, the preference for the narrative of nation rather than the narrative of class is evident in the publications of left-wing organizations. This approach led to the creation of a distinct form of Yugoslav nationalism – a nationalism with an internationalist background that united all anti-fascist forces. National differences were acknowledged at the same time as a common international struggle against fascism was emphasized. Zora Gavrić, who lived in Prague at the time and was close to several communist groups, acknowledges in her memoir over thirty years later that “the fight of [Yugoslav] progressive forces against fascism abroad was considered merely an extension of the fight of their own people.”⁴⁷ This approach formed the basis of the Yugoslav communist attitude to the national question in World War II, offering the alternative of a common Yugoslav struggle to a country torn apart by ethnic conflict and local fascist collaborators. This attitude eventually helped the Yugoslav Partisans sway the majority of the population to their side and liberate their country with minimal external help in the closing months of World War II. This view was formed through the experience of work abroad by many Yugoslav political émigrés. The Yugoslav students in Prague, many of whom lived through the war and came to shape the country’s policy afterwards, were a part of this process. Their left-wing nationalism, which developed in the 1930s under Comintern influence, remained present in the post-war Yugoslav state under the official state ideology of “brotherhood and unity” (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*).

⁴⁷ Gavrić, “Odlazak jugoslovenskih studenata iz Praga,” 349.

**WHERE DO WE PUT THE PAST?
ARCHAEOLOGY AND PRESERVATION IN EARLY REPUBLICAN
PLANNING AND PRACTICE IN TURKEY**

Jessica Salley 

When the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, key to the the construction of the new, national project was the erasure of characteristics that linked the population of a modern, Westernized, and secularized Turkish state to its “backward” past. Between 1924 and 1928, republican modernizers, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, immediately abolished the caliphate and Islamic courts of law, switching to a civil code of law and removing Islam as the state religion. The modernizing program further found expression in script and language reforms which rendered the Arabic alphabet of Ottoman Turkish into a Latin script and made all texts published before 1928 unreadable to future speakers of modern Turkish.¹ The 1934 Law of Family Names required all citizens to adopt Turkish last names, removing ethnic identifiers and creating small family units without extended ties.² Further reforms, like outlawing the *fezâ*, the change from the Islamic to the Gregorian calendar, and laws encouraging women’s liberation all characterized the first two decades of the new republic, highlighting governmental efforts to immerse citizens in a visual and cultural program from which they would emerge as secular, Western-oriented, Republican Turks.

But even as government-mandated reforms provided a mechanism for attempting to alter human behavior and attitudes, Republican leaders also faced the very real question of how to modify the physical environment in the Turkish Republic to make it the appropriate place for the new nation to dwell. This was especially true in the urban context, in which city leaders brought in architects and planners – especially French urbanists and German modern architects before Turkey developed its own corps of planners and followers of the “New Architecture” – to wipe away the uneven structure of Ottoman urban centers and replace them with cleaned-up, rational, and modern plans that were viewed

¹ Meliha Altunsik and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change* (London: Routledge, 2005), 21.

² Rifat N. Bali, “The Politics of Turkification During the Single Party Period,” in *Turkey Beyond Nationalism: Towards Post-Nationalist Identities*, ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 43–493.

as appropriate for societal modernization.³ Urban landscapes, especially, were challenging sites of transformation, as palimpsests that contained the remnants of thousands of years of human settlement along with the frameworks for city life still in existence from the Ottoman period.

At the same time as planners and officials tried to develop narratives of Anatolia that left out recent history, the ancient past took on renewed importance during the early years of the Republic. Beginning in the mid-1920s, government officials and intellectuals embraced archaeology as a way to construct a national identity that connected the present with ancient Anatolian cultures, leaving out the “backwards” years of Ottoman rule. At the same time, much contemporary scholarship points to the constructed image of the past as excluding archaeological sites, artifacts, and monuments – especially Greek, Roman, and Byzantine – that could not be linked to pure Turkish roots.

In this essay, I will examine the cities of Izmir and Istanbul in this context, considering the ways in which planning practice and implementation – specifically in plans completed or advised by French planner Henri Prost – addressed the presence of archaeological sites in the urban context. For Republican planners and officials who controlled the transformation of each city into one suitable for the nation-state, Izmir and Istanbul provided significant and unique challenges. As urban centers in western Turkey that held archaeological sites bespeaking the “non-Turkish” elements of their history – for Istanbul had served as the capital of the Byzantine Empire for a thousand years and Izmir was the trading locus for many Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman settlements along the western coast of Asia Minor – planning and practice in both cities demonstrate attempts during this period to mediate between national narratives about Turkish identity and recognition of the presence of the archaeological record inside the city and within history.

Since the mid-1980s, anthropologists and historians like Bruce Trigger have readily identified the role of archaeology in allowing non-Western nations to use the past to develop a new identity. “The primary function of nationalistic archaeology, like nationalistic history of which it is normally regarded as an extension, is to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups,” Trigger writes, placing nationalistic archaeology in the context of the self-definition of the

³ Cana Bilsel, “Remodeling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: The Representation of History in Henri Prost’s Planning of Istanbul,” in *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation*, ed. Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007), 98.

nation-state.⁴ Accordingly, a number of scholars have recognized the phenomenon of nationalist archaeology arising in the newly established Turkish Republic during the 1920s and 1930s, largely because it held the possibility of offering material evidence for the Turkish History Thesis. This reading of history was first presented at the 1932 Turkish History Congress, held in the newly constructed capital of Ankara, and was aimed at countering popular, racist Western notions of Turks as inferior by locating proof that the great civilizing forces of mankind – animal domestication, agriculture, irrigation, calendrics, shipbuilding, navigation, and state-level society – were products of Turks who originated on the steppes of Central Asia. When the sea that sustained their livelihoods dried up, the Turkish Historical Thesis purported, Turks traveled east to India and China and west towards Anatolia, spreading finally to Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Italy, where they became the forebears of Western civilizations.⁵

Several scholars have focused on the use of Hittite archaeology for furthering the Turkish Historical Thesis. According to Can Erimtan, it was the Hittite past that became the largest marker of Turkish identity during this period and, “throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Turkey’s scholarly community seems to have accepted the premise of the Turkish nature of the Hittites unquestioningly.”⁶ Certainly, the renewed interest in the Hittites arose from a desire to link the Turkish people of the twentieth century with those who had lived in Anatolia. In an introduction to his 1933 volume on the Hittites, author Selahattin Kandemir wrote, “[a] tree that doesn’t have its roots deep in the soil cannot grow. The root of national power is national identity. What creates national identity is national history.”⁷

According to the historian Aslı Gür, along with the privileging of the Hittite past came a struggle to address the more recent presence of Greco-Roman civilizations in Asia Minor. As nationalist sentiment in Greece and Turkey grew, what began to define each nation were its differences from the other. These oppositional identities ignited during World War I and the collapse of the

⁴ Bruce Trigger, “Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist,” *Man* 19, no. 3 (1984): 360.

⁵ Söner Çağaptay, “Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 3 (2004): 88.

⁶ Can Erimtan, “Hittites, Ottomans, and Turks: Ağaoglu Ahmed Bey and the Kemalist Construction of Turkish Nationhood in Anatolia,” *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008): 142.

⁷ Selahattin Kandemir, *Etiler (Hititler)* [Hittites] (Ankara: Türk Maarif Cemiyeti Neşriyatı, Köyhocası Maatbası, 1933), 33; quoted in Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31, no. 4 (2006): 382.

Ottoman Empire, ultimately ending with the Greco-Turkish War between 1919 and 1922. In 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne provided for the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, sending Christian residents of Asia Minor and Muslims living in Greece across the Aegean to the territories that the treaty declared as their homelands. According to Aslı Gür, in the new Turkish nation-state, the problem of oppositional identities remained in place, affecting the relationship that Turkish officials and the public had with the any remnants of Hellenism present in Anatolia. She writes:

Although classics was recognized as an important academic field of study in the new nation's development and 'catching up' with European civilization was a desideratum, no integral connection between anything Hellenic and the homeland (particularly Asia Minor) was acceptable in the nationalist cultural map of Anatolia redrawn by the Turkish Republic.⁸

Both Izmir and Istanbul demonstrate the ways in which planners and officials, faced with the undeniable presence of these elements, diverged from an absolute national narrative in re-constructing the republican city.

Izmir: Local Identity in Re-Constructing the City

The Great Smyrna Fire of 1922 destroyed three-fourths of the city of Izmir and sent its Christian majority forever from the city – 130 000 Greeks, 25 000 Armenians, and a large number of the 25 000 Levantine Europeans living in its Frankish Quarter.⁹ Scholars like Cana Bilsel have readily identified the government-led impetus towards re-constructing the city following the fire in a way that would be logical, hygienic, and modern. Immediately after the fire, the new national government and the municipality began their efforts to plan for the reconstruction of the ruined areas. Şükrü Kaya, mayor of Izmir between 1922 and 1923, commissioned the French planner Henri Prost to develop a comprehensive plan for the city, especially for the reconstruction of the three-quarters of the

⁸ Aslı Gür, "Political Excavations of the Anatolian Past: Nationalism and Archaeology in Turkey," in *Controlling the Past, Owning the Future: The Political Uses of Archaeology in the Middle East*, ed. Ran Boytner, Lynn Swartz Dodd, and Bradley J. Parker (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 82.

⁹ Jeff Huebner, "Izmir," in *International Dictionary of Historic Places: Southern Europe*, ed. Trudy Ring, Robert M. Salkin, Sharon La Boda (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1995), 345.

city that had been destroyed in the fire.¹⁰ According to the plan, which Prost continued to advise on, but largely passed on to another set of French urbanists, Raymond and Rene Danger, who completed the work in 1924, Izmir would be reorganized, its haphazard, winding streets changed into blocks that would be connected by long, radial boulevards. These boulevards would converge at major squares and open spaces. Within the plan, the port of the city was moved from the old, crowded quay to a new zone at the northern edge of Izmir, to be flanked by an industrial zone to the east. Essentially, the port city was to be linked to the rest of the nation, a railway station directly adjacent to the industrial zone in order to ship raw materials from the hinterland and finished products back into Anatolia.

The Prost-Danger plan for Izmir and the partial implementation of this plan in re-building the city evidence the ambivalence of planners and officials towards preserving its past. The entire fire zone did see the implementation of the radial boulevards, which allowed for privileged views of monuments like the hilltop fortress at Kadifekale, first built during the Hellenistic period, which dominates the skyline of Izmir. Additionally, both the plan and the reconstruction of the city left largely intact the Kemeraltı Çarşısı, the Ottoman-era bazaar district that contained a number of *bedestans*, *hans*, and mosques dating to the seventeenth century and was also the location of most of Izmir's synagogues.¹¹ Significantly, in both the plan of the Danger brothers as well as in practice, an open space was left open at the location of the Roman Agora of Smyrna and excavations at the site began in 1932.¹²

Attempts to preserve the archaeological sites of Izmir came as early as 1924, when General Kazım Dirik, a veteran of the recent war who became the governor of Izmir, along with Aziz Ogan, the director of the Archaeological Museum of Izmir, and archaeologist Selahettin Kantar, who eventually became the director of the Izmir Archaeological Museum, began an attempt to gather together materials from the Izmir region that could be displayed to the public in a museum in the city.¹³ In 1927, the officials finally located a space for the collection: Agios Voukolos,

¹⁰ Cana Bilsel, "Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for Izmir and Scenarios of Modernization," *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 16, no. 1–2 (1996): 15.

¹¹ Cana Bilsel, "Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period," 18–19.

¹² Ann Perkins and Robert J. Braidwood, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology* 51, no. 2 (1947): 197.

¹³ Hakkı Gültekin, *Guide to the Museum in Kültürparkı* (Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1965), 3.

known in Turkish as Ayavukla, a former Greek Orthodox Church. The church itself was a remnant of the past; while the majority of the population in pre-fire Izmir had been Christians, mostly Greeks, according to the first census taken in the new republic in 1927, the population of Izmir was 88 percent Muslim.¹⁴ Thus, the municipality's ability to renovate the building into a museum came about only because of the mass exodus of its congregants, Greek Christians, from the city following the fire.

The location of the museum also opened it up to large numbers of travelers coming from outside of Izmir, as the former church was four hundred meters from the entrance to the Basmane Terminal, the end point for the railway lines that carried passengers heading from the east into the city. It was also only one thousand meters from what became, a decade later in 1936, the 9th September Gate at the southern entrance to the Kültürpark, the large park that welcomed hundreds of thousands of visitors – both Turkish and foreign – to the annual Izmir International Fair.¹⁵ The artifacts of the Izmir region remained in this space, an easy walk over to the museum for fair visitors, until August of 1951, when reconstruction of the museum building caused the municipality to move the collections into the Kültürpark itself.¹⁶

The museum collections contained artifacts from a number of sites in Turkey, mostly in the Izmir province or nearby in the westernmost part of the country, including Pergamum, Ephesus, Sardis, and Miletus – all multi-period archaeological sites with artifacts dating predominantly to the Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman eras. The desire by the Izmirli officials to gather and display the remnants of the Roman and Hellenic ruins in the Aegean region provided a challenge to the larger archaeological discourse that circulated in the republic during the 1920s and 1930s. The insistence of these leaders in showing the classical collections challenges the typical narrative of Turkish officials' commitment to the museumization and exhibition of objects produced in sites not linked to Hellenic civilization. The move suggests that those who lived in the Izmir area did not subscribe totally to a national understanding about archaeology and the past; they claimed ownership of the archaeological finds of the Aegean

¹⁴ Reşat Kasaba, "Izmir 1922: A Port City Unravels," in *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. Leyla Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 207.

¹⁵ Muammer Tansu, "1936 İzmir Fuarı" [The 1936 Izmir Fair], *Arkitekt* 70–71 (1936): 283.

¹⁶ Hakkı Gültekin, *Guide to the Museum in Kültürpark* (Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1965), 2.

that were linked to Hellenic cultures regardless of complicated questions about their origins. Furthermore, the eventual exhibition of these finds at the Izmir International Fair demonstrates the ways in which city officials claimed the right to expose visitors to the Izmirli understanding of heritage, using the museum and the fair as a stage to trumpet the values of local – not merely national – history.

Istanbul: Archaeological Monumentality in the Imperial Capital

The transformation of Istanbul after the establishment of the republic occurred in a context much different than in Izmir, where the 1922 fire allowed city officials to build much of the city entirely anew. While the 1920s saw intense effort by both the municipality and the national government to rebuild Izmir, the same period in Istanbul brought neglect as the nation's attention moved from the old Ottoman capital to Ankara, the new, modern capital under construction in the heartland of Anatolia.¹⁷

By the early 1930s, however, the urban plans for Ankara were in place and the government turned its attention to Istanbul, which remained the largest city in the republic. In 1933, the government announced an international design competition, from which they would select the plan for re-making the twentieth-century city.¹⁸ They invited three architects to join the competition, including Henri Prost. Prost had experience in the urban structure of Istanbul, having first visited the city in 1904 to study its Byzantine architecture. Besides his role as an adviser to the Danger brothers during the completion of their Izmir plan in 1924, Prost was well known for his planning work in the cities of French-controlled Morocco as well as in Paris, Lyon, Tunis, and Algiers.¹⁹ Although Prost declined the invitation to the competition in 1933, he eventually signed on to the project in 1936 at the bequest of the mayor-governor of Istanbul, with the support of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk after Istanbul and national officials were unhappy with the proposals that they received from other architects, including Le Corbusier and the German architect Martin Wagner.²⁰

¹⁷ Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁹ Pierre Pinon, "Henri Prost: From Paris to Rome to Morocco to Istanbul," in *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936–1951)*, ed. F. Cana Bilsel, Pierre Pinon (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 38.

²⁰ F. Cana Bilsel, "Remodeling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: The Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul," 98; Murat Gül and

The main goal of Prost's work in Istanbul was to integrate modern transportation networks, for he believed the automobile to be the future mode of transportation in all cities. In addition, he was dedicated to the creation of *espaces libres*, a category of open spaces that, for Prost, encompassed not only parks but also "promenades, esplanades, panoramic terraces, boulevards, as well as sports areas," writes Cana Bilsel.²¹ Accordingly, Prost's plan for Istanbul called for the creation of two large new greenbelt parks, one on the historical peninsula and the other across the Golden Horn, stretching up from Dolmabahçe and extending along the shore of the Bosphorus. Surrounding these park spaces and connecting every part of the city would be large roadways which would skirt the edge of the city and also provide a central axis for travel within the urban framework. Axes of travel would meet at central squares, like Taksim Meydanı, which would also form *espaces libres* for the people of Istanbul.²²

At the same time as he planned to open up new spaces, however, Prost also thought of his plans for the city as a way to modernize the city while conserving its landscape. In 1947, Prost spoke of his work in Istanbul during a conference at the Institut de France, stating that his goal in planning the city was:

to realize the main axes of circulation without harming the commercial and industrial development, without stopping the construction of new settlements is an imperious economic and social necessity; however to conserve and PROTECT the INCOMPARABLE LANDSCAPE, dominated by glorious EDIFICES, is another necessity as imperious as the former.²³ [emphasis in original]

In order to "protect the incomparable landscape," Prost planned for a large, public space in the form of an archaeological park which would occupy much of the green space that he planned on the side of the historical peninsula, spreading from the Topkapı Palace to the Küçük Aya Sofya. At its center would be the Hagia Sophia and the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, and it would also contain the Hippodrome, along with Ottoman mosques and *medreses* [Islamic schools].

Central to Prost's vision was the preservation of the city's Byzantine archaeological sites, as an archaeological park would allow for the continued

Richard Lamb, "Urban Planning in Istanbul in the Early Republican Period," *Architectural Theory Review* 9, no. 1 (2004): 64.

²¹ F. Cana Bilsel, "Espaces Libres: Parks, Promenades, Public Squares..." in *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City*, 38.

²² Ibid.

²³ Prost, quoted in Bilsel, "Remodelling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era," 105.

excavation and presentation of the sites that lay beneath the city as it existed in the twentieth century. The possibility of an archaeological park was exciting to foreign archaeologists, who saw it as a chance to examine sites without the typically inevitable encroachment by modern urbanity. “Never since Constantinople was dedicated by Constantine the Great ‘to the service of Christ’ in 330 AD has there been presented so vast and important an opportunity for archaeological study of this almost untapped field, the historic and cultural resources of which are incalculable,” wrote Thomas Whittemore – the American Byzantine archaeologist who oversaw the 1931 restoration of the Hagia Sophia’s Byzantine mosaics which had been plastered over in 1453 after the Ottoman conquest – in *Archaeology*, the magazine of the Archaeological Institute of America.²⁴

But Prost’s plan for the Archaeological Park certainly had its critics. Istanbul architects, including Aron Angel and Sedat Çetintaş, accused him of attempting to erase the Ottoman past in his privileging of the Byzantine monuments of the city.²⁵ And certainly, Prost cannot be said to have had a general regard for preservation; his planning vision included large-scale demolitions of existing streets, homes, and businesses in order to construct the massive road networks and new spaces – including “cleaned-up” public squares, a designated industrial zone along the Marmara, and a large feature like an Olympic stadium and park – that would define his vision of the modern city.²⁶ “Only the monuments, mosques, *medrasas*, and *hamams* [Turkish baths] were considered historic on the peninsula,” Pierre Pinon observes. For Prost, the ultimate goal was to remove the city’s large monuments from the cluttering urban context, allowing them to be beheld in their full splendor in concert only with other great monuments. Cana Bilsel suggests that Prost’s plans for the conservation of monuments were, in some ways, successful. During the 1930s, Atatürk authorized the clearing of buildings in Ankara to allow for the excavation of the Temple of Augustus to celebrate the 2000th anniversary of the emperor, allowing for the Roman leader to be embraced in Anatolia. In Istanbul, a museum was eventually created to show the in situ remnants excavated from the Byzantine palace.²⁷ However, Bilsel suggests that perhaps the most successful measure that came of Prost’s preservation attempts

²⁴ Thomas Whittemore, “The Archaeological Park in Istanbul,” *Archaeology* 1, no. 4 (1948): 203.

²⁵ Nur Altınyıldız, “The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation,” *Muğarnas* 24 (2007): 292.

²⁶ Murat Gül *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul*, 101–103.

²⁷ Bilsel, “Remodelling the Capital in the Early Republican Era,” 109.

was the forty-meter elevation limit that he had put in place for buildings on the historical peninsula, which achieved his goal of maintaining Istanbul's skyline.²⁸

Much of Prost's vision for Istanbul and its archaeological park, however, never came to fruition. By the middle of the twentieth century, the ascension of Adnan Menderes and the Demokrat Partisi brought with it a re-privileging of the Ottoman and Islamic spaces within the city. Accompanying this process were governmental attempts to engage the public in its narrative through public celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul in 1953 and renewed emphasis in the press on the art and architecture of the Ottoman period, especially mosques.²⁹ Still, even in this period, the Istanbul Archaeological Museums conducted an excavation of the Hippodrome area during 1950 and 1951, led by the museum director, Rüstem Duyuran. Photographs show Duyuran posing with Aziz Ogan of the Archaeological Museum of Izmir and other shots show the recently uncovered seats, staircases, and foundations of the Byzantine-era structure.³⁰ This shows a continuation of the sense of collective memory that Prost hoped to bring forth with his archeological park, an understanding of the history of Istanbul as belonging "to all humanity, rather than to one nation or another."³¹

It is important to recognize that the language of archaeological sites as belonging "to all humanity" is rhetoric especially useful when describing a city like Istanbul, where planners and officials were aware of the politics that come with appealing to an international audience instead of just those living within the boundaries of the nation-state. Thus, the removal of archaeological sites from the urban framework and their elevation to the status of monuments can be read as an attempt to create a common sense of shared heritage that superseded nationalist appeals. This perspective was perhaps natural to a planner like Henri

²⁸ F. Cana Bilsel, "Henri Prost'un İstanbul Planlaması (1936–1951): Nazım Planlar ve Kentsel Operasyonlarla Kentin Yapısal Dönüşümü" [Henri Prost's city plans for Istanbul (1936–1951): Master plans and the city's structural transformation through city operations], in *İmparatorluk Başkentinden Cumhuriyet'in Modern Kentine: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Planlaması (1936–1951)* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010),

²⁹ Ipek Yada Akpınar, "İstanbul Modern Bir Pay-ı Taht: Prost Planı Çerçevesinde Menderes'in İcraatı" [The making of a modern Pay-ı Taht in Istanbul: Menderes's execution of Prost's plan], in *İmparatorluk Başkentinden Cumhuriyet'in Modern Kentine: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Planlaması (1936–1951)* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 182.

³⁰ "Select Photographs of Archaeological Work in the Hippodrome from the Encümen Archive of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums," in *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: İstanbul'un Tarih Sabnesi*, ed. Brigitte Pirakis (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2010), 351.

³¹ Bilsel, "Remodelling the Capital in the Early Republican Era," 109.

Prost, as a foreigner for whom the city was an adopted home, until Adnan Menderes dismissed him from office.

The planning of Istanbul's Archaeological Park and its ultimate failure in practice demonstrate the end result of a project in which many actors each possessed his own ideas about the image that should be projected of an imperial capital that served as the home of three empires before it became a national city. The case of Izmir, however, shows the ways in which a small group of committed officials and planners could bring to light a local past, even at the expense of national history. Each case is quite different, but they are similar in one respect; neither Izmir nor Istanbul quite fits into the accounts in contemporary scholarship on archaeology and preservation in the early republic which privilege an overarching "national narrative" without considering the points of discord and negotiation in the archaeological record and the urban sphere. Ultimately, as much as the creation of the Turkish Republic involved top-down attempts to excise much of the past in order to create and reinforce the ideological boundaries of the nation-state, the nationalizing program did not pass without instances of contestation by local leadership – and, perhaps most of all, by the landscape itself.

FILMMAKING AND NATION BUILDING: DISCOURSES OF 'DANISHNESS' IN THE STATE-INITIATED PRODUCTION OF SHORT FILMS IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR ERA¹

Frederik Ørskov 

According to most Danish historians, the German occupation during the Second World War had a limited impact on the development of Danish society – so limited that by the end of the war the Danish people (in the words of historian Henning Poulsen) “by and large picked up ... where it left off at the war’s beginning.”² Even though this statement holds some immediate truth in terms of economic and political developments, it disregards the strong impact the war had on a cultural and mental level. Even if the disruptions caused by the occupation in material and political terms were moderate in Danish society, this is probably not how the population living through the occupation construed them subjectively.³

Taking such considerations of cultural and mental history into account, this article suggests a new “discourse of Danishness” promoted by the Danish state by discussing representations of the self (“us”) and alien (“them”) in five state-commissioned short films that were screened in the period from 1945 to 1951. The five films almost all deal with topics related to the Second World War, in which demarcations of insiders and outsiders are readily visible.⁴ *Betal din skat*

¹ This article is a condensed version of my BA thesis: Frederik Ørskov, “Danskhedsdiskurser i den nære efterkrigstids statslige kortfilmsproduktion” [Discourses of Danishness in the State-Initiated Production of Short Films in the Immediate Post-War Era] (BA thesis, University of Southern Denmark, 2014). I am grateful to the conference organizers, fellow participants, and Oksana Sarkisova, whose feedback has been helpful in turning the conference paper into an article. I am also thankful for the indispensable help and support I have received from my thesis supervisor, Nils-Arne Sørensen.

² Henning Poulsen. “Fra krig til krig 1914-1945, kapitel 21: 2. verdenskrig” [From War to War 1914-1945, chapter 21: World War II], *Danmarks historie – i grundtræk* [Denmark’s History – In Outline], ed. Steen Busck and Henning Poulsen (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2000), 312–338. Quote: 312. This and subsequent translations are mine.

³ Supported by a Gallup poll, a major Danish newspaper concluded immediately after the war that: “It is beyond doubt that the bitter experiences of the war years have created a stronger unity between us Danes.” Quoted from Claus Bundgård Christensen, Niels Bo Poulsen and Peter Scharff Smith, “The Danish Volunteers in the Waffen SS,” in *Denmark and the Holocaust*, ed. Mette Bastholm and Steven L. B. Jensen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2003).

⁴ Theodor Christensen, dir., *Alle mine skibe* [All my Ships] (Minerva Film, 1951), accessed January 13, 2016, <http://filmcentralen.dk//alle/film/alle-mine-skibe>; Theodor Christensen,

med glæde [Pay Your Taxes Happily], a farcical comedy, is the only film making no explicit reference to the war. This is not surprising, however, as it was produced during the occupation and (coincidentally) premiered shortly after the liberation of Denmark. Still, the film made clear distinctions between members of the community and those outside of it.

Fremtidens borgere [Citizens of the future] premiered the following year. Directed by Theodor Christensen, who has justifiably been described as the Grand Old Man of Danish documentary films, it outlined visions for the future by engaging the legacies of the war.⁵ Another film from 1946, *Livsfare – Miner!* [Danger – Mines!], as well as *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* [German Refugees in Denmark], produced in 1949, engaged two major legacies of the war. In doing so, they made heavy use of representations portraying the Germans as alien to the Danish self-image.

Finally, *Alle mine skibe* [All My Ships], directed by Christensen as well, was produced in 1951 and featured the well-known actors Bodil Ipsen and Poul Reichard, who were leading figures in the film industry at the time, both having won the most prestigious award in Danish cinema, the *Bodil*, a few years prior to the release of the film. *Alle mine skibe* was partly paid for by Marshall-aid funding and it is thus striking that it is heavily invested in a unifying portrayal of the occupation experience as a catalyst for the peacetime build-up. Taken as a whole, the films thus make up a body of work in which the Danish state's ambitious intentions of shaping the discourse on the meaning of "Danishness" can be traced.

The discourse, it is argued, was born out of the experience of the occupation and placed strong faith in democracy as well as a unified national sense of community accentuated by powerful us/them oppositions. This article proposes

dir., *Fremtidens borgere* [The citizens of the future] (Minerva Film, 1946), accessed on January 13, 2016, <http://filmcentralen.dk//alle/film/fremtidens-borgere>; Ole Palsbo, dir., *Livsfare – Miner!* [Danger of death – Mines!] (Nordisk Films Kompagni, 1946), accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/film/da/28479.aspx?id=28479>; Ole Berggren, dir., *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* [German refugees in Denmark] (Palladium, 1949), accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/film/da/1803.aspx?id=1803>; and Hagen Hasselbech, dir., *Betal din skat med glæde* [Pay your taxes happily] (Minerva Film, 1945), accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/film/da/29737.aspx?id=29737>.

⁵ On Christensen see, among others, Lars-Martin Sørensen (2014): "Theodor Christensen – pioner, polemiker, propagandist" [Theodor Christensen – pioneer, polemicist, propagandist], *Kosmorama* 253. Online at <http://www.kosmorama.org/Artikler/Theodor-Christensen.aspx>.

that this nation-unifying discourse was an important factor in the subsequent development of the Danish welfare state, thus showing the relevance of the experience of the occupation in Danish social and political history.

The Media Perspective: Production, Screening, and Reception

Of the five films discussed in this article, the Ministerial Film Committee commissioned all but one.⁶ Appointed in 1944, the Ministerial Film Committee served as an inter-ministerial coordinating organ for the production of promotional short films and executed film projects commissioned by various ministries.⁷ The committee had scripts written and supervised the film production (which it outsourced to private film companies), and handled the distribution of the films.

When distributed, each short film was tied to one particular feature film. In this way, the short films were screened in cinemas throughout the country as preludes to feature films capable of attracting an audience. As is often the case when using films as historical sources, however, it is almost impossible to determine their impact on audiences. Except for sporadic (mostly positive) newspaper reviews, no available material hints at how the ordinary cinemagoer thought of and reacted to the state-produced short films. Therefore, it will have to suffice to note that the films were seen by a significant number of people who were potentially influenced by them (whether consciously or unconsciously), and that the state-commissioned films at the very least echo values the state intended to promote as well as narratives which the filmmakers considered capable of being accepted by the population.

Towards a Discursive Film Analysis

Recent years have seen a rise in studies focused on films' utility in state communication.⁸ This might be seen as the latest turn in a longer development

⁶ *Fremtidens borgere* was commissioned by another state-financed organ, *Dansk Kulturfilm*, but ultimately financed by the Ministry of Education.

⁷ A predecessor of the committee was formed in 1941. Carl Nørrested and Christian Alsted, *Kortfilmen og staten* [The short film and the state] (Copenhagen: Forlaget Eventus, 1987), 178–189.

⁸ E.g., Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau, ed. *Films that Work* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson, ed. *Useful Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); on Danish film, see Claire Thomsen, "Education, Enlightenment, and General Propaganda' Dansk Kulturfilm and Carl Th.

towards increased approval of films' value in historical research. This long-term development gained momentum in the late seventies, as seen in the foundation of the influential IAMHIST in 1977, the first of an ongoing series of biennial conferences on media and history.⁹ Widening the perspective, letting documentaries and politically motivated films into the limelight, approaches dealing with film and history should acknowledge the abilities of film analysis to identify prevailing perceptions and ideas among contemporaries as well as the historically constituted discursive fields drawing the boundaries within which film creators have worked. Taking this point of departure, the methodological approach of this paper can be seen as a discursive narrative analysis in which the essential narratives of films are described while being contextualized discursively. In the narrative analysis, emphasis is placed on the attribution of values, constructions of "groupness,"¹⁰ and how these are substantiated through spoken as well as visual means. The discursive analysis is mainly marked by a conceptual focus with a Koselleckian inspiration; the analysis is structured around concepts and counter-concepts, claiming the existence of discursive semantic fields consisting of key concepts with appertaining negations, with those negations in turn being separately linked to a number of associative parallel concepts.¹¹

To be specific, the analytical framework of this paper is built on the "self-images" and "images of the enemy" in the films studied and the concepts attached to those images. The self-images reflect the group-self-identifications developed in the immediate post-war period, just as they partly define the "discourse of Danishness" that was the basis for, and in part created by, the films. Accordingly, self-images are the key analytical source of this paper; they are generally implicit, however, and thus more difficult to decode than their counter-concept, images of the enemy. Consequently, the images of the enemy serve as a convenient analytical tool. They generally take two forms. In the first, the enemy constitutes

Dreyer's short films." Forthcoming in *The Companion to Nordic Cinema*, ed. Mette Hjort and Ursula Lindqvist (Oxford: Blackwell, 2016). On film as a historical source in general, see among others Jeffrey Richards, "Film as an Historical Source," in *The Contemporary History Handbook*, ed. Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton, and Anthony Seldon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 394–408.

⁹ See <http://iamhist.org/>.

¹⁰ "Groupness" is defined as "the sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group" in an influential essay by Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper. See Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47. Quote: 20.

¹¹ Reinhart Koselleck, "Zur historisch-politischen Semantik asymmetrischer Gegenbegriffe," in *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1979).

a threat of destruction; in the second, the enemy is seen as a negation of the self-image. The negation of the self-image, particularly, is important for the aim of this article since it allows for a sharper drawing of the self-image through its opposition. Additionally, the image of the enemy in itself is, according to Koselleck, important in shaping group identification, since groups are constituted through seeing difference from outsiders.¹²

In the following discussion of these five state-sponsored short-films from the immediate post-war epoch, the empowerment of a strong and collective national self-understanding is identified in narratives of inclusion and exclusion, renderings of the self and alien, and historical selectivity, all of which underpin the nation-state. They are collected in three thematic clusters: Treatment of the occupation years, treatment of peacetime, and, more generally, the attribution of values in society. Due to a focus on state intention and discursive strategies, the narrative aspects of the films will be given priority over their visual language in this article, although the latter aspect does deserve more attention than has been possible within the scope of this paper.

“The Ridiculous Little Country Wanted to Fight:” A Tale of Occupation

The treatment of the occupation years in this sample of films evokes clear-cut enemy images, of which the German occupation force is the most prominent. The movie *Alle mine skibe* [All my Ships] from 1951 serves as a striking example, in which one of the most beloved Danish national symbols, the statue of the Little Mermaid, gives her account of the dark times when “the strangers went ashore” and “trampled past” her – “straight into Denmark.”¹³ The notion of dark times is supported visually when the hitherto light shades are darkened, when black silhouettes of fighter jets fill the gray sky, and when shadowy soldiers who are barely distinguishable from the surrounding shadows march to the sound of boots thudding. Going on, the Little Mermaid recalls how “all became silent in the little country, ... as the strangers called it.” The German enemy image is explicitly stated: German strangers violated Denmark, the innocent and defenseless little country.

Later, at a shipyard nearby, welder Helge Jensen shares his thoughts as they wander back to the “old days and the war,” where he, a resistance fighter and saboteur, was unwilling to “work for the Nazis.”¹⁴ It is worth noting that it is the

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *Alle mine skibe*, 4:45.

¹⁴ *Alle mine skibe*, 5:20.

Nazis and not the Germans as an entity that constitute the film's enemy image. This might convincingly be interpreted as an opportunity to incorporate groups of Danes who were excluded from the Danish community into the enemy image; collaborationists, *tyskerpiger* [tarts], informants, and Danish Nazis fitted more smoothly into the enemy image of a Danes-vs-Nazis-narrative than a Danes-vs-Germans-narrative. Thus, the Danish self-image was not just defined against the foreign power, but also against parts of the Danish populace who, through their doings during the war, were no longer qualified to be part of the Danish people. In this way, the film contains both a portrayal of a concrete enemy and a wider and more encompassing antithesis of the self-image of the Danish people.

When telling her tale of the occupation experience, the Little Mermaid exclaims that: "The ridiculous little country wanted to fight!" This interpretation prevails throughout the film.¹⁵ Not only Helge Jensen but also his work-mates, and with them Danish workers in general, are portrayed as resistance fighters – if not directly through involvement in sabotage, then at the very least in showing reluctance to working for the occupying power. All this is conveyed in rapid cuts, in which the worker and the national symbol, the Little Mermaid, are eloquently juxtaposed, and thus connected in a collectivity based on shared national resistance.

In yet another thoughtful moment, welder Jensen explains how "we learned something back then: To stick together, solidarity, with people from other countries as well."¹⁶ Clearly, solidarity was not felt with the Germans but with their antagonists. It is also clear from Jensen's line of thought, however, that stronger ties were only secondarily bound to people from other countries during the occupation years. Primarily, what was strengthened was intra-national solidarity, as the narrative of *Alle mine skibe* evokes a powerful image of the Germans as enemies of the "threat of destruction" type. A vivid self-image is created against this, mainly based on a collective that showed strength when encountering a destructive threat.

"The Meaning of Peace:" Building upon the War

"The Germans deployed a million and a half landmines in Danish territory – they were made to remove them themselves!"¹⁷ The revanchism is manifest in the soundtrack on *Livsfare – miner!* [Danger – Mines!], alluding to the clearing work following the deployment of mines on land and at sea during the Second

¹⁵ *Alle mine skibe*, 5:32.

¹⁶ *Alle mine skibe*, 8:50.

¹⁷ *Livsfare – Miner!*, 6:45.

World War. The picture is evident in 1946: unsurprisingly, the war is still very present in memory and the Germans stand out as the explicit enemy.

A large number of German refugees being interned in large camps in Denmark was another problem the post-war era inherited from the war. The film *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* [German Refugees in Denmark] from 1949 informs retrospectively about the functions and inhabitants of the camps (Fig. 1).¹⁸ The film was produced by the Refugee Administration in cooperation with the Ministerial Film Committee; its primary intention seems two-pronged: A seal of approval for the work of the administration on the one hand, and a rebuttal of criticism voiced about the harsh treatment of the refugees on the other.¹⁹ In some ways, the film breaks with the general rendering of the German enemy by conveying the harsh fates of some German refugees and by showing the Germans in the internment camps as human beings trying to make each day relatively livable and normal. At the same time, the film clearly does not escape the “us-vs-them” conception which probably characterized the perception of the audience and which the Refugee Administration and the Ministerial Film Committee sought to exploit. Exemplifying this, the film concedes that the refugees were a hindrance to the Danes’ possibility of returning to everyday life after the war because the refugees “took up so many schools, factories and other buildings that were vital for normal life in Denmark.”²⁰

Warning! Any relations with German refugees are forbidden. It is forbidden to stand still or move back and forth along the fence or in its immediate proximity. Violation entails criminal liability. The Police.

Fig. 1. A sign near a refugee camp shown in Tyske Flygtninge i Danmark [German Refugee's in Denmark] from 1949. The point is made of not perceiving the refugees as part of Danish society.

¹⁸ *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark*.

¹⁹ Lars-Martin Sørensen, *Dansk film under Nazismen* [Danish film during Nazism] (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2014), 444.

²⁰ *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* 05:00.

In the same manner, it was necessary to modify the Nazism image if helping the refugees was to be justified. This was done by emphasizing that not all of the refugees were Nazis and that quite a few had been hit harder by fate than they deserved.²¹ However, nothing is done to conceal the notion that the Germans were not wanted as a permanent part of Danish society. They are considered an alien community,²² and “the refugee problem as a whole,” it is stated, “costs us dearly.”²³ A significant us/them separation can be identified. Furthermore, in the film it is stated that the German refugees gained a tolerable life, even one based on democratic and legal principles.²⁴ The overall Danish-German narrative in the dissemination of the war-related problems of the post-war period seems to be that the enemy, who had formerly been superior and aggressive, has finally been brought to his knees and that the formerly inferior and subjugated country, showing magnanimity, mercy, and a solid belief in democratic principles, gets its just deserts after all.

Collective values and the experience of occupation were seen as a foundation on which Danish peacetime society should be built. This is exemplified in *Alle mine skibe*, in which welder Jensen, during his lunch break, thoughtful as always, philosophizes on the war’s impact on post-war society: “We learned something, to understand it: ... the meaning of peace, the meaning of building ships. I understand it better, all this which they are talking about: Cooperation.”²⁵ The next frame shows the welding hall where sparks fly off the metal and cause flashes of light in the darkness. The wartime industrial reorganization sketched afterward constitutes such a flash of light in a dark period; Helge Jensen is quickly educated as a welder and the welding halls are reorganized and rebuilt; in short, they are made “ready for peace.”²⁶ Employers and employees are portrayed as more focused on the work to be done after the war than the challenges (and opportunities) of the occupation. Overall, and with the occupation experience as the point of departure, Denmark is portrayed as an industrious country, leading the way when it comes to work quality and technology. Relying on cooperation and education, the country is reorganized and ready for a bright future in the international community.

²¹ *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* 10:52.

²² *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* 03:26.

²³ *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* 37:20.

²⁴ *Tyske flygtninge i Danmark* 19:50–21:50.

²⁵ *Alle mine skibe* 6:00.

²⁶ *Alle mine skibe* 6:30.

“Pay your Taxes Happily:” Values and More(s)

Only nine days after the liberation of Denmark, the film *Betal din skat med glæde* [Pay your taxes happily] premiered.²⁷ Due to the timing of the production, the occupation is not a theme in the plot, just as the Germans are not explicitly used as an image of the enemy. Instead, participation in the community is the main subject. The main character, Adolf Middelmand [Average-man], a parasitic tax-evader, is the film’s villain. He is dubbed a disgusting, repulsive crook and his poor morality brings much adversity upon himself and his family. Righteous tax-paying citizens chase him everywhere, unwilling to put up with the fact that “he wants to cheat himself into what is paid for by the rest of us.”²⁸

The film’s image of the enemy is the individual who is unwilling to contribute to the community, who does not appreciate the achievements of the collective, and who thus does not deserve to enjoy the collective rights. The film’s message comes through by the implicit premise that it is worth being part of the collective. With terms borrowed from argument analysis, the collective as a positive value is the warrant giving trenchancy to the film’s presentation that by evading tax payment one is removed from the community, thus supporting the claim that one should pay one’s taxes happily.²⁹ If this is not done, one is not just a tax evader and a criminal; one is also placed outside the community – a most undesirable position indeed. This is not explicated in the film; instead it is a self-evident point, and thus presumably a widespread stance in the population.

As Middelmand fills his in tax return correctly at the end of the film, he is welcomed once again as part of the community (*Fig. 2*). This is clearly seen as being in the best interests of everyone – himself included.³⁰ The film supports the notion that for purely egoistic reasons each individual is best off paying taxes, if not happily, then at least in order not to be alone in bearing the burdens of everyday life. The state is seen as a valuable and indispensable helper of the individual. This seems to touch upon core values of the social democratic post-war project in Denmark.³¹

²⁷ *Betal din skat med glæde*.

²⁸ *Betal din skat med glæde* 02:05.

²⁹ For the seminal work see Stephen Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³⁰ *Betal din skat med glæde* 08:30.

³¹ Among others, see Klaus Petersen, “Programmeret til velfærd? Om ideologi og velfærdspolitik i socialdemokratiske partiprogrammer efter 1945 [Programmed for welfare? On ideology and welfare policy in Social Democratic Party programs after 1945],” *Arbejderhistorie* 28 (2001): 23–51, e.g., page 28, where a party program from 1961



*Fig. 2. In *Betal din skat med glæde* [Pay your Taxes Happily] from 1945, the tax-evader is welcomed back into society upon filling his tax return correctly. The parade is not without ambivalence however, as the banner spells out “Tax-evader.” Still image from the film.*

The film *Fremtidens borgere* [Citizens of the future] follows a law in the process from committee to implementation.³² The film’s chronological starting point is the establishment of a youth committee in 1939 followed by a presentation of the work done by the committee, which ultimately results in a new youth education program. In the retroactive portrayal of the committee’s work, distinct elements of a Nazi enemy image feature prominently. According to the film, one primary focal point in the discussions of the committee was how to make the

is quoted; for another manifestation of such values, see a 1951 feature film sponsored by the Social Democratic party. Alicia O’Fredericks and Robert Saaskin, dir., *Frihed forpligter* [Freedom commits] (ASA, Financing: Socialdemokratisk Forbund, 1951), accessed on January 13, 2016, <http://www.arbejdermuseet.dk/images/filmklip/frihedforpligter.flv>.

³² *Fremtidens borgere*.

youth resistant to “the tendency from the south ... the tendency which seeks to conform, which sees the use of the society in that the individual becomes an echo of the authority, of the great voice of the leader.”³³ Visually, this statement accompanies the committee member – a folk high school principal – who takes this stance, partly by recordings of soldiers and *Hitler-jugend* marching in step, by great uniformed masses and groups giving Nazi salutes, as well as by Hitler and other authoritarian-looking Nazis using grandiloquent rhetoric. This constitutes an enemy image built upon authoritarian values such as discipline and homogeneity, as well as an un-free and anti-individualistic society. These are the values against which the youth education program should serve as a cultural safeguard. Thus, the enemy image acts not only as a threat but equally as a catalyst for response.

On a general level, the film’s aim is forward-looking. The creation of the citizens of the future takes center stage. The youth school presented in the film is based upon values from the Danish folk high schools; it is supposed to attribute cultural and spiritual content to the lives of young people and make them into individual persons. Such persons, in this way of thinking, are an essential democratic foundation.³⁴ Values such as individualism, freedom, democracy, personality, self-dependence and citizenship are contrasted with the totalitarian “tendency from the south.” Furthermore, they are rendered as Danish values to be passed on to younger generations so that they can frame the society of the future in this spirit.

A “Discourse of Danishness”?

What did the “Danishness discourse” of the post-war years look like? It was based on faith in the collective supported by the dominant us/them oppositions rooted in the experience of the occupation, a swearing by democracy, and a common memory of how the collective and a strong democratic culture led a unified Danish national community through the darkness of occupation. In this memory, through a combination of values, all defining the discourse, overcame the darkness. The values included humanism, mercy, individualism (inside the framework of the collective, and thus not to be confused with egotism), citizenship, and freedom. Starting from the welfare provisions already in place, pioneered in the early twentieth century and further developed and codified between the wars, these values, along with a vivid faith in a democratic community and a nation-uniting discourse, allowed for giant strides to be made towards the full-blown

³³ *Fremtidens borgere* 5:20.

³⁴ *Fremtidens borgere* 5:50–9:30.

Danish welfare state of the 1960s. To be sure, no direct causal connection can be traced between the films and this political achievement. Nonetheless, this article has shown the strong desire to define the national discourse upon which it would eventually be built, as well as the awareness of the capabilities of film for such purpose.

PART 2
Report on the Year



REPORT OF THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2014–2015

Daniel Ziemann

It is a great pleasure to look back and summarize some of the most important events and developments during the academic year 2014–2015. The department continued its successful path together with its students and friends from all over the world. Many prominent and important guests visited the department. Members of the department organized inspiring and interesting events, workshops, public lectures, and seminars on various late antique, medieval, and early modern topics. Some colleagues were successful in winning prestigious grants. The department responded to new challenges of the academic environment and aims at a continuous improvement of its research and teaching activities.

Departmental Strategy

The academic world is changing rapidly. In the field of the humanities, new MA and PhD programs have been established at European universities. More and more programs are offered, many of them with an interdisciplinary focus and many of them taught in English even outside English-speaking countries. Our department has to compete with departments of other universities in order to be able to attract excellent students. This challenge requires a constant adjustment of our programs in structure as well as content. The preconditions with which students arrive are changing as well as their expectations. The department responds to these challenges in many ways. Already during the previous academic year, we tried to adjust our degree titles to the needs of students as well as to the broad range of topics we offer. After having changed the two-year MA degree title of the joint program that we teach together with the Department of History to “Comparative History: Late Antique, Medieval and Renaissance Studies,” we worked on adjusting our remaining programs. On December 12, 2014, the CEU senate voted to change the one-year MA program (in Medieval Studies) to “One-Year MA in Late Antique, Medieval, and Early Modern Studies.” On November 27, 2015, the Senate approved a degree title change for the PhD program. It

will be called “PhD in Late Antique, Medieval, Early Modern Studies.” After the approval by the New York State Education Department, where our programs are accredited, both degree title changes will be put in place. Our degree titles will reflect the expertise of our department as well as the interest fields of our students in a better way than before. We hope that by using a broader degree title, the department will attract more students and increase the students’ chances of continuing their careers in academia as well as other areas. With the new degree titles, each of the students of our department will have a diploma that covers the topic of their own thesis and research, even if they are not considered to be a part of what is commonly understood by “medieval studies”. This applies especially to the broad range of topics in Late Antiquity, Ottoman studies, and the Early Modern period, which are very popular among our students.

The degree title change is not the only way the department responds to the developing academic environment. In 2014, the new MA program in Cultural Heritage started its first regular academic year with five enrolled students. The program covers various aspects from the broad field of humanities, social sciences, and environmental studies. Faculty and experts from various disciplines like archaeology, art history, anthropology, history, legal studies, and environmental studies are involved in teaching and supervision. In the twenty-first century, heritage has meaning on multiple levels served best by multidisciplinary approaches and methodologies. The Cultural Heritage Studies Program responds to the growing interest in questions of different forms of heritage within a regional as well as a global context.

The department is developing itself more and more into an umbrella unit that provides the necessary resources for all the research and teaching activities of our colleagues and students. Projects and research clusters are mainly organized by smaller units, centers like the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, the Cultural Heritage Program, and the Center for Religious Studies, to name just a few, or other units like the MECERN, the Medieval Central Europe Research Network that was founded in 2013. Other initiatives are organized by one or two colleagues or loosely organized groups. The department understands its role in providing intellectual and material resources and the necessary institutional background for a smooth operation of all these initiatives.

The Department of Medieval Studies has always supported a broad range of activities from colleagues and the various research programs, initiatives, and centers at CEU. Some of them have resulted in successful applications for university funds; others have succeeded in getting well-funded top grants from international institutions. The department is very proud of our Ottomanist, Tijana Krstić, who

won one of the highly prestigious European Research Council (ERC) grants as principal investigator with her project “The Fashioning of a Sunni Orthodoxy and the Entangled Histories of Confession-Building in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries” (OTTOCONFESSION; Project ID: 648498). The project will investigate the evolution of confessional discourses in the Ottoman Empire in both community-specific and entangled cross-communal perspectives between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries by focusing on the agents, strategies, textual genres, and the sites of confessionalization. We congratulate Tijana for her outstanding success and wish her and her co-researchers the very best for her project, which started in September 2015.

We also congratulate István Perczel, who is participating in another successful ERC grant called “Jews and Christians in the East: Strategies of Interaction between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean” (JEWSEAST) led by Alexandra Cuffel from Ruhr-University Bochum. The project analyzes Jews in Eastern Christian communities and Eastern Christian sources beyond the Byzantine context. The project started in October 2015.

Our University provided some funds for smaller projects within the framework of the CEU Humanities Initiative. One of these projects is the Medieval Radio, led by Tamás Kiss, Annabella Pál, Zsuzsanna Eke, Kyra Lyubyanovics, and Christopher Mielke. The Medieval Radio continued its successful program that attracts numerous followers from all over the world. I would like to take this opportunity to say thank you for all the donations to the department with which we support our Medieval Radio in addition to the limited university funds.

Another important project supported by the Humanities Initiative was the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN) that was founded in March 2014 with a large conference in Budapest. MECERN works as a platform for various activities including an essay competition on history textbooks and the creation of a research companion on Medieval Central Europe. We are happy that we could win Dr. Nada Zečević as managing editor of the research companion within the framework of MECERN. She manages all the various activities of the network, which includes biannual conferences, a platform for researchers on the region, and applications to various funding institutions.

The department pays special attention to developments in the field of digital humanities. A project on digital humanities led by Marcell Sebők was recently funded by the same Humanities Initiative. The project is a combination of laboratory projects and related teaching and research elements. Digital Humanities will become a focus point of the department in the future.

The department strengthened its existing international contacts and developed new ones. It intensified the collaboration with Beijing Normal University. Four colleagues from that university, professors Zhen Zhao 赵贞, Shudong Hou 侯树栋, Sheng Zhang 张升, and Xin Ning 宁欣 visited CEU from November 10 to November 12, 2014. On November 10, 2014, a conference organized by Alice Choyke was held on “Perspectives on Medieval Social Dynamics and Contacts (Real and Imagined) in China and the West.” I myself had the pleasure of giving two lectures at Beijing Normal University on April 7 and 8, 2015, entitled “A World in Transition. Early Medieval Ethnogenesis Processes in Southeast Europe (AD 500–800)” and “Early Medieval Rulership – Debates and Developments in Modern Historiography.”

The academic year 2014–2015 was the last one at CEU for one of our Byzantinists, Niels Gaul, who has left CEU to take up the inaugural A. G. Leventis Chair in Byzantine studies at the University of Edinburgh. The department received the news with sadness and joy; sadness about losing a great scholar and close friend, joy about him receiving one of the top chairs in Byzantine studies worldwide. There is no room to mention all the merits and the incomparable contribution to our Department by Niels Gaul. He was the mastermind behind a successful implementation of structural improvements for our programs some years ago. He revived and developed the Center for Hellenic Traditions and led the transformation process to the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. Under his leadership the center became a highly acknowledged meeting point for outstanding scholarship inside and outside CEU. Together with other colleagues, he developed Byzantine studies at the Department of Medieval Studies to an academic cornerstone, widely known for excellent research, teaching, and supervision. He was an outstanding supervisor for his students, many of whom have succeeded in being awarded prestigious scholarships or academic positions all over the world. He was a marvelous colleague and he will remain a dear friend. We wish him all the best for his new position and we are looking forward to future cooperation with the University of Edinburgh.

During the current academic year, we conducted a job search for the vacant position in Byzantine studies. More detailed information about the job search will be presented in the next volume of the Annual. We are pleased that after a very competitive procedure, we won Floris Bernard from the University of Ghent for the position of assistant professor of Byzantine studies. Floris joined our department in March 2016. We would like to give him a very warm welcome and wish him all the best. We are very much looking forward to working with him. *Hartelijke welkom Floris!*

Our Programs

Our four programs, the PhD program in Medieval Studies, the two-year MA program in Comparative History, the one-year MA program in Medieval Studies, and the cross-departmental two-year MA program in Cultural Heritage continued their success story. Once again they attracted students from all over the world; applicants came from twenty different countries. We were happy to have many successful students from Hungary, and proud to see how many applications we received from countries like, e.g., Croatia and Turkey. Eleven students were accepted for the one-year MA program and also eleven for the two-year MA program; eight students from the two-year MA program continued their studies and headed into their second year.

In June 2015, twenty-two students successfully defended their MA theses. Students worked on a great variety of topics, such as cosmology and kabbalah in Late Medieval Jewish customs, the emergence of Armenian Gandz hymns, Jachia ibn Mehmed in the confessional diplomacy of the early seventeenth century, the plague of 1348 in Dalmatian and Italian narrative sources, the schedography of Nikephoros Basilakes, the political iconography of Frederick Barbarossa, the perception of horses in thirteenth-fourteenth-century China, the role of the high clergy of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia in the fourteenth century, episcopal authority in the Ostrogothic Kingdom, and many more.

Once again the department was happy to invite prominent scholars for the spring session. This year, financed by the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Johannes Hahn from the University of Muenster taught a course on “Religious Conflict in Late Antiquity (Fourth-Fifth Century AD): Between Coexistence and Violence.” Irene Bueno from the Università di Bologna entitled her course “Thinking about the Orient in Late Medieval Europe.” Julia Verkholtantsev from the University of Pennsylvania dealt with “Language in the Middle Ages,” and David Wallace from the same university chose “Literary Cultures of Medieval Europe” as his topic.

For this year’s MA defenses and exams in June 2015, we had five prominent chairs, Claudia Rapp from the University of Vienna, Marianna Birnbaum, professor emeritus from the University of California, Maria Craciun from the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj, Patrick Geary from the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and Benedek Láng from the Budapest University of Technology and Economics.

Eight students defended their PhD theses successfully during the Academic Year 2014–2015, Divna Manolova, Wojciech Kozłowski, Péter Levente Szőcs,

Teodora Artimon, Trpimir Vedriš, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Svetlana Tsonkova, and Marijana Vuković. The topics and abstracts of their theses are presented elsewhere in this volume. We congratulate our new doctors and wish them all the best in their future careers.

This year's field trip, May 26–31, 2015, organized by József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács, took us to Lower Austria and Bavaria. It was – once again – an outstanding experience to visit so many marvelous sights. We started our trip at Petronell-Carnuntum, visited its open-air museum, the partially reconstructed Roman town with an amphitheater, the gladiator school, and the Museum Carnuntinum before we headed to Vienna. Among its uncountable sights, we chose the churches of St. Michael and St. Stephen, the Schatzkammer with the imperial insignia, and the fortifications. We continued our way, stopping at Tulln (the St. Stephen Church and Nibelungenbrunnen), Krems (Institute for the Material Culture of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, the Dominican Monastery and the Gozzo House), and at the famous castle of Dürnstein before we arrived at Melk. On the next day, after visiting the famous abbey in Melk, we continued our way to Straubing, where we had a look at the St. Peter church and a Romanesque cemetery next to the St. James church. Our next stop was Regensburg, where we visited the St. Emmeram monastery, the Dominican church and cloister, St. Jakob's church, the cathedral of St. Peter, the Minoritenkirche with its town museum, and finally, the monastery of Prüfening. Our next stop was Nuremberg, where we went to the castle, the Dürer house, an exhibition on the destruction from the bombings of WWII, the churches of St. Sebald, the Frauenkirche, St. Lorenz, and finally the spectacular Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Our route continued with a visit to Landshut, where we had a look at the churches of St. Martin and the Holy Ghost. The Viking exhibition of Schallaburg was our last stop before we returned to Budapest.

Workshops and Conferences

The department was happy to host once again many interesting workshops and conferences that brought scholars from all over the world to CEU. All these conferences testify to the important role that our department plays in the academic environment.

From September 24 to October 24, 2014, our alumna Eszter Spät, together with Wassfi Haji Sulaiman (Iraq) and Ayad Ajaj Vian (Iraq), organized a photo exhibition on “Yezidis: A Religion Under Threat in Iraq,” covering the religion, festivals, and everyday life of Yezidis, as well as the aftermath of ISIS' recent attack on the community. On October 13, 2014, József Laszlovszky co-organized

a conference on “Coats of Arms and Families” in the honor of Szabolcs de Vajay at the Károlyi Mansion, Fehérvár, in which many students and colleagues from our department participated. On October 24–25, 2014, the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies organized an international workshop on “Christian Historiography between Empires (Fourth-Eighth Centuries).” It explored the construction of Christian historiographic traditions from the fourth to the eighth century, between the Roman and the Sasanian empires first and then between Byzantium and the Islamic caliphates. The conference was co-organized by our colleague István Perczel in the framework of a project called “Beyond the Fathers. In Search of New Authorities: The Development of New Literary and Artistic Genres in Late Antique and Early Islamic Eastern Mediterranean (Fifth-Eighth centuries).” This project is funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NOW) and other institutions. The workshop was the third in a series of four. The keynote lectures were given by Roger Scott from the University of Melbourne on “Malalas and the New Age of Justinian” and Robert Hoyland from New York University on “History Writing at the Time of Islam’s Beginnings”.

On November 28–30, the project “The Caucasus in Context, 300–1600” led by István Perczel and Niels Gaul that aimed at developing a new set of “model curricula” covering the thematic field of the Caucasus and Byzantium from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages, held its concluding workshop in Budapest. “Ideology, Knowledge, and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean” was the topic of the fourth International Graduate Conference of the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies on June 4–6, 2015. Judith Herrin (King’s College London), George Karamanolis (University of Vienna), and Helen Pfeifer (University of Cambridge) were this year’s keynote speakers. Judith Herrin spoke about “Mathematics, Theology, and Icons: Three Elements of Byzantine Diplomacy,” Helen Pfeifer dealt with “Continuity in an Islamic Society: The View from the Ottoman Salon,” and George Karamanolis presented “New Wine in Old Bottles: Christians on the Origins and the Nature of Language.”

From February 22 to February 24, the Visual Studies Platform led by György Szőnyi and others organized a methodology workshop to investigate best practices in the teaching of visual culture studies, to which several colleagues from our department contributed. On June 3, the department hosted a conference on “Piroska and the Pantokrator: Dynastic Memory, Healing and Salvation in Komnenian Constantinople.” The conference was dedicated to Piroska of Hungary, a daughter of King Ladislaus I of Hungary and Adelheid of Rheinfelden, who later adopted the name Eirene. She married the Byzantine Emperor John II

Komnenos in 1104. Together with her husband she founded the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. The conference was organized by our colleague Marianne Sáhgy together with the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies led by Volker Menze, the Hungarian National Museum, the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Lendület Research Group at the University of Debrecen. Robert Ousterhout from the University of Pennsylvania was the keynote speaker.

2015 was the 600th anniversary of the death of Jan Hus, who was burned at the stake during the council of Constance on July 6, 1415. Together with the Czech Centrum in Budapest, our colleague Katalin Szende organized a workshop and an exhibition at CEU. In the framework of the workshop, David Wallace from the University of Pennsylvania gave a lecture on “Nationalism and Literary Exchange at the Council of Constance, 1414–1418,” followed by a roundtable led by Gábor Klaniczay. The exhibition was opened on June 1, 2015 by H.E. Juraj Chmiel (ambassador of the Czech Republic), László Kontler (pro-rector for social sciences and humanities & Hungarian affairs, CEU), and Petra Mutlová (Masaryk University, Brno).

Our colleague Marcell Sebők participated in the organization of a conference on “Social Networks and Transfers of Religious Knowledge Across Borders” by Working Group 3 of COST Action IS 1301, which took place from June 8 to June 10, 2015. The conference focused on late medieval and early modern social networks, such as the mercantile and ecclesiastical networks, which promoted the production and exchange of vernacular texts.

On February 6, 2015 the Cultural Heritage program co-organized a conference on “New Digital Technologies and Hungarian Innovations in Heritage Management. Archaeology, Historical Landscape and Built Heritage.” The conference was accompanied by an exhibition of “Drones, Holo Film and 3D – Cutting-Edge Technologies in Archaeology and Preservation of Built Heritage.”

CEU has started to redevelop its campus, which includes the construction of a new building. Such an enterprise raises a number of questions related to the interplay between contemporary architecture and urban cultural heritage. The Cultural Heritage Studies Program organized a roundtable with the architects, Sheila O’Donnell and John Tuomey from the University College, Dublin, on May 14, 2015.

From May 22, 2015 to June 15, 2015, the Cultural Heritage Studies Program co-organized an exhibition about “Labor, Exhaustion and Success. Company Towns in the Donbas.” The exhibition was accompanied by a roundtable on May 22 that dealt with “Industrial Heritage: Historical Context, Social Challenges and

Management Opportunities.” On June 15, 2015, The Association of Cultural Heritage Managers (KÖME) together with the Cultural Heritage Studies Program at CEU organized a forum for those who “care about the Budapest World Heritage,” entitled “What have we got to do with the Budapest World Heritage?” In spring 2015, KÖME launched a long-term project to map the manifold stakeholders of the Budapest World Heritage site and to foster their involvement into the future management plan to the site. The forum followed a two-day workshop conducted by John Veverka (USA), one of the world pioneers in heritage interpretation.

The Department of Medieval Studies and the Cultural Heritage Studies Program increased the density of lectures, workshops and public events in June. The final event before the end of the term was a workshop co-organized by József Laszlovszky on: “The Medieval Heritage of the Pauline Order: Archaeology, Buildings, Landscapes,” taking place from June 18–20, 2015.

Colleagues from our department continued their activities during the summer. From June 29 to July 4, 2015, Marianne Sághy co-organized, together with Ralph W. Mathisen from the University of Illinois, Urbana, a summer university course entitled “Luminosus Limes: Geographical, Ethnic, Social and Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity.” It explored the dynamic transformation of classical frontiers between the second and the sixth century from a multidisciplinary perspective. Among the guests were: Sabine Huebner (Department of Ancient History, Basel University), Levente Nagy (Department of Archeology, University of Pécs), Ekaterina Nechaeva (American Academy of Rome), Galit Noga-Banai (History of Art, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Danuta Shanzer (Department of Classical Philology, Medieval and Neolatin Studies, Vienna University), Zsolt Visy (Department of Archaeology, University of Pécs), and Ádám Szabó from the Hungarian National Museum.

At the end of the academic year, on June 18, 2015, the department organized a book launch with publications by colleagues and alumni of our department from the last two years. At the book launch we presented twenty edited books and monographs, testifying to the strong research activities of our faculty and former students.

For the first time, the Department of Medieval Studies, together with the Department of History, organized an undergraduate conference. The topic of this conference, held from August 6 to August 9, was “Empire and Nation.” The interest in and response to this conference was overwhelming. More than 70 undergraduate students from more than thirty nations participated. Ten current students and several faculty members joined the organizing team. The conference

was organized in thematic panels, where students presented their projects in short papers. The periods covered ranged from antiquity to the present time; the geographical scope was global. We were very pleased by the excellent quality of the papers and the substantial and lively discussions. An eponymous selection of excellent papers is presented in this volume. Besides the panels, two keynote lectures were given, by Profs. Al Rieber and Tijana Krstić. In addition, a walking tour to historical memorials in Budapest was provided by Ágoston Berecz, as well as a cultural heritage tour of the CEU buildings by József Laszlovszky, and István Rév presented the Open Society Archives. One of the main ideas behind this event was to address students directly during their BA studies at other universities. We hope to see many of the participants as applicants to the various programs of our departments within the next years.

Public Lectures

I would like to mention some of the public lectures organized by the department, sometimes together with other units of CEU. One of the highlights of each academic year is the Natalie Zemon Davis lecture series, three lectures on one overarching topic delivered by prominent scholars. This year's lecturer was Prof. Dame Averil Cameron, DBE. The lectures took place on October 17, 20, and 22, the chosen topic was "Arguing It Out: Discussion in Byzantium." The first lecture dealt with "A New Social History?," followed by "Latins and Greeks," and the final lecture, "Jews and Muslims." CEU Press has published all three lectures as volume 8 of "The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lecture Series."

Our colleague Katalin Szende received a fellowship from the Institute for Advanced Study during this academic year. As a part of the institute's lecture series she presented "The Grid Plan: Choice or Force? Power and Town Planning in the Middle Ages in a Comparative Perspective" on November 26, 2014.

This year's series of the faculty research seminars, a series of lectures by guests and colleagues of the department, returned to topics more closely related to the research fields of the department. The series was opened on October 8, 2014, by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, who currently holds the Thomas F. X. and Theresa Mullarkey Chair in Literature at Fordham University, New York. The title of the lecture was "Multilingualism and Medieval England: Re-thinking Language-Learning and Literary History." On October 13, 2014, Alison Beach from Ohio State University gave a lecture on "The Dis-Orderly Women of the Hirsau Reform." On November 19, 2014, Duane J. Corpis from the New York University in Shanghai, at that time a fellow of the CEU Institute for Advanced Studies, gave a talk about "Discord and Disorder: The Social and Political Dimensions of

Noise in Pre-Industrial Germany.” “Mobile Furniture. A Study on Foldable Plates in the Late Middle Ages” was the topic of a talk given by Pavla Ralcheva from the University of Cologne on February 25. Together with the Center for Religious Studies, Marianne Sághy organized a visit by Philipp Buc from the University of Vienna on March 5, 2015. He spoke at a seminar on “The First Crusade as a Theological Event” and gave an evening lecture on “Medieval Eschatology and Modern American Apocalypticism.” Xavier Barral i Altet, Professor of History of Medieval Art at the Universities of Rennes (France) and Venice, Ca’Foscari (Italy), at the time a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study, concluded the lecture series of the faculty research seminar on March 10 with “The Role of Late Antique Culture in the Construction of Narrativity of the Bayeux Embroidery (11th and 12th Centuries).”

Parallel to the faculty research seminar, Gábor Klaniczay and his collaborators organized a lecture series dedicated to saints and their cults. The series was a part of the project “Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints’ Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National, and Universalist Identities,” which was funded by four National Research Councils of the Humanities, from Denmark, Austria, Estonia, and Norway, with a Hungarian team supported by the Hungarian Research Council as an associated partner. The first speaker of the lecture series was Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris on “The Life of the Poverello for the Sermons: The testimonies of the Collections of Exempla.” On November 4, 2014, Jean-Claude Schmitt, directeur d’études at the Groupe d’Anthropologie Historique de l’Occident Médiéval at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris presented a “A History of Rhythms in the Middle Ages.” Robert Wiśniewski from the University of Warsaw followed with “And We Saw It with Our Own Eyes. The Sense of Vision and Cult Relics in Late Antiquity.”

The various centers at CEU offered a broad range of activities including many public lectures. Some of them involved colleagues from the Department of Medieval Studies or were connected to the department’s interests. The Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies offered, as usual, a great many public lectures, workshops, and conferences with late antique, medieval, and early modern topics. I will not mention all the events organized by the center, which can easily be accessed through its website. Instead, I will just present a selection of the events that were closely connected to some of the main research fields of the department.

The area of late antique and Byzantine studies played a prominent role in the activities of the center. On October 2, 2014, Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner from University of Tübingen gave a talk on “Law and a Debate about Monarchy in

Fifth-Century Constantinople.” After a constructive meeting of the advisory board of the Center on October 8, 2014, Evangelos Chrysos from the University of Athens gave a lecture on “Minors as Patriarchs and Popes.” On October 30, 2016, Kutlu Akalın from the Mardin Artuklu University gave a talk on “Romans along the Tigris Border at the Turn of the Sixth Century.” One of the collaborators of the project “The Caucasus in Context, 300–1600,” Annegret Lüning from the University of Jena, presented “Churches, Myths and Theories” about early Christian architecture in Caucasia on January 22, 2015. “Byzantium on the Way to Central Asia, and Beyond” was the topic of a lecture by Mihály Dobrovits on February 12, 2015. The period of Roman antiquity was in the focus of a lecture given by Cristian Găzdac from the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy and Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. The title of his talk was “Numismatics Revealing History: From Coins to Roman History and Daily Life on the Middle and Lower Danube.” The lecture was co-organized with the Romanian Cultural Institute (ICR). Numismatic evidence played a role in another lecture on “The Dedication of Constantinople” by Marta Tycner from the University of Warsaw on March 20, 2015. Judith Herrin, professor emerita from King’s College London, who also took part in the CEMS graduate conference, gave a lecture on June 8, 2015, on “Re-thinking Ravenna: The Ostrogothic inheritance.” Maria G. Parani from the University of Cyprus was the guest lecturer who delivered this year’s Anna Christidou Memorial Lecture commemorating the life and the work of Anna Christidou, who passed away in 2013. Maria G. Parani spoke about “The Emperor’s Clothes, Old and New: Imperial Representation through Dress in Byzantium” on May 14, 2015.

The center also offered lectures and other events from the field of Ottoman studies. On October 6, 2014, Marinos Sariyannis from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies (Foundation for Research and Technology – Hellas [Rethymno]), gave a lecture on “Early Modern Ottoman Political Thought and Islamic Precursors.” Marc Aymes from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, affiliated to the Centre d’Études Turques, Ottomanes, Balkaniques et Centrasiatiques in Paris, gave a lecture on March 5, 2015 entitled: “An Ottoman in Paris: A Tale of Mediterranean Coinage.” On March 19, 2015, Joseph Hacker, professor emeritus of medieval and early modern Jewish history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, presented “Jewish Interaction with Ottoman Culture and Society: Their Impact on Ottoman Jewry in the Early Modern Period.” The center’s interest is not limited to historical topics. An example of its broad range of topics is the talk on November 13, 2014, given by the ambassador of the Republic of Cyprus to Hungary, H.E. Antonios Theocharous, about “Geostrategic Interests

in the Wider Eastern Mediterranean Area.” On May 6, 2015, Vlad Naumescu from CEU presented the results of ethnographic fieldwork in his lecture on “Pedagogies of Prayer: Teaching Orthodoxy in the Malankara Church (South India).” Ancient philosophy was the topic of a lecture by Paul Kalligas from the University of Athens on December 11, 2014, entitled “Mechanical Models and Platonism in Ancient Astronomy.”

The Cultural Heritage Program also organized an extensive lecture series. On November 3, 2014, Sonia O’Connor from University of Bradford gave a talk on “Journey into the Afterlife: The Secrets of an Iron Age Chariot Burial.” Our colleague Annabella Pál and Tamás Pintér presented “One-minute Galleries” on December 8, 2014. Simon Kaner from the Centre for Archaeology and Heritage at the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, who is also director of the Centre for Japanese Studies at the University of East Anglia, followed with a presentation on “Medieval Japan’s Urban Archaeological Heritage: Comparative Perspectives,” on February 17. Roger O’Keefe from University College London, also a visiting professor at CEU, delivered a presentation on “The Protection of Cultural Heritage through International Criminal Law” on February 23. Zsuzsanna Renner, also a visiting professor at CEU, presented insights into “Heroes and Gods in the Narrative Tradition of Indian art” on May 4, 2015. Professor Pamela S. Nadell, who holds the Patrick Clendenen Chair in Women’s and Gender History at the American University, gave a talk entitled “Presenting Jewish History on Philadelphia’s Independence Mall: The National Museum of American Jewish History” on May 18, 2015.

I would like to end my report by thanking all our colleagues, alumni, friends, and visitors who have supported us continuously throughout the years. All of you helped us in making the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU a special place where outstanding teaching and research can flourish in an atmosphere of scholarly excellence, collegiality, and friendship. We hope that you will continue your support in the future and we are looking forward to seeing you at our department whenever you have the chance to visit us. Until next year!

CULTURAL HERITAGE STUDIES AT CEU: A NEW DEGREE PROGRAM AND ITS CONCEPT

Alice Choyke, Alexandra Kowalski, József Laszlovszky, Judith Rasson

In the academic year 2014-15, Central European University started a new master's degree program. The program, entitled "Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, and Management," is accredited by the University of the State of New York. The program was spearheaded by the Department of Medieval Studies, which makes it relevant for the *Annual* of this department to offer a short overview of the program.

Introduction

Cultural Heritage as understood by the Central European University program is the legacy of physical artifacts (cultural property) and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from the past. Cultural Heritage is a concept which offers a bridge between the past and the future through applying particular approaches in the present. Because social groups and societies value heritage it is maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations. At the same time, the concept of cultural heritage has also developed as a result of complex historical processes and is constantly evolving. Cultural heritage includes tangible heritage (such as buildings, monuments, landscapes, books, works of art, and artifacts) and intangible heritage (such as traditions, language, and knowledge). It is also related to natural heritage issues (cultural landscapes and biodiversity).

Heritage is a contemporary activity with far-reaching effects. Most important, it is the range of contemporary activities, meanings, and behaviors that we draw from it. Activities related to cultural heritage are complex and represent deliberate acts from the present for the future, taking into account various aspects of the past. Traditionally these activities are described as preservation or conservation, but more recently they have been integrated into the framework of management and the context of policies, which leads them to take the form of different and complex approaches or acts. Heritage can be an element in far-sighted urban and regional planning. It can be the platform for political recognition, a medium for intercultural dialogue, a means of ethical reflection, and a potential basis for local economic development. It is simultaneously local and particular as well as global and shared.

The Concept of Cultural Heritage and its Impact on the New Program

The concept of cultural and natural heritage is based on historically changing value systems and the emergence of these concepts is directly related to the idea of protection or conservation. These values are recognized by different groups of people and the ideas developed, accepted or attached to these different groups create various categories of cultural and natural heritage (world heritage, national heritage, etc.). Therefore, objects (large or small) of cultural heritage are symbolic. They represent identities in terms of culture and natural surroundings. Taking part in traditional activities or connections to these objects creates a sense of community, a tie that grounds people in objects, monuments, and traditions created in the past. At the same time, the selection of which objects, monuments or natural environments are preserved sets the future trajectory for various cultural narratives and societal consensus about both the past and present. Because the “law of unintended consequences” is always in operation, it is the duty and responsibility of any cultural heritage program to respond critically and continuously to the on-going impact of conservation and protection programs. In other words, simple protection is certainly not the end of the story in any cultural heritage project. The program cannot and should not offer one-size fits-all universal solutions but self-reflective elements must be built into the fabric of the program.

The emergence of the concept of cultural heritage is a result of a long historical development in which different values were attached to monuments, buildings, works of arts, artifacts, landscapes, etc. The systematic destruction or loss of these objects led to the development of phrases such as “outstanding universal value” and declarations that these objects belong to “humanity”. These ideas developed in the context of protection through an understanding that cultural heritage, and the natural environment with which it is intimately entangled, is unique and irreplaceable. Thus, the responsibility for preservation falls on the shoulders of the current generation and generations to come since cultural heritage is continually in the process of becoming. The antiquarian tradition of collecting small objects such as artworks and other cultural items created highly selected assemblages, mainly in museums and art galleries, which were the first stages of a long institutionalization process. Collection was based on notions of “value” in the time and place of their acquisition. Ideas of sampling were not well developed, so that some categories of objects were much favored over others. Since the nineteenth century, the concept of national heritage has been one of the key factors in this process. This has led to the creation of national museums and

commissions or institutions of monument protection. In the twentieth century, grass roots organizations and political groups such as the international body UNESCO [United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization], succeeded in gaining the necessary support to preserve some particular aspects of the heritage of many nations (including concepts like World Heritage and World Memory).

Despite the inherent biases in the World Heritage approach such as focusing on large and elaborate places and activities, it opened the door to a more contemporary holistic approach in heritage studies or the heritage business. Now, in the twenty-first century, it is better understood that heritage has meaning on multiple levels and is best served by multidisciplinary approaches. It has become a truism that cultural heritage studies require transdisciplinary methodologies and approaches that can be developed and used worldwide. True interdisciplinarity between scholarly disciplines is a very slippery fish indeed, but it is an important goal in a world of entangled cultural and natural entities comprising webs of meanings and ideas. Solutions to cultural heritage and resource management issues are best achieved by recognizing potential pitfalls and developing methodologies that seek common ground and acknowledge differences and legitimate conflicting interests.

The Mission of CEU and its New Cultural Heritage Program

Central European University is a graduate institution in the social sciences, the humanities, law, and management. Located in the heart of Central Europe – Budapest, Hungary – CEU has developed a distinct academic and intellectual focus, combining the comparative study of the region’s historical, cultural, and social diversity with a global perspective on good governance, sustainable development, and social transformation. As part of its educational, research, and civic engagement activities, CEU attaches particular importance to scholarship relevant to public policy. The concept of “Open Society” also plays a crucial role in the mission of CEU. Thus, academic excellence combined with social responsibilities in the field of research, teaching and other types of activities represents the main character of the educational programs at the university. All these aspects are directly related to the Cultural Heritage Studies program.

The world’s cultural heritage faces significant challenges from increasing populations and environmental degradation and, in many cases, growing dangers of extinction or radical transformation at the hands of strong special interest groups. In spite of the work of a number of national and international organizations as well as projects and conferences dedicated to the preservation and maintenance of monuments from the past, it seems that more intensive

information exchange is still necessary in order to ensure even wider awareness among political entities and the public at large. International consensus and cooperation at all levels are needed in order to promote the idea of cultural heritage as one of the most precious and, at the same time, precariously situated treasures of humanity. Taking part in and advancing such a discourse by research and training activity is in accordance with the mission of CEU as an institution dedicated to socially and morally responsible inquiry in favor of building open and democratic societies that respect human rights and human dignity. The new degree program in Cultural Heritage Studies will offer a further opportunity for CEU to respond effectively to actual challenges to these values and to reinforce interactions with its social and intellectual environment. Cultural heritage is in the scope of inquiry of a range of humanities, social sciences, and environmental studies. The variety of viewpoints incorporated in these fields needs to be integrated as much as possible into this degree program, in accordance with CEU's engagement to promote interdisciplinary scholarship and to develop the humanities, as formulated among the university's Major Priorities for 2012–2017.

At the same time, recent developments in cultural heritage practices and the uses and abuses of the concept of cultural heritage more generally have led to a strong critical approach in the context of “heritage business.” While the concept of cultural heritage has contributed to the protection of social values and objects, it has also often played a negative role in renewed nationalist movements, extremist and even chauvinistic grass-roots organizations. Deliberate destruction of heritage values and objects on the one hand, and distorted, ahistoric or propagandistic interpretations on the other, can be found in different parts of the world, influenced by varied ideologies, religious or political movements. Therefore, it would be a mistake to introduce a cultural heritage program at CEU without commensurate self-reflection and self-criticism. Any such program must have built-in structures that encourage change and adjustment on an on-going basis since circumstances change with new problems and political alignments. In fact, all the courses in this new program should be expected to offer critical reflections on cultural heritage issues and strategies reflecting their multi-dimensional and evolving characters. What the program should not do is propagate misleading, uncritical, nostalgic concepts. This critical aspect is present in all the introductory courses taught in the first term of the first year and receives special attention in the course “Critical Approaches to the Concept of CH (Tangible and Intangible).” Other courses also reflect on possible conceptual controversies and the instructors of all relevant courses are encouraged to use case studies in which heritage became the subject of political conflict.

All students are required to have basic concepts of academic and critical reasoning and an understanding of scholarly research, as many of the arguments for and against protection schemes and heritage programs are couched in various academic terms (qualitative or statistical arguments) which need to be dealt with critically. Sampling and questions of how much is enough can only be approached through a thorough knowledge of statistically well-founded arguments since it is clear that not everything can be protected.

The question of competence in scholarly research-based reasoning reflects on two basic problems. One of them is the unlimited generalization of the heritage concept. The “heritage is everything” or “everything is heritage” ideas are unsuitable for an academic approach in heritage studies and they should be replaced by a more value-based interpretation that also takes into account historical and social aspects. In addition, it should be recognized that an important part of protection includes less glamorous environmental and cultural features that are nevertheless critical for future academic research on the processes involved in socio-environmental adaptation and change. Instead of an amorphous heritage crusade, a critical heritage study based on well-thought-out facts and figures aimed at securing knowledge for future generations is a more relevant approach for an academic institution like CEU.

There are negative examples of heritage management, however. Stodgy heritage approaches have played an important role in preventing innovative thinking about critical issues in urban planning, urban renewal, archeology, restoration, preservation, and museology. As heritage institutions will certainly undergo dramatic changes in the future, the traditional approaches of preservation, conservation, and protection should be adapted by using critical, multi-faceted practices. Heritage experts should turn to crucial technological, functional, and institutional solutions to the ever-changing face of heritage protection.

A Combination of Theoretical and Practical Education

The program is based on a number of academic fields taught at CEU in different departments and schools. Each discipline brings a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches to Cultural Heritage studies. At the same time, strong emphasis is placed on practical knowledge and skills learned through fieldwork and internships with local, regional, and global heritage organizations. The multi-disciplinary character of CEU fosters integration between the theoretical and practical parts of the program.

The program rests on three pillars: Adopting a historical approach; considering present social relevance (policy and management); and integrating cultural and

natural heritage issues. In the practical world these pillars may work in concert, but at other times may conflict with each other. Whether more inclined toward academic research issues or toward the practical running of heritage programs, students will need to confront opportunities and inevitable contradictions in the goals of different kinds of programs and the needs of modern communities.

The global character of CEU makes it an ideal place to situate the program because it already has an international program in terms of its uniquely multi-lingual and multi-cultural milieu. CEU is thus a particularly appropriate environment for hosting a cultural heritage program dealing with disparate traditions, practices, and social interactions. Students come from more than 100 countries and the faculty has been recruited from more than 30 countries around the world. The small size of the institution makes it feasible for disparate departments with expertise to cooperate. The multi-cultural character of the university will also provide opportunities to create unique global heritage networks for the future.

The building complex of CEU in itself is a heritage site. It is situated in the historical city center of Budapest in the buffer zone of a World Heritage site. One of the buildings (the Monument Building) of CEU, a former urban aristocratic palace, is a listed, protected historical monument. Thus, the building complex in itself offers particular opportunities to teach and absorb lessons related to aspects of the protection of historical monuments, the transformation and management of historical buildings, urban planning, heritage development, and related topics. The Open Society Archives houses documents relevant for the history of these buildings and for the architectural and structural changes of the complex.

Educational and Career Objectives of the Program

The new master's program is intended to educate individuals who wish to become heritage experts and practitioners develop aptitudes for critical assessment and the ability to reflect on major and minor, theoretical and practical, issues of managing or otherwise treating with cultural heritage. The goal of the program is to educate adaptable graduates who will be able to work at various levels in cultural heritage/cultural resource management. These graduates come from different cultural and educational backgrounds, which is essential for the character of the program at CEU. Combining local and regional heritage trends with a more general understanding of heritage (World Heritage) is a key element in the conceptual framework of the program. Changing social and economic trends in the region require expert training, flexible enough to keep up with the challenges of heritage environments which are in continuous flux. There is a need for project managers, experts in sustainable development, and experts in regional development extending across

frontiers, individuals who are able to tackle challenges, even resolve financial issues in project development but who, at the same time, remain sensitive to the need to preserve knowledge for future research. The program degree is meant to be broadly convertible; future professionals might include architects, art historians, archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, environmental professionals, museum curators, archivists, librarians, conservators of artifacts and monuments, policy and management experts, and so on. Heritage-related activities can be connected to various types of institutions or organizational structures, with special emphasis on governmental decision-making bodies (policy issues) and networks of NGOs in the field of cultural heritage management.

To achieve these goals the program has been designed based on a set of clear educational goals connected to well-formulated learning outcomes. They can be grouped into two main categories, on the one hand, aims and goals related to the general mission of CEU and the relevant aspects of the heritage program; on the other hand, subject-specific skills and practice-oriented experience to be learned in various parts of the program.

Educational Objectives

Mission-related objectives

- Understanding changing attitudes to different cultures and civilizations in past societies as well as global interactions of cultures and civilizations in the past and the impacts of these relationships in the present
- Understanding the relations between academic research fields and analytical approaches; the ability to conduct research using a variety of academic methods
- Recognition of different global, regional, national, local approaches and conceptual frameworks applied to the different parts of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible
- Studying the impact of tourism and commercialization on object-based and intangible cultural heritage policy
- Understanding the connections between heritage elements and identity-building processes (universal, European, national, minority, local, and others)
- Recognition of policy and management aspects of cultural heritage and the need for these approaches in protection and sustainable development within a holistic approach

Subject-specific skills:

- The ability to work with the standard methods in at least one academic field or activity area related to cultural heritage
- The ability to work with tangible and intangible cultural heritage
- Knowledge of and the ability to use standard methods of academic research, policy-oriented, and management activities.
- The ability to apply interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary methods in research, policy, and management
- Basic skills in digital methods for recording, storing, and interpreting cultural heritage (data visualization, GIS, digitalization methods)
- Writing, presentation, and publication skills for expression in English and the ability to generate different types of publications and media materials to understand, interpret, disseminate, protect, and develop cultural heritage sites, objects, complexes, etc. aimed at a range of audiences
- Basic knowledge and the ability to work using academic reasoning (qualitative and quantitative methods, statistical approaches, etc.)

Structure of the Program

The Cultural Heritage Studies program is an inter-departmental and inter-school program of CEU. It is organized, developed, and administered by a program committee comprised of faculty members from different academic disciplines and units to develop close cooperation with all the departments involved in teaching topics relevant for cultural heritage studies. This form of organization has been created in order to achieve the main goals of the program, a multi-disciplinary MA program, with the active involvement of various fields related to cultural heritage (historical studies, medieval studies, cultural anthropology and sociology, humanities, environmental studies and policy, public policy, business and management studies, and others.).

Some of the core elements of the program can be taught by heritage experts (theoretical and methodological aspects, as well as the viewpoints of actual practitioners) in the Medieval Studies Department (resident, affiliated, and visiting faculty). Many of the required courses newly developed for the program also function as electives for the currently running degree programs in Medieval Studies and History. Cooperation between units can take the form of cross-listing courses, co-teaching, and joint student supervision. Different departments and units in the field of humanities also play a crucial role. Many of the elective courses can be selected from the course offerings of these departments and programs.

The broad scope of the program is also achieved by the active participation of other schools and departments (the Business School, School of Public Policy, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Department of Environmental Science and Policy, etc.) at CEU.

Two Streams of the Program

1. Academic Research and the Protection of Cultural Heritage

The emergence of cultural heritage studies (as an academic field and related activities) is a result of the interactions of various academic disciplines dealing with the past (archaeology, art history, history, etc.) and scholarly approaches dealing with present societies (anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, etc.). Academic research has been combined with different types of activities (collection, preservation, conservation, restoration, reconstruction) related to heritage objects and monuments. A critical approach to the concept of *Protection* is a key element in present-day heritage activities. Furthermore, conservation or protection of natural heritage offers a number of similar activities and concepts, and the combination of the two areas and their related academic research fields is essential for providing a holistic approach in heritage studies. One great problem haunting cultural heritage work is that academic programs (workshops, conferences, projects, etc.) tend to be academic talk shops aimed at particular audiences. Often all the grand notions fail to filter down to the “soldiers on the front line of protection” in museums and field stations. There is a lack of bilateral and effective communication between governmental bodies issuing directives and the people entrusted with carrying them out. Information flows awkwardly or only intermittently from the bottom up. Any program of cultural heritage must contain social reflexivity in its presentation to a variety of audiences both popular and professional. Teaching proper and effective presentation of strategies and goals in multiple media to varied target audiences must be a key element in any educational program.

Therefore, this stream of the master’s program offers a selection of academic and scholarly methods and disciplines essential for heritage studies (cultural and natural) and combines them with particular skills of management related to the protection of heritage. This stream is designed mainly for those coming to the program with previous education in humanities or any academic disciplines researching heritage. At the same time, the stream also offers a basic education for individuals who want to change the character of their university education from a management-type activity to a more research-oriented career.

2. Cultural Heritage Management and Policy

The policy and management aspects of cultural heritage are also the results of complex historical processes. The deliberate act of keeping cultural heritage from the present for the future, preservation or conservation, has been integrated into a more complex approach of management or policy. Both terms are connected to the original concept of antiquities and protection, and heritage institutions often follow these concepts in their daily work. However, the traditional idea of protecting or conserving cultural objects has been replaced by more complex approaches such as cultural heritage management or cultural resource management and the concept of sustainable development. These terms are used in different contexts, but they mean essentially a process by which the protection and management of the multitudinous but scarce elements of cultural heritage are given some consideration in a modern world with an expanding population and changing needs.

The question of consensus on national and international levels comes into play as in managing sustainable programs of protection. Deciding what should be preserved and how much is enough directly affects strategies and, in democratic societies at least, popular notions about what has national or scientific value and what does not directly affects funding possibilities. Vested interests and lobbies continuously push and pull these ideas in various directions making it increasingly important that cultural heritage practitioners understand the arguments put forward by different sides in a debate so that the best compromise solutions can be achieved. Any educational program must aim at producing students who can critically follow an array of often complex arguments. The main aim of this stream is to offer a multidisciplinary education for students who want to work in heritage institutions or in the heritage business in an active, managerial role. Therefore, it offers course and practical work with expert supervision to understand the interaction of the areas shaping cultural heritage, the types of activities, and the various skills needed to influence, shape, and develop management activities and policies in the area of cultural heritage. This stream offers a basic education for those who want to play an active role in the changing world of cultural heritage (managers, activists, members of social programs). The original university education of these students may have been mainly related to management, but they can also come from a more research-oriented program. In this case, their aim may well be to use their academic skills in a more activist-type career.

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2015

**Royals on the Road: A Comparative Study of the Travel Patterns of
Two Hungarian Kings, Sigismund of Luxemburg and Matthias Corvinus**

Árpád Bebes (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, József Laszlovszky

External Reader: László Veszprémy (Institute of Military History, Budapest)

This thesis compares the travel patterns of two Hungarian kings in the Middle Ages, Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) and Matthias Corvinus, based on their compiled itineraries. Norbert C. Tóth, Matthias Horváth and several other authors before them tried to compile the itineraries of medieval kings and follow their movements using their charters. Itineraries are useful tools in historical research, especially with recent and ongoing research and the digitization of many charters. Although each king's life and times has been analyzed in its own context by many scholars, comparing their travel patterns was the aim of this study. As an important factor, this paper also focuses on visual representations (such as maps and tables) which were made based on the most recently compiled itineraries of the kings. Here the separate journeys are grouped into different geographical areas and route options and analyzed separately. This allows comparing these areas and routes and discovering their differences and similarities. The conclusion is, first, that the highest frequency of appearances was in Buda in both cases, marking its importance at the time. Second, many of the most frequented settlements are in the northwest of the kingdom, which suggests that the diplomatic orientation of both kings was there. Third, although towns and places on the southern side of the kingdom were “rarely” frequented, numerous journeys led to the south, mostly in the form of military campaigns against the Ottomans. From the three regions, Transdanubia shows little difference between the kings (Matthias used the roads there in his last 10 years). The Great Plain shows the most differences between the kings because the importance of Oradea and Timișoara dropped heavily after Sigismund and the town of Szeged emerged as a staging point. Lastly, Transylvania shows almost no differences in route choices (just that Sigismund

travelled there more, but his longer reign could explain that). The road system there seems to have allowed limited options for the kings' travels.

Reaction to the Siege of Zadar in Western Christendom

Vanja Burić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Balázs Nagy

External Reader: László Veszprémy (Institute of Military History, Budapest)

Liberating the Holy Land during the Fourth Crusade was supposed to be the crowning achievement of the impressive political and ecclesiastical career of Pope Innocent III. However, affected by financial issues on the way, the Crusading army agreed to help the Venetians retake the Christian city of Zadar on the eastern shore of the Adriatic in exchange for transport. The attack set a precedent for Crusaders attacking Catholics, but the thesis hypothesizes that, similarly to its relative neglect in historiography, the reaction to the Zadar incident in Western Christendom did not have the effect it should have had. Subsequent analysis of primary sources shows that, despite some strong reactions, the hypothesis was mostly correct. Overshadowed by the later conquest of Constantinople, Zadar, and the infamous precedent it set, fell into obscurity.

Embryology in Nemesius' *On the Nature of Man*: Between Philosophy and Medicine

Andrey Darovskikh (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Reader: Inna Kupreeva, The University of Edinburgh

This thesis is a case study of the understanding of human nature in the late antique tradition. Nemesius of Emesa, in his treatise *On the Nature of Man*, written in the second half of the fourth century AD, tends to consider the problem of man at the intersection of philosophy and medicine, where these fields overlap considerably. He reconciles the achievements of these two disciplines using a developing Christian tradition.

The focus of the thesis is the problem of the embryo's formation in Nemesius of Emesa's anthropological account. Considering different aspects of embryology, I argue that Nemesius' account is a result of the continuity of

ancient philosophy and medicine, with a particular influence of the authors of the Hippocratic corpus and Galen, together with the philosophical discourses of Plato, Aristotle, and representatives of Stoic and Neoplatonic philosophy. In addition, the thesis argues that Nemesius also tends to adjust their ideas according to the influence of the developing Christian tradition, while he polemicizes with such representatives of Christian thought as Origen, Arius or Eunomius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who were at the time judged to be dubious authorities or heretics.

Maces in Medieval Transylvania Between the Thirteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries

Andrei Octavian Fărcaș (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Reader: Adrian Andrei Rusu, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei,
Cluj-Napoca.

Medieval mace heads have often been ignored by scholars and many artifacts of this kind lie unpublished and sometimes unknown in museums even today. In some countries, such as Hungary, Poland, and states formerly part USSR, a number of archaeologists have tried to understand these weapons and their origin. Two typo-chronologies have been created so far, but each of them deals only with a limited geographical area. I sought to see how Transylvania is represented by this type of artifact and I realised that too few studies have been conducted on this topic and many mace heads lack any proposed dating. Using a typo-chronology of the mace heads from this region I compare this case study with research results from other regions. I concluded that Transylvania was among the few regions with a high number of mace heads and at least after the twelfth century one can even identify types that are rare in Central and Eastern Europe. Besides the importance of the typo-chronology in dating new artifacts, this is an important contribution to scholarship as the first compilation of a catalogue with almost all the mace heads known at the moment.

Pillar of the Communities: The *Lives* of Alpius the Stylite

Florin Filimon (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Volker Menze

External Reader: Peter Van Deun, KU Leuven - University

The thesis deals with one of the holy men who imitated Symeon the Elder in practicing his peculiar form of asceticism. Alypius, a stylite from Adranoupolis in Honorias, who allegedly died in the times of Heraclius, has his biography fixed in three major versions: one anonymous, one redacted by the Symeon Metaphrastes' team, and one produced by Antonius, a member of the Great Church's clergy. Little attention has been given to the first two versions, and even less to the *Life* by Antonius. Hence, the present thesis aims at analyzing the narrative as it appears in the first two biographies; the one by Antonius is referred to only in some crucial aspects, since it is more distant from the anonymous *Life*, which may be considered the basis of all further reaction. Besides the titles of the manuscripts that Hippolyte Delehaye used for editing the earliest *Life*, no other part of the text provides chronological information; therefore, the main goal of the thesis is to reveal the details that determine when Alypius' earliest biography was written, and likewise, when Alypius lived. Several aspects of the *Life* are considered. In addition to the narrative in its entirety, the saintly figures included by the three biographers in the rhetoric comparison (*synkrisis*), the pillar, and the abandoned necropolis that became a monastic *milieu*, and, finally, the monastery created around the base of the pillar, its structure and its dwellers, are at the core of the four chapters of this work. Each of them provides elements that, correlated, offer a probable dating of the anonymous *Life* and of Alypius. Finally, the thesis argues that one of the manuscript consulted by Delehaye (MS C), filled with totally unexpected details but constantly disregarded at the expense of a clearer text, gives the original form of the anonymous *Life*.

(Self)Fashioning of an Ottoman Christian Prince: Jachia Ibn Mehmed in Confessional Diplomacy of the Early Seventeenth Century

Amanda Giammanco (USA)

Thesis Supervisors: Tijana Krstić, György Endre Szőnyi

External Reader: Maartje van Gelder (University of Amsterdam)

In the summer of 1631, while Franciscan Friar Rafael Levaković was in Rome, he met and wrote the first biography of a venturesome man named Jachia who claimed to be the second son of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed III (1595–1603) and a direct descendent of the Byzantine Komnenos family of Trebizond. This thesis explores the story of Jachia’s quest to claim his “birthright” of becoming the Ottoman ruler, but as a Christian loyal to the pope who would free the faithful of “European Turkey” of their “yoke” and mend the schism between Eastern and Western Christianity. The thesis studies him, his affiliates and various Christian princes who pledged to help him against the backdrop of the seventeenth-century politics of confessional polarization and dreams of expelling the “Turk” from Europe. While Jachia has remained a curious footnote in Ottoman and European diplomatic scholarship, his original biography and the surviving documents about his life and quest illuminate the various self-fashioning and mythologizing tactics that he was engaged in or was subject to. In tracing the transformation of Jachia’s identity through his participation in cross-confessional and trans-imperial diplomacy, this work attempts to distinguish Jachia’s own agenda from the agenda of those who sought to mold him into a protagonist of their own religious or political programs.

**The Emergence of the Armenian Gandz Hymns:
Possible Syriac and Byzantine Echoes**

Piruzza Hayrapetyan (Armenia)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Reader: Theo Maarten van Lint (University of Oxford)

The goal of this study is to examine the *gandz*’s (Armenian hymns) twofold relationship with, first, Armenian liturgical sermons (*zhamagrēk’ayin k’aroz*) and, second, Syriac and Byzantine hymnological genres, namely, *madrāshā*, *memrā*, and *kontakion*. The study is a one-level comparison concentrating on a literary-poetical form. Other aspects of the *gandz* and, consequently, its literary connections with

hymnological genres on other levels (metrical, musical, and literary motifs) are not considered here. Based on a structural analysis of, on the one hand, *gandz* and, on the other hand, *k'aroz*, *madrāshā*, *memrā*, and *kontakion*, I tried to demonstrate the extent of the literary dependence of *gandz* upon these genres by tracing shared structural features. The analysis reveals structural features which make *gandz* a hymnological genre distinct from the other above-mentioned genres.

Salvation in Angevin Hungary: The Iconography of the *Scala Salutis* on the Fourteenth-Century Wall Painting of Želiezovce

Krisztina Ilkó (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Béla Zsolt Szakács, Marianne Sággy,

Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck

External Reader: Tünde Wehli (Hungarian Academy of Science)

The aim of this thesis is to place a wall painting (c. 1388) in the St. James Church in Želiezovce (Slovakia) into a broader iconographical context. The fresco depicts a debate for the soul of the dying knight György Becsei between the Devil, the Virgin Mary, Christ, the Father, and the angels. Earlier scholarship suggested that the subject of the fresco was formed only around the turn of the fourteenth century, and came to Hungary from German or Czech territories. I contribute research on the wall painting of Želiezovce by researching its historical, theological, and art historical aspects. With the help of unpublished archival sources I contextualize the history of the town, its landlords, and the church in the fourteenth century. My observations on the architectural history of the church and its wall paintings are based on personal observation, since I contributed to the art historical research that accompanied the restoration research which started in the summer of 2014. I focused on visual sources and analogies of the fresco with the help of comparative iconography. The goal of the thesis is to demonstrate the existence of the *Scala Salutis* as an independent iconographical type beginning with its first monumental piece, the wall painting in Želiezovce. I collected sixteen pictorial and nine textual examples which form the basis of this study. Contrary to earlier scholarship, I localize the origins of the iconographical type to the first part of the fourteenth century in Western Europe, probably in France. I connect its spread with the popularity of the topic depicted, emphasized by the *visio beatifica* debate which began in the 1330s.

**Adultery, Greed, And Betrayal:
Social Criticism in Nikola Nalješković's Comedies**

Lea Kumić (Croatia)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External reader: Leif Sondergaard (University of Southern Denmark, Odense)

Comedies V, VI and VII of the Renaissance Ragusan writer Nikola Nalješković are a specific social criticism heritage. In these *Comedies* he wrote about different customs and conventions of society that were close to those of Ragusa. He did it by using humor – to provoke the laughter of the audience, but also to encourage them to rethink their own personal behavior. I analyzed the characters in the *Comedies*, their communication and their language, to find patterns in which social criticism occurs – concerning strained marital relations, bourgeois greed, sexual affairs among the classes, human betrayal in friendship, love, and romance. I identified certain behavior and direct and indirect criticism used by the author. I discovered that in tackling taboos, the author's aim was not just to make the audience laugh, but also to operate didactically and make them aware of their flaws, which they may have successfully hidden by pretending a peaceful and harmonious lifestyle.

**Narrating Death: The Plague of 1348 in
Dalmatian and Italian Narrative Sources**

Matea Laginja (Croatia)

Thesis supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Katalin Szende

External reader: Gordan Ravančić (Croatian Institute of History)

The Black Death, the fourteenth century plague epidemic, had a strong impact on the people of that period, reflected in the amount of written data preserved. I discuss the plague-related motifs present in Dalmatian primary sources, with emphasis on *A Cutheis Tabula*, a contemporary account dealing with the plague in Split. The author's familiarity with other contemporary sources and theories influenced his reasons for writing the narrative as well as the imagery he used. Other Dalmatian sources, both contemporary and later, are discussed in relation to this narrative; their origins lie in the city of Dubrovnik; the motifs that can be read from them are compared to a sample of Italian accounts from the same period. The time span focuses on the year 1348, and the comparisons stretch up

until the eighteenth century, when some of the later accounts originated. I opted for this geographic region and this framework because it provides an opportunity to track the contemporary image of the Black Death in the Adriatic area and see how this image changed over the next four centuries. The focus of the later accounts became different with the passing of time and the fact that the authors did not have first-hand experience of the epidemic.

**The Past and Future of *De Velitatione Bellica* and
Byzantine Guerrilla Warfare**
Lucas McMabon (Canada)

Thesis Supervisors: Niels Gaul; Volker Menze

External Reader: Ioannis Stouraitis, Institute of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,
University of Vienna

Traditionally, the military in Byzantium is said to have adopted a guerrilla strategy along its eastern frontier after the seventh century as a means of dealing with the superior forces of the Muslims. A tenth-century military manual attributed to Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969), known as *De Velitatione Bellica*, describes warfare in this manner, emphasizing tactics that minimize risk such as ambushes and indirect engagement. In the preface, the manual claims that since the danger of the Muslims has receded, the sort of tactics described within are no longer necessary but are nonetheless being recorded for posterity. This study examines this claim by looking at *De Velitatione's* past and future by examining what evidence exists for Byzantine-Muslim warfare taking place as the manual describes and whether the text might have had any influence later. This is done through case studies from the eighth and eleventh centuries, which suggest that the tactics described in the manual had a long history in the Byzantine world and remained in use well after the manual claimed that they were antiquated.

Islamic Art and Artifacts in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Hungary

Péter Tamás Nagy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Béla Zsolt Szakács and József Laszlovszky

External Readers: Anna Contadini (School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

and Iván Szántó (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

This research is a novel approach to the connections between Islamic art and Hungary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The thesis brings together seemingly disparate artefacts such as the rock crystal head of the Hungarian royal scepter, a ring of Béla III (1172–1196), a type of coin with pseudo-Arabic imagery issued by the same king, and a wall painting of the Cella Trichora in Pécs, arguing that they form a coherent group from the point of view of their patrons. After discussing some persistent historiographical myths about Islamic artifacts, Hungarian visitors in the Islamic world, and Muslims living in the country, the thesis presents four case studies focusing on the artifacts, with special attention to their dates, origins, and symbolic significance. Technical observations and comparison with a wide range of analogous material suggest that the rock crystal pommel was made either in Cairo in the second half of the eleventh century or in Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century, the ring has an early Iranian seal stone mounted on it, the coins imitate two types of Andalusian coins, and finally, that the fresco was inspired by a Sicilian or Andalusian textile. As other examples of Islamic artefacts reused in a Christian context suggest, it is justifiable to argue that the objects were understood as references to the Holy Land, which also facilitated attributing Christian significance to them. This thesis proposes a similar interpretation for the surviving Islamic artifacts created or used in the Kingdom of Hungary in this period, and also associates this phenomenon with Béla III's political endeavors.

Architectural Prestige Representation in the Mid-Fifteenth Century:

Nicholas Újlaki and the Castle of Várpalota

Szabolcs Balázs Nagy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Reader: Radu Lupescu (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania)

Várpalota Castle is situated in western Hungary and was built by Nicholas Újlaki (around 1410 – 1477) in the first half of the 1440s. This was the time when Újlaki,

an ambitious magnate, was about to reach the peak of his political career, being among the most powerful aristocrats of the kingdom along with John Hunyadi. According to a well-established historical model, in this short period Várpalota Castle was meant to be the seat or main personal residence of Újlaki's outstanding oligarchic power in western Hungary. Based on this historical background, the castle seems an ideal case for studying the ways by which power and prestige were displayed in the mid-fifteenth century.

After a thorough revision of the castle's architectural history, a re-evaluation of all relevant publications, excavation records, restoration documentation, and study of carved stone material kept in the castle's lapidarium, the fifteenth-century building periods were refined and a significant reconstruction of the castle was identified, including the building of an elaborate courtyard corridor, probably executed in the third quarter of the century.

A comparative approach, overviews of the relevant contemporary residences of the elite and the magnate himself, opened the door for interpreting Újlaki's building activities. In the 1440s, prestige and power were primarily displayed by the appropriate type of new residence, where the dimensions and the specific layout resembled the architecture of the royal court. In the second half of the century the castle was enlarged, in a period when Várpalota presumably had already lost its outstanding significance. However, this very dichotomy, the seemingly purposeless, yet spectacular reconstruction, seems to have been a way of demonstrating wealth and prestige.

Oligarchs, King and Local Society: Medieval Slavonia 1301–1343

Antun Nekić (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende

External Readers: Tamás Pálosfalvi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Center for Humanities, Institute of History), Martyn Rady (University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES)).

In 1301, the king's ability to exert some kind of authority in medieval Slavonia reached its nadir, and the royal power was replaced by that of the oligarchs; the Babonići and Kőszegi kindreds completely controlled medieval Slavonia. However, in the next three decades, Charles Robert managed to establish effective royal control and the power of these two kindreds was crushed to a large degree. The aim of this thesis is to analyze this process from several perspectives. First, various strategies that the oligarchs and the king employed in the different stages

of these power struggles were analyzed. Secondly, the interaction between the oligarchs and the king with the local society was investigated. Focus was placed especially on the question of loyalty. It is argued that the oligarchs managed to create a closed system of service, mostly visible in the phenomenon of multi-generational service. The task to crack this system was entrusted to Nicolaus Felsőlendvai and Mikac of the Ákos kindred, whom Charles Robert installed in the office of the ban after 1323, and whose power rose with his. This task was done through various grants given by these two bans or through their patronage that led to the royal court. Third, the possibility of local nobility reaching the royal court revealed different mechanisms of integration in medieval Slavonia (locally) and at the court (the center) in the fourteenth century.

**Popes, Prelates, Pretenders: The Role of the High Clergy
in the Fight for the Hungarian Throne during the Fourteenth Century**

Mišo Petrović (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende.

External Reader: Damir Karbić (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti).

This thesis examines the intricate connections between the popes, prelates, and pretenders while considering the roles they played during the succession crises for the Hungarian throne at the beginning and the end of the fourteenth century. The focus is on two periods of succession crisis. The first (1290–1310) was a successful attempt by Charles Robert, backed by the Apostolic See, especially Pope Boniface VIII, to claim the throne. The second crisis (1382–1409) was a failed effort of Boniface IX and King Ladislas of Naples to take the throne from King Sigismund. In both cases it was the high clergy who found themselves conflicted between obedience to the pope and fealty to the king. The primary research focus is on the relationship between the pretenders and ecclesiastical structures, but particularly the prelates of the dioceses of medieval Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia and their roles, functions, and loyalties, which have not been thoroughly researched before. In three chapters I contextualized the connections between the Apostolic See and the various pretenders it supported or confronted, while showing how the development of the election process and the opportunities for papal or royal intervention were used for political purposes, as well as analyzing the position and the role of the prelates in their own dioceses.

The thesis reveals that during both periods a crisis of the central government occurred which helped spread papal influence to inner Hungary. The main

weapon for controlling the Church was the appointment of the prelate. This development happened within the Church, where the pope came to influence the election process, and soon after that it was used for political purposes. During the first succession crisis the pope was able to achieve better control over the prelate and his actions, while during the second crisis this control shifted in favor of the rulers. One key aspect was the formulation of the legitimacy of the pretender to the Apostolic See and the prelates it supported. During the first period, the legitimacy was successfully disseminated from a single center, enabled by a coordinated effort from Pope Boniface VIII, Charles Robert, and the prelates. During the second period, it mostly rested on the individual actions of the prelates, which proved to be unsuccessful. During the wars of succession the prelate's position was weakened because it was shown that to rule his diocese effectively in times of crises the prelate had to rely on help from either the king or the pope. This help mostly arrived with a price. The appendix contains the archontology of prelates of the dioceses researched and gives short biographies of them together with the respective sources.

Unraveling the Cord: The Schedography of Nikephoros Basilakes

Zachary Rothstein-Dowden (USA)

Thesis Supervisors: Niels Gaul, István Perczel

External Reader: Panagiotis Agapitos, University of Cyprus

This thesis examines a difficult passage in the *Prologos* of Nikephoros Basilakes in which the author speaks of a kind of schedography that he credits as being his own invention. It begins with a short biography of the author. It then attempts to trace the evolution of schedic performances from their beginnings in the eleventh century through to the time of Basilakes in the mid-twelfth century. The argument is that *schedē* began as *epimerismoi*, analytical exercises, which, unlike the latter, were performed competitively in front of an audience. These exercises focused on testing knowledge of both vocabulary and orthography. Soon the orthographic, that is to say antistoichic, element took firmer hold, and exercises became more complex. By the end of the century some *schedē* were no longer performance pieces, but visual puzzles for students, where word boundaries had to be reassigned and graphemes adjusted to give the correct reading. Frequently these exercises hinged on vernacularisms. Basilakes seems to have taken these word games to a new level, creating elaborate puns that used exclusively Atticist Greek.

**Bishops and Burials between Public and Private in Late Antiquity:
The Episcopal Construction of the Care for the Dead (AD 366–430)**

Jobanna Zsófia Rákos-Zichy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy

External Reader: Nicola Denzey Lewis (Brown University)

This interdisciplinary thesis explores the striking fusion of “private” and “public” at the burial of family members and in the cult of the martyrs as evidenced by the work of three Late Antique bishops, Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo. Their homilies, letters, *Confessions*, catacomb inscriptions, and theological treatises make manifest the transformation of attitudes and audiences from the traditional “private” to the “congregational” Christian. In the Classical Mediterranean, taking care of the dead traditionally belonged to the family. Bishops, however, appropriated for the Church not only the cult of the martyrs, but also the commemoration of ordinary Christians. For the first time in scholarship, the thesis presents Late Antique bishops at the family grave, arguing that the commemoration of family and friends transformed private funerals into public events and universal exemplars for the Church. I approach the cult of the martyrs from the point of view of the “private” and examine how commemoration of the saints was made public and universal. Bishops discovered, construed, and reformed the cult of the saints and prescribed proper behavior to the Christian congregation. Comparison of Damasus, Ambrose, and Augustine reveals the different methods that bishops employed and the different contexts in which they worked to extend their authority over the private and the public life of their flock in the late Roman city, even if in the private sphere their intervention remained indirect. In signposting this process, the thesis untangles the ways in which bishops connected with their communities and used their authority to construct the Christian commemoration of the dead.

**Placing Identities?
Socio-Spatial Relations in Shkoder in the Fourteenth Century**

Grabiela Rojas Molina (Venezuela)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Daniel Ziemann

External Reader: Isa Blumi, University of Antwerp

This research focuses on the terms used in Shkoder in the first half of the fourteenth century to identify the people who were in contact with the city and its surroundings. The identification of “Albanians” (*Albanenses*), their economic activities, dwelling places, and (apparent) ethnic characteristics appear to be a counterpoint to the activities and (self-)identification of citizens (*Scutarenses*) and foreigners. Previous scholarship mainly assumed the correspondence of these names with ethnic characteristics without considering further variables. In consequence, this thesis seeks to answer the following questions: How did contemporary legal documents about Shkoder refer to different social groups? Did their distribution in different parts of the city play a role in such identification? Was this spatial division purely physical or did it also affect the access of certain people to city institutions? Is the city, contrary to “nation” or “ethnicity”, a useful conceptual tool to analyze these overlapping identities? The investigation addresses these questions in relation to the areas surrounding the city and then goes into the socio-spatial dynamics inside the city walls. Thanks to this approach, the sources reveal that the positioning of people in relation to the city space did play a role in how they were named and identified in contemporary documents.

**Catholics, Heretics, and Schismatics:
Episcopal Authority in the Ostrogothic Kingdom, AD 493–535**

Joost Schers (The Netherlands)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy and Volker Menze.

External Reader: Peter Heather (King’s College, London)

This thesis answers the question of what episcopal authority entailed in the Ostrogothic period in Italy. Previous scholars of late antique ecclesiastical history have focused especially on the fourth and fifth centuries, while research on the Ostrogothic Kingdom was primarily set on secular and political matters. This thesis argues that the authority of Catholic bishops was to a large extent retained when the Arian King Theoderic came to rule the central part of the former

Western Roman Empire. This argument is based on an in-depth analysis of the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, the papal-imperial letter collection known as the *Collectio Avellana*, and the *Vita Sancti Epiphaniū* by Ennodius of Pavia. The main conclusion is that each source describes different ways in which the bishops stressed and/or were acknowledged to have an authoritative position by the Ostrogothic king and the Eastern Roman emperor. The particular aims of each author or compiler explain why these dissimilarities are present.

Cassiodorus wanted to demonstrate to his audience that the Ostrogothic rule was a continuation of Roman rule. His letters therefore show Gothic respect for the legal authority of the Catholic clergy as judges and property owners. In contrast, the correspondence in the *CA* displays the authority of the pope as the supreme and immaculate bishop in the church hierarchy based on the Petrine doctrine. These letters attest to the impressive scale of papal self-assertion in this matter. However, the realities behind the letters, especially the continuing Acacian schism, show how weak the position of the pope was in the East without imperial support. Lastly, Ennodius of Pavia wanted to portray an image of Bishop Epiphanius as a holy man, above all a successful mediator in diplomatic relationships, and as a local urban leader relying on his superior spiritual and pragmatic authority. The most important element in all three sources is the awareness, and often the appreciation, of the traditional mediating role of the bishop in Roman society.

**Yom Ṭov Lipmann's Stairway to Heaven:
Cosmology and Kabbalah in Late Medieval Jewish Custom**

Liat Sivek (Israel)

Thesis Supervisor: Carsten Wilke

External Reader: Tamás Visi, (Palacky University, Olomouc)

Jewish intellectual activity in Ashkenaz saw significant changes in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. One of the leading intellectuals of these times was Rabbi Yom Ṭov Lipmann Mühlhausen, whose famous polemic treatise, *Sefer Nitsaḥon*, has been the focus of many studies. However, his other works have received less scholarly interest although they offer myriad examples of Lipmann's unique approach to interpreting Jewish custom by integrating philosophy and Kabbalah.

In this study, I offer a comprehensive examination of Lipmann's less studied works in order to sketch a broader picture of his thought and interpretation of

Jewish custom. This study is based on the cosmological framework Lipmann established in *Sefer ha-Eshkol* [Book of the cluster], which served as a theoretical guidebook for his later compilations. Lipmann's framework is based on Aristotelian physics and on Kabbalistic emanation theory. He offers using both as a means for achieving *kavvanah* (proper intent), which must be present in Jewish customs in order to fulfil them successfully.

Through a close reading of Lipmann's texts and by highlighting cross-reference points within them, we can reach a fuller understanding of the author's approach to Jewish customs, specifically prayer and Hebrew writing. By interpreting these customs within a cosmological framework, Lipmann offers a way in which one can turn the act of reciting Jewish prayers and writing the Hebrew alphabet into a journey through the heavens.

Holy, Roman, Frankish:
A Sketch of the Political Iconography of Frederick Barbarossa
Vedran Sulovsky (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisors: Daniel Ziemann, Béla Zsolt Szakács

External Reader: Lisa Victoria Ciresi, University of South Carolina Beaufort

The political iconography of Frederick Barbarossa has been the subject of innumerable debates since the rise of German romantic nationalism in the wake of the French revolution. I examine the elements Barbarossa used in a political context, thereby determining their purpose and their models. In the study of material sources, special focus will be placed on the growth of the cult of Saint Charlemagne in Aachen, which will be interpreted as an imitation of the cult of Constantine the Great in Byzantium. The motifs used in the Aachen objects will be compared to the motifs of courtly poetry and histories of the period, thereby attempting to demonstrate that the cult came into being slowly, its pinnacle being the reliquary shrine of Saint Charlemagne, where a dynastic principle replaced the elective one for the first time since 1125.

Frederick took part in the second crusade, where he came to know Manuel Komnenos' ideology of renovation as well as the traditional Byzantine ideology of a holy empire. He also learned of Louis VII's support of the cult of St. Denis and the imitation of an earlier Frankish expedition to Jerusalem, whereby Louis became renowned as a saintly ruler. It is these two ideologies that Frederick emulated from the beginning of his reign. The turning points of Frederick's program were his royal coronation in 1152, the plague in Rome in 1167, and

the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. During the first period, Frederick was presenting himself as the elected king who would unite the Hohenstaufen and the Welf parties. After 1167, when his cousin Frederick of Rothenburg died, the importance of a dynastic principle grew as Frederick's son Henry became his father's only possible heir. When Jerusalem fell in 1187, Frederick's self-representation was slightly remodelled as he was now stepping into the role of God's banner bearer while retaining the former elements of his ideology.

The Perceptions of Horses in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century China

Zhexin Xu (China)

Thesis Supervisors: Alice Choyke, Gerhard Jaritz

External Readers: Angela Schottenhammer (University of Salzburg),
Ralph Kauz (University of Bonn)

This research focuses on the perceptions of identities reflected in the horse imagery in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century China, when there were relatively intense cultural and commercial communications between China and other regions. Firstly, a study of the practical value of horses in the fields of commerce, administration, and material culture shows their close relation with society, especially compared to previous periods. Secondly, an analysis of horse imagery in contemporary literature and artwork indicates that the symbolic meaning of horses was particularly prevalent in the Yuan period. Thirdly, comparisons between different contexts (urban vs. court) and time periods shows that both change and continuity existed in the contemporary perception of horses, as these realities reflected various attitudes and perceptions of identities behind the varied interpretation of horse imagery.

PHD DEFENSES
DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2014–2015

The Proto-Myth of Stephen the Great of Moldavia

Teodora Artimon

19 March 2015

Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU), supervisor; chair of the examination committee László Kontler (Department of History – CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Marcell Sebők (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Beáatrix Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church).

External Readers

Ovidiu Cristea (“Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History, Bucharest)

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The proto-myth of Stephen the Great (1457-1504) dates to the period of Moldavian history which unfolded immediately after the death of the prince and lasted roughly until the beginning of the seventeenth century when, it is suggested, stories about mythical Stephen started to be disseminated more or less canonically. This dissertation shows that Stephen’s mythical aura started to be perceived even during the his lifetime. Because of this, the text is comprised of two parts, one section dealing with the self-fashioning of Stephen the Great in the fifteenth-century and another section focusing on the propagation and creation of Stephen’s image in the sixteenth century. By analysing these two centuries imbued with the imagery of the prince, the nature of the proto-myth can be outlined.

While still alive, Stephen started to pave his way towards fame by two basic means – dynastic construction and personal image construction. These means intertwined with each other throughout the 47-year reign of the prince, creating a “great” ruler. He enhanced both the past and the future of his dynasty by restoring the tomb of his predecessors at Rădăuți, by commissioning the first dynastic votive image in the history of medieval Moldavia (also at Rădăuți), by transferring the Church of Volovăț (the commission of the first Moldavian prince) onto the

premises of his main commission at Putna; he gave his sons symbolic names (his successor, Bogdan-Vlad, bore the names of both the Moldavian and Wallachian first princes – suggesting his ambition to gain influence over Wallachia); he commissioned a huge number of churches and monasteries, giving rise to the myth that he built one church after each military victory; he used imperial attributes starting with the red shoes with which he was often represented in iconography, his marble tombstone, he married to two princesses of imperial descent, his appellative was “tsar” in court chronicles, and he probable staged of imperial entrances into Suceava. Furthermore, he had his image commissioned in various media, including church iconography, liturgical cloths, and manuscripts, allowing his image to be transferred in an almost unaltered way into the sixteenth century.

The sixteenth century was the century of the proto-myth, when, on the one hand, Stephen’s character and deeds were raised on a mythical pedestal, and, on the other hand, he became a model for his successors. The sixteenth-century heirs to the throne followed in his footsteps by various means: Bogdan III continued Stephen’s dynastic construction by exercising influence over Wallachia; Peter Rareș built replicas of his father’s main monastic commission (Putna) and also developed Stephen’s iconography, which resulted in the unique northern Moldavian exterior iconographic programs; Alexander Lăpușneanul used Stephen’s old coat of arms and developed the architecture of his predecessor’s most significant commission, the Rădăuți Monastery, from a dynastic point of view. These examples, complemented by a variety of others, increased the perception of Stephen in the sixteenth century. However, the so-called public perception of Stephen was what ultimately moved the perception of Stephen towards an ideal one. A significant number of people were indirectly influenced by Stephen and unintentionally contributed to the creation of Stephen’s myth – such as the Moldavians born in the last two decades of the fifteenth century (at the end of Stephen’s life) who were able to recall stories about Stephen from a personal perspective; the Szekler and Polish colonizers brought to Moldavia by Stephen who supported their new prince in return for the privileges they received; and simple passers-by, travelers, and diplomats who saw and documented the physical remains of Stephen’s reign and victories (songs being sung about him, votive portraits or other types of imagery representing the late ruler, the physical remains of war such as bones or battle pillars, foundation inscriptions on churches such as the one of Războieni, and so on).

Apart from the insights of these categories of people, the public perception of Stephen in the sixteenth century can also be measured in three other ways: (1)

the appellative “the great,” which, although it started to be used during Stephen’s lifetime, was conclusively crystallized in the first half of the sixteenth century; (2) the propagation of Stephen’s myth can also be seen in fake documents (roughly 37 extant ones) which all rely on the image of Stephen in order for their creators to receive lands, privileges, or donations; (3) the study of legends circulating at the beginning of the seventeenth century reveals the roots of Stephen’s mythical aura – such as the story of “The Hillock of Purcel” or the legend that Stephen built 44 churches, one after each victory.

Both sections of the dissertation end in two parts which exemplify, on the one hand, the accounts of Stephen’s contemporaries about him and, on the other hand, the way Stephen was recalled in chronicles or official documents of the sixteenth century. This includes direct or indirect characterizations of fifteenth-century contemporaries such as Pope Sixtus IV, Jan Długosz, Bernard Wapowski, Maciej Miechowita, Antonio Bonfini, Jakob Unrest, Matteo Muriano, Aşık Paşazade, Tursun Bei, Mehmed Neşri, and Wallachians; as well as acclamations of Stephen as hero and saint and recollections of war histories recorded by Martin Cromer, Marcin Bielski, Maciej Stryzowski, Miklós Istvánffy, Kemal Paşazade, and others.

This dissertation unveils the fifteenth- and especially sixteenth-century layers which stood as the foundation for Stephen’s myth. The image of Stephen the Great was built upon these proto-mythical layers, creating the Stephen that Romanians know and admire up until today: the ultimate defender of one’s land and one’s faith.

**The Thirteenth-Century “International” System and
the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance**

Wojciech Kosłowski

2 December 2014

Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU), supervisor; chair of the defense committee László Kontler (Department of History – CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Daniel Ziemann (Department of Medieval Studies – CEU); Dániel Bagi (Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Pécs); Martyn Rady (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London).

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General Remarks

The central question of this study is what inspired Charles I and Władysław Łokietek to establish a dynastic marriage in 1320 and in what context did it happen. This inquiry is strongly interconnected with an additional interest in whether (and how) the “international” environment, in which both figures formed and strove to achieve their goals and objectives, can be characterized. The research objectives are achieved by developing and employing a theoretical perspective drawn from International Relations (IR) theories applied to historical material in order to generate a well substantiated interpretation of the causes and context of the Angevin-Piast marriage of 1320.

How to make sense of late medieval “international” politics? Is the still current stereotype in historical IR valid in claiming that before the mid-seventeenth century there was no international system that could be meaningfully investigated with IR methods? More specifically, is it possible to theorize political phenomena that occurred in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Central Europe and beyond and avoid being accused of anachronism? Would such theorizing equip a historian with new explanatory powers? Is there any scientific value in starting a conversation between a historian of medieval “international” politics and an IR theorist who focuses fundamentally on contemporary global affairs? In other words, how would an IR theorist respond to the world of international politics as depicted by various medieval source materials? Or, perhaps, is medieval political history a field already conceptually exhausted and harvested with few issues left?

These are the underlying questions that have guided and inspired me. My research can be approached from two perspectives. In terms of content, this is a study of comparative “international” politics, grappling with the complexities of dynastic relations in the kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In terms of concepts and methods, however, this is a pioneering attempt to utilize and adapt the great potential of IR theoretical reflection in order to render a new image of late medieval “international” politics. The interdisciplinary underpinnings of my project are particularly challenging because bridging IR scholarship (developed and elaborated in the specific contexts of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century international system) and traditional political history of the late Middle Ages (itself meticulously explored and analyzed by generations of historians) is an innovation that has to find its place in the scholarly environment and prove its validity.

I would argue, against some criticism I have already encountered, that this undertaking is promising in conceptualizing medieval “international” politics as long as it is not done by means of merely applying theories. Specifically, at the heart of this project lies the conviction that meaningful investigation of this political scene requires new theorization, that is, something more than adapting existing theories. The project also builds on another assertion that IR theories “should not be regarded as non-dynamic, a-historical intellectual constructs,” for they “have been created by someone, somewhere and presumably for some purpose.”¹ Since IR scholarship can provide concepts, frameworks, terminologies, and specific ways of reflecting about international realities – in other words, it delivers building blocks for efficient theory-construction – immersion in this field seems to me an essential step toward developing the necessary abilities to begin theorizing a new field. Such theorizing determines and recognizes the elements of medieval political culture, seeks values and principles, patterns and routinized practices that forged the political interests of medieval actors and shaped their “international” behavior.

A Brief Overview

I summarize the historical problem of my dissertation in one paragraph. In the summer of 1320, Elisabeth, daughter of Władysław Łokietek, newly made king of Poland, married Charles I of Anjou, king of Hungary. Charles I’s two oldest sons had died young, but Louis, his third son, inherited the Hungarian kingdom and was

¹ Knud Erik Jørgensen, *International Relations Theory: A New Introduction* (Basingstoke, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 207.

crowned in 1342. In the meantime, Casimir, Elisabeth's brother and Louis' uncle, succeeded to the Polish crown after Łokietek, his father. In the following decades, Casimir and Louis repeatedly discussed the issue of Louis' prospective succession in Poland in case Kazimierz did not have offspring. The available source material suggests that some pre-arrangements in this matter had already been made in the 1320s between Charles I and Łokietek or between Charles I and Casimir in the 1330s. As a result, in 1370, shortly after Casimir's death, Louis was crowned king of Poland. Judging from what happened in Angevin-Piast relations throughout the fourteenth century, it appears fairly evident that the dynastic marriage of 1320 was a real showdown which laid the foundations for the future cooperation of these two houses and ultimately resulted in a personal union of two Central European kingdoms. At the core of my historical inquiry was to discover the circumstances that brought the marriage of 1320 into being. Therefore, on the one hand, my dissertation asks a conventional historical question: What happened in Central Europe between 1300 and 1320 that made the Angevin-Piast dynastic marriage possible? On the other hand, it strives to document and determine the principles, values, and driving forces that motivated lords in their "international" behavior.

The innovative approach of this study is based on the concept that before the individual motivations of Charles I and Władysław Łokietek are elucidated (as elements central to conventional political history), a broad analysis of "international" practices is carried out. In other words, this study advances its argument in two ways. First, using empirical material, it strives to identify actors, structures, and modes of interaction that were characteristic of the thirteenth-century "international" system in Latin Christendom (with reference to primary neo-realist assumptions). It also seeks to unravel how the political interests of individual actors were shaped (by introducing the concept of "lordly identity" along the constructivist strand). Second, having established a broad context for Charles I and Łokietek pursuing their politics, it implements theoretical conceptualizations to solve the puzzle of the Angevin-Piast dynastic marriage of 1320.

Dissertation Structure

This study is divided into five chapters. At the first sight each of them represents a piece of separate research and only two of them are overtly related to the title of the dissertation. Namely, Chapter 2 deals with "international" system of the thirteenth-century Latin Christendom and Chapter 5 is directly devoted to determining the context in which the Angevin-Piast alliance of 1320 emerged.

This possible impression of incoherence and inconsistency can be amended once the logic of this study is laid out in a structured way. The logic of this work can be succinctly summarized as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces basic terminologies and theoretical concepts which inform the analyses conducted in subsequent chapters and puts forward arguments why this theoretically-driven approach can prove useful and contribute to the scholarly field.

Chapter 2 tackles with the problem of where the thirteenth-century “international” politics of Latin Christendom took place. It investigates the arrangement of the “international” environment in order to determine the nature of the “international” world into which Charles I and Łokietek were born.

Chapter 3 shifts focus from the “international” environment to lordly identities which were shaped in this environment through political culture, and that forged the political interests and routinized practices of lords. In other words, the chapter seeks to identify how political culture transformed the natural “international” environment and what type of thinking about “international” politics it provoked as well as how lords’ behavior responded to this transformation. The scope of analysis is confined chiefly to the Polish lands between 1200 and 1300.

Chapter 4 attempts to test the findings of Chapter 3 against a different historical setting. It strives to ascertain how lordly identity, determined on the example of the Polish lands, corresponds with identities and patterns of behavior identified during Charles I and Wenceslas III’s competition over the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary in the early fourteenth century. More specifically, the chapter revolves around the research question of whether the lordly identities of Charles I and Łokietek are comparable and, thus, whether these identities can be generalized and theorized.

Chapter 5 builds on the analyses carried out in the previous chapters and seeks to determine the origins of the Angevin-Piast marriage perceived with the help of the concept of lordly identity and reflection on the structure of the “international” environment.

Conclusions

In this section I address five findings made in this study which seem to me the most relevant. First, the context of the Angevin-Piast marriage and the presumed motivations which inspired Charles I and Władysław Łokietek to arrange it have been determined. The analysis of their “international” agendas shows that between 1300 and 1320 both rulers had, in fact, little in common and, thus, the

marriage (that laid the foundations for the subsequent alliance) was an outcome of unpredictable developments in family-centered politics, that is, its arrangement derived from Charles I's determination to produce legitimate male offspring who could inherit the lordship which he had already been constantly establishing for two decades. Otherwise, Charles I and Łokietek's political agendas proved to be separate and rather unrelated. It was chiefly their lordly identities as leaders of their families (preoccupied among other things with securing prestigious positions for their children) that made Charles I and Łokietek's interests cross paths. In consequence, commonly held opinions – particularly popular in German and Polish scholarship – about an anti-Luxemburg motivation for this marriage and its direct link to the European-wide rivalry between the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs are refuted.

Second, the theorized characteristic of the thirteenth-century “international” environment into which Charles I and Łokietek were born has been provided. This description – although it has been researched and substantiated with historical evidence – still needs to be perceived as tentative, because this contribution opens a vast field for debate. Here I have demonstrated that the thirteenth-century “international” system was principally built on lordships. These lordships varied in size, wealth, and power (as kingdoms, duchies, free cities, bishoprics, counties, marks, and noble domains did in relation to one another) yet they were identical in nature, that is, they can all be defined as units seeking domination of one or a few men over a piece of land and the people living there. These lordships were basically arranged in a two-dimensional hybrid structure of an “international” system that emphasized the lack of system-wide government (and thus produced conditions for constant fear of aggression and encouraged mutual suspicion) co-existing with powerful cultural components that engendered hierarchical ordering of “international” units (lordships), underlining prestige, elite standing, and legitimate domination as central principles that governed the operations of lordships.

Third, reflecting on the specificity of the thirteenth-century “international” system and the way units in this system were positioned towards one another allowed the conclusion that political culture was a considerable factor capable of shaping lords' interests and objectives on the “international” stage. Furthermore, it revealed that lords of Latin Christendom acted with noticeable conformity to the standards, values, and principles determined by this political culture, expressed as patterns of behavior and routinized practices. Building on a constructivist approach borrowed from IR theories, the conclusion is that the inter-subjective lordly identity (that is, the collective understanding of being a lord without

focusing on individual peculiarities) induced several objective political interests: 1) to hold and sustain a lordship; 2) to produce male offspring and provide them with lordship that guaranteed adequate elite social standing; 3) to enlarge one's lordship, claim new titles, build power and prestige; 4) to retain a successful degree of conformity to the rules and principles that make one a member of Christian society and allow for climbing the ladder of social hierarchy by creating honor and prestige. The concept of lordly identity and its content is a vital tool for elucidating the central problem of this study by shedding light on what sort of social role Charles I and Łokietek presumably aspired to.

Fourth, the overview of national scholarly literatures concerning the Angevin-Luxemburg and Angevin-Piast marriages showcased how researcher-specific and context-contingent an analysis of medieval “international” politics can be. This study attempts to demonstrate that such arbitrariness, which derives from the influence of the scholar's currently held assumptions about how international politics operates in general, can be mitigated, and that by reaching out for more theoretically-informed approaches one can interrogate medieval politics in its complexity and otherness in an inspiring, meaningful, and thought-provoking manner.

Fifth, this study has been a risky experiment, for it strove to connect medieval studies with IR theories, which has rarely been done before, and if so – to the best of my knowledge – then solely by a few IR scholars. Thus, this project had to swim against the current, because the standard IR account is unlikely to theorize medieval politics and medievalists could say that if such an inter-disciplinary bridge has not been established yet this is perhaps because the gap between them is an abyss. However, despite all the flaws and incoherencies in this study, I argue that engaging in theoretical reflection about the nature of the thirteenth-century “international” system, its structure and dominating political culture, is a promising endeavor and worth continuing.

**The Socio-Economic Integration of Cumans in Medieval Hungary.
An Archaeozoological Approach**

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4 May 2015

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The medieval Cuman minority in Hungary migrated to the Carpathian Basin from the Eurasian steppes, where they ostensibly practiced a mobile pastoralist lifestyle for generations. After the devastating Mongol invasion in the mid-thirteenth century, Hungary lost a considerable percentage of its population, especially on the Great Hungarian Plain. This presented a situation where new settlers were needed and parts of the migrating Cuman community could settle for good. Settlement meant something of a change of lifestyle for this minority, and a necessary shift in their economic strategies. Animal husbandry has been the focus of Cuman studies in the sense that their traditions in pastoralist herding have been emphasized in the scholarly literature without researchers actually going into detail about what this form of animal husbandry meant on an everyday level over the whole of their territory and over time. The most direct evidence of animal husbandry, the animal bones recovered from archaeological sites associated with the Cuman population, has, until now, not been studied in a comprehensive manner.

The research questions here target the patterns and stages of integration in terms of changing animal husbandry customs and animal-related phenomena, animal rearing being a key element of Cuman economy from the beginning. A large number of textual sources along with faunal remains from all the available archaeological sites identified as Cuman (Orgondaszentmiklós, Asszonyszállás and Móric in Greater Cumania; Kiskunfélegyháza-Templomdomb, Csengele, Kiskunhalas-MOL 5-Dong ér and Szentkirály in Lesser Cumania, and Perkáta in Transdanubia) are presented as parts of the argumentation. Two additional sites

on the fringes of the Cuman habitation area (Tiszagyenda-Morotva part in Greater Cumania and Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa in southern Hungary) are discussed. For the sake of comparison, archaeometric data was used from more than 60 contemporary medieval Hungarian sites. The archaeological data was combined with textual sources: Charter evidence, tax records, and contemporary travel accounts. The archaeological animal remains were studied using archaeozoological methods, and thus, a biological dataset was placed into a historical and cultural context. The aim of the thesis was to explore whether the Cuman minority's animal husbandry practices differed significantly from the practices characteristic for the rest of the country and whether remnants of their nomadic heritage were in any way preserved in terms of animal management, daily life, and ritual.

Identifying the Cuman community in the textual and archaeological record poses a number of methodological problems as this was a group defined by outsiders and ethnic markers are difficult to grasp. The nomadic pastoralist culture the Cumans brought with them changed quickly after their migration and settlement although different levels of social identity must have altered at different rates and not all of these are accessible now. Some parts of an originally more variable cultural picture, heavily impacted by external influences, were transformed rapidly. At the same time, other aspects of daily life such as food production remained more conservative, especially in small villages.

The limitations of the present study were mainly inherent in the research material. On the one hand, there are special problems connected to general research on the medieval Cuman minority (such as the problem of site identification and the question of ethnic markers), and on the other hand, in the archaeological material itself (outdated excavation methods, small sample sizes, the poor condition of the finds, the limited availability of up-to-date bioarchaeological methods, and the absence of early Cuman dwelling sites). Textual sources are available in abundance only from the sixteenth century onwards.

After discussing the evidence for economic strategies from one region to the other (Greater Cumania, Lesser Cumania, and Transdanubia), the various exploitation forms connected to the animal body are explored. Patterns of meat consumption and butchering techniques were investigated, followed by an analysis of the role animals played in the Cumans' belief system and the domestic species' secondary exploitation for their bones as raw material as well as for their wool and hides. Pathologies observed in the faunal assemblages are discussed in a separate chapter. Finally, a case study is provided on an Iron Age site in Kazakhstan where the temporary settlement of a semi-nomadic population was excavated and the faunal remains analyzed. This short study is intended to serve as a reference point

for proper mobile pastoralism, a probable starting point for the Cumans before their migration.

Cumans entered a Hungarian economy that was in a phase of deep transformation; peasant services and tributes were being restructured, which paved the way for peasants' participation in market-oriented animal production. The three-field system of crop rotation became widespread and market towns started to develop. Thus, a diverse group of steppe people whose economic strategies and social structures were probably in the process of disintegration entered a space where recent transformations created new economic niches that they could fill. At the time when Cuman animal husbandry and meat consumption practices can first be studied in the archaeological record (that is, in the early fourteenth century), the faunal material already displays trends similar to other contemporary assemblages in the Carpathian Basin in terms of both species ratios and kill-off patterns. This suggests that any transformation in terms of animal husbandry happened quickly. However, the starting point for the migrating Cuman population is difficult to pin down, even though written sources are available and speak of an economy centered on animal herding with minimal agriculture. The fact that Cumans seem to have adapted to their new environment relatively quickly in terms of animal keeping supports the theory that Cuman settlement was already an on-going process when frequent Mongol attacks forced them to return to a more mobile life on the steppe and started their migration westwards.

The species encountered on fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Cuman sites are identical to those found at other coeval sites in the Carpathian Basin, with an overwhelming dominance of the four main domesticates and a very small contribution of wild game. The species ratio in the Cuman assemblages displays a slight but statistically significant preference for horse and sheep instead of swine when compared to Hungarian samples, which may be rooted in a preference for a form of animal management focused on sheep and horses typical for the Eurasian steppe region. Cattle was the dominant species in all Cuman assemblages, however, while the proportions of the other three main domesticates fluctuated. The Cuman material seems to vary from one region to the other, and there is no homogenous archaeological assemblage that can be labeled as "Cuman proper," even though almost identical ratios were observed in the Cuman villages of Greater Cumania. The sample from Lesser Cumania is dominated by the small market hub of Szentkirály, while in Greater Cumania assemblages from rather small villages were analyzed, and therefore their comparison must reflect not only regional but also hierarchical differences in settlement type. These differences

also express themselves in site type (size and economic importance, access to road networks, etc.). A statistically significant relationship was observed between ethnic background and the ratio of domesticates in all regions. However, the strength of association is low and suggests a weak relationship between ethnicity and the ratio of the four domesticates. Although minor differences are noted, both the archaeological and the written records testify to the full integration of Cuman populations into the Hungarian economy by the fourteenth-fifteenth century.

Meat consumption in Cuman settlements did not differ from what was generally present in the kingdom at large, with the exception of the unambiguous signs of the regular consumption of horsemeat. The meat quantities calculated show a dominance of beef and pork, while mutton, somewhat surprisingly, played a tertiary role in most cases. The Cuman material is more-or-less uniform in terms of butchering marks found on the bones. Household slaughter was practiced at these villages, which corresponds to their status in the settlement network. Only in Szentkirály were traces of standardized butchery (and the presence of professional butchers) observed. This corresponds to the idea that a settlement's place in the settlement hierarchy had an impact even on activities associated with the household sphere such as food processing. Cut marks from high quality metal-bladed cleavers and other specialized butchering tools were rarely observed on bone refuse coming from small villages. In general, a high number of spiral fractures were present on the long bone diaphyses, some of them accompanied by cutmarks or traces of percussion, signaling a deliberate, if somewhat primitive, process of marrow extraction. Expensive, heavy-duty butchery tools like axes appear to have been used only in primary carcass partitioning to cut through the strongest joints and most bones exhibit signs of having been broken up fresh.

Only minor elements of the once predominant steppe traditions survived into the fifteenth- and sixteenth century when animal management practices across the country and ethnic boundaries had already been greatly transformed. The reason for the disappearance of differences that probably existed at the time of migration is, in my view, rooted in comprehensive processes that shaped the fate of Hungarian and Cuman communities alike and left little room for culturally dependent variations in subsistence strategies.

Animal-related ritual phenomena associated with the Cumans are, in fact, distinct. However, their study always involves the danger of circular reasoning. These phenomena are identified in the record and interpreted as Cuman because they are perceived as being distinct. Most such Cuman finds are burial-related, and include horse and dog burials, food offerings, and amulets placed in graves. In the case of equestrian graves, archaeological material in the Great Plain can

be combined both with Eurasian steppe analogies and descriptions in written sources. The early, thirteenth-century, burials constitute a key cultural layer in the Cuman archaeological heritage, even though these graves mostly reveal information on the élite stratum of the Cuman community alone. The role of dogs in the Cuman belief system is also evident from historical sources, although the actual context of buried dog skeletons is debated in most cases. Possible “pagan” elements in cemeteries in Greater Cumania signify that the Cumans may have preserved some of their more intimate cultural traditions long after their initial settlement, irrespective of their full integration into the economic and social life of the Hungarian Kingdom.

It is clear that Cuman communities underwent a settlement concentration process that was intimately connected with opportunities for acquiring pastures and maintaining larger herds. The re-structuring of the settlement network is particularly evident in the Turkish-Ottoman era. However, there is no evidence that this re-structuring occurred differently in Cuman communities than in non-Cuman ones. Village desertion had already started before the Mongol Invasion, and after the Great Plain was repopulated (partly by the Cuman migrants), this process ran in parallel with the emergence of market towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These market towns were local hubs typically engaged in agricultural production, where weekly markets (and sometimes also larger fairs) were held. These towns started to attract the Cuman population from smaller villages and settlement concentration accelerated. In the sixteenth century, the fate of most settlements was impacted by their immediate exposure to the disturbances brought by war (Turkish-Ottoman occupation and the Fifteen Years’ War), high taxes and, consequently, out-migration.

Market towns also played a key role in the redistribution of pastures that had belonged to abandoned villages. Such pasture lands represented an indispensable resource that was needed for large-scale herding. As a result of the re-organization of the settlement pattern, large tracts of land became available for grazing. As these lands started to be rented and used by market towns, the organization of animal rearing was taken over by these large settlements. It was these pastures that made it possible for the Great Plain’s economic nexus to meet the demands for animal products, especially beef, on the domestic market and later on international markets. The shift in emphasis towards extensive animal rearing was, thus, an economic necessity, a challenge probably positively received by Cumans, who had long traditions in herding (which may even have constituted an integral part of their identity and view of their own ancestral past). Late medieval animal production on the Great Plain, however, should in no way be

considered a continuation of steppe practice. Such enterprises were undertaken by various groups of people irrespective of their cultural background.

Cattle rearing is only indirectly evidenced in the archaeological record, as cattle raised for the market would not be expected to turn up in the kitchen refuse of small settlements except possibly as animals that were taken from the herd because it was deemed likely that they would not survive the long trip into Western Europe. The taxes paid on hay probably reflect the presence of large numbers of livestock that needed complementary fodder. The animals' origin is mostly unknown, although the market town where a cattle merchant came from designates the probable area where the cattle were raised (a form of indirect evidence). Cuman communities participated as suppliers at least partly in this trade. Available records on sheep testify to a strong concentration of livestock, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century on the Great Plain, suggesting production for the market. This process was most apparent in Lesser Cumania. In regions where large-scale sheep rearing is evidenced, the ratio of sheep in the faunal material remained unchanged, again signaling that market-oriented animal production may well go unnoticed in the archaeological sample if sustenance herds and herds for sale were handled separately.

It has been demonstrated that animal husbandry in Cuman and Hungarian villages of the Great Plain in the late thirteenth to early seventeenth century was basically the same. Cultural identity and ethnic background probably had some impact on the species preferences but variations are rather individual and do not display any pronounced spatial clustering. A site's geographical location and position in the settlement hierarchy had a more decisive influence on its animal husbandry practices than any kind of ethnic affiliation. The small differences that were found suggest that complex factors inherent not only in medieval realities but also in deposition and recovery methods had a combined effect on samples that were originally more-or-less uniform. The livestock the Cumans kept does not seem to differ from the stock generally present in the Carpathian Basin. The disappearance or transformation of animal populations potentially brought from the steppe region at the time of the migration, however, cannot be discussed without implementing proper genetic studies, which still remains a task for future research.

**Discourses of Science and Philosophy
in the Letters of Nikephoros Gregoras**

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27 October 2014

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The principal objective of this dissertation is to reconstruct and analyze the discourses of science and philosophy in the letters of the Constantinopolitan scholar Nikephoros Gregoras (d. ca. 1360), a prominent figure on the fourteenth-century Byzantine intellectual scene, well-known to modern scholars as the author of a major work on Byzantine history for the period from 1204 until ca. 1359. This inquiry explores Gregoras' views on mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy expressed in his letters and, consequently, it reevaluates the existing scholarly perspectives on Gregoras' intellectual legacy.

Part I, Nikephoros Gregoras' Epistolary Collection, offers a survey of Gregoras' biography and works, as well as a detailed reconstruction of his "library," that is, a survey of the manuscripts (in particular, of codices which transmitted scientific and philosophical content) that he, in all likelihood, possessed, annotated, compiled, and copied. Part I concludes with a discussion of the manuscript tradition of Gregoras' letters and the context of their preservation and circulation, accompanied by a critical commentary on their modern editions.

The main analytical body of the dissertation consists of two large sections dedicated to astronomy (Part II: Justifications of Astronomy) and to philosophy and letters (Part III: Letters and Philosophy). The principal conceptual motivation behind Parts II and III is the exploration of the dialectical relationship informing Gregoras' intellectual epistolary discourse, namely, the relationship between knowledge (mathematical sciences and philosophy), on the one hand, and rhetoric (letters), on the other. Part II, Justifications of Astronomy, examines the status of the study of astronomy in the early Palaiologan period and discusses various strategies Gregoras employed in order to justify the value of this mathematical

science. Gregoras' programmatic effort to defend astronomy's worthiness is analyzed in the context of the revival of Ptolemaic astronomy in Palaiologan Byzantium, a scholarly "project" that involved erudites from the two preceding generations, notably Maximos Planoudes and Gregoras' mentor, Theodore Metochites. Importantly, Part II, for the first time after its publication in 1936, discusses Gregoras' arithmological treatise *On the Number Seven* which, among other things, is an important piece of evidence for Gregoras' readership of Philo and Macrobius.

Part III, Letters and Philosophy, offers a discussion of philosophical letter writing in Byzantium as well as an analysis of the philosophical premises of Byzantine epistolography. Importantly, its principal discussion problematizes the question of certainty with respect to the human condition through the analysis of three case studies which illustrate Gregoras' strategies for constructing epistolary friendship. Thus, Part III addresses two of the main problems of the dissertation, namely, what are, in Gregoras' view, the possibilities and limitations of human knowledge and, correspondingly, what is the status of science and philosophy as the acquisition of knowledge is at their core *qua* disciplines.

The dissertation concludes that in his letters Gregoras maintains that mankind's ability is limited in attaining knowledge of the perceptible world due both to the nature of the objects studied and to the faculties of the inquiring intellect, but, nevertheless, with the help of divine providence it is possible to achieve certainty and comprehension. One such example is the study of the heavenly bodies and their movements. Not only are the planets and stars created by God as signs for mankind to understand, according to Gregoras, but also the regularity of their motion and its mathematical principles facilitate the use of the astronomical science for the attainment of knowledge. Similarly, an ideal friendship, one that manifests itself in the discursive unity of the correspondents, brings certainty and knowledge of oneself and of the other.

**Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary
(Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries):
A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and its Monasteries**

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19 December 2014

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The former abbey church of Ákos (Acâș, Romania) is one of the most important Romanesque monuments of medieval Hungary. It is a good example to illustrate the complex issues of the so-called “kindred monasteries.”

The introductory chapter re-assesses the conceptual framework and terminology, synthesizing the main debates and results on kindreds and their monasteries. Art historians, archaeologists, social historians, and church historians have all elaborated their own concepts, methodologies, and terminology, sometimes influencing each other. But, the reciprocal borrowings of concepts were often made without proper critiques and no attempt was made at a systematic integration.

Kindred monasteries were originally defined as those founded by noble families to serve as links between the different branches of related families. They were used as common burial places and as cult centers. All private monasteries were first referred to in the scholarship as “kindred monasteries,” an artificial linguistic construct, as such a term does not appear in the sources. After WWII, new socio-historical research led to new developments, most importantly separating the historical meaning of “kindred” as the social elite from related concepts of social organization, the system of inheritance and property rights. In this latter sense, a kindred was the assembly of male-line descendants of an ancestor who enjoyed special rights of inheritance and property.

The foundation and patronage of monasteries was linked to the concept of the social elite, which kindreds used to develop and express their influence

and social status. Some kindreds emphasized their lineage's connections with historical figures by calling themselves *de genere* (descendants) of famous ancestors. The importance of origins was also marked in the use of certain heraldic signs, their preference for certain first names, and certain elements of the oral historical tradition of kindreds – several of them incorporated in narratives of national history. All of this legitimized kindreds through increased prestige. The foundation of monasteries could plausibly be an element of such strategies through the cult of ancestors. There were, however, prestigious kindreds who do not seem to have patronized any monastery and there were other kindreds that founded two or even more monasteries, which suggests that the role of monasteries was more complex than only the veneration of ancestors. Focusing on the relationships of monasteries with patron families revealed that there were no collective foundations. Monasteries were founded by individuals and collective patronage was only the result of inheritance. In fact, monasteries were not factors in defining the concept of kindred, as the patrons were not always identical with the whole family.

From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical history, the patronage of kindreds over monasteries fits into the general development of private patronage in medieval Hungary. It followed the development from the system of proprietary churches to the use of the *ius patronatus* terminology, maintaining the essential features related to the role and rights of patrons. Scholars came to see that the endowing of monastic foundations by the upper elite was echoed in the foundation of parish churches and chapels by families at lower social levels. From the viewpoint of the church there was no legal difference among the types of church institutions that attracted patrons (monasteries, parish churches, and chapels) and no distinction was made among the lay founders and patrons. Monasteries founded and patronized by kindreds were significantly weaker economically than royal foundations; they did not have the same administrative, juridical, and ecclesiastical privileges.

A considerable number of abbey churches belonging to the monasteries of kindreds have been preserved, being the most significant extant architectural monuments of Hungarian Romanesque style. Royal monastic foundations were almost entirely demolished or transformed, together with cathedrals and collegiate churches. In contrast with parish churches and chapels, abbey churches are of high standards and more impressive in their decorative programs, which has been of interest to art historians. A “kindred monastery”-type church was eventually defined as a triple-aisled basilica (with variations). This art historical concept influenced historical research in general for decades, not only in its artistic implications, but also in its social meaning. New data from field studies has

led to revisions of the conceptual framework as well as typological and stylistic classifications. This type of ground plan arrangement was not specific to abbey churches of monasteries with kindred patrons, but to other churches as well and stylistic connections are not restricted to certain monasteries related to a single order or patronized by a particular social class. Further architectural details, with liturgical, juridical or even economic implications, must be considered; burials seem to be the most significant as they were the most important links with the patrons.

Analysis of results of previous scholarship showed that my inquiry must start with a general overview encompassing all monasteries under private patronage, not only to those linked to kindreds, and address several basic issues, such as: How many monasteries were under patronage of kindreds or other lay persons? What were their chronological evolution, spatial distribution, and affiliation? To get answers I compiled a list of monastic foundations in Hungary established before 1400 (in the appendix), on the basis of a recently edited monastic catalogue of monasteries (*Kolostor CD* by Romhányi).

It seemed important to determine the relations of monasteries with parishes in order to assess their spiritual role and social status, their location in the estate structure and relation to the patron's residence. I limited the general analysis to the regional level, examining cases from Bihar, Szabolcs, and Szatmár counties. The results of this survey were formulated in chapter III. The socio-economic status of monasteries is further clarified through several case studies, focusing on the relation of patrons with their monasteries and on the management of the estates (in chapter IV).

In the context of the scarcity of relevant sources, all available types of sources on monasteries should be used with joint methodology: Charters and other narrative sources, archaeological discoveries and art historical considerations. Moreover, it became clear that the history of each monastery should be integrated into the genealogical evolution of the patron kindred and the history of its possessions. The case of Ákos kindred was fortunate, as Ákos Abbey is among the best preserved Romanesque monuments and the results of its architectural and archaeological analyses (discussed in chapter VI) can be integrated in the history of the patron kindred (presented in chapter V).

A four-stage research methodology was adopted: A general overview, a regional survey, case studies focusing on the relation of monasteries with their patrons and the management of the estates, and, finally, a case study of the Ákos kindred and of Ákos Abbey, where the detailed architectural and archaeological information was integrated into the history of the kindred. Turning from the

case of Ákos to general issues, the conclusions formulated at each stage of the research can be generalized to other contexts.

Results of the General Survey

From about 480 monasteries founded in Hungary before 1400, roughly one half – 234 – of the monasteries were under private patronage. To identify the patrons it was necessary to compile the types of patronage (royal, ecclesiastical, and private). I conclude that change in the type of patronage was rather rare and special. The chronological distribution of private foundations reflects the general development of monasticism in medieval Hungary. The origins date back to the eleventh century although monasteries were founded in greater numbers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The practice of foundation continued in later periods, but with significant changes in regard to affiliation. While almost all private foundations were Benedictine until the last decades of the twelfth century, during the next century the Premonstratensians became more popular. During the fourteenth century, private foundations were directed toward the Pauline Hermits – which became the most popular order in this period – and toward the mendicants. The number of private Cistercian houses remained rather low in Hungary. This evolution indicates a shift in strategies of patronage and suggests that the roles of monasteries belonging to the classic monastic orders were gradually taken over by mendicants and Paulines from the fourteenth century. People of lower social status practiced private patronage at lesser churches (parishes and chapels), but with identical patterns. The spatial distribution of private monasteries shows that they were rare on the peripheries of the kingdom and in Transylvania, which is explained by the geographical and natural conditions and the special social organizations existing there. Moreover, the smaller number of monasteries in the central part of the Hungarian Great Plain is explained by the massive destruction in these regions that corresponded roughly to the territory seized and ruled by the Ottomans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Private Monasteries in the Ecclesiastical and Socio-Economic Topography

Cases from Bihar, Szatmár, and Szabolcs counties were analyzed based on papal tithe lists and the estate map by P. Engel. It became clear that parish boundaries and their network were strongly correlated with the estates and not the settlements themselves. Furthermore, the implication of monasteries for pastoral care assumed by the previous scholarship is less evident. The tithe lists attest a weaker

economic status for monasteries under private patronage, while other sources reveal the complex topography of churches inside a settlement; besides abbey churches, there were separate parish churches, and also occasionally other types of churches. Furthermore, it became clear that abbeys were surrounded by the estates of their patrons in almost all cases. Although the inner topography of the estates remains unclear due to a lack of data, these case studies show that the site of a private monastery was more or less central in the topography of the estate. The most important feature of this topographic situation was the relation with the patrons' residence – which was fortified in several cases.

The advantages of a monastery being located at the heart of estate and close to the residence of the patrons, however, left monasteries vulnerable to the patrons. The patrons, following cultural custom, were directly involved in administering monastic estates and managing their economic resources. The cases of Zselicszentjakab and Ják show that in the early stage the properties of private monastic foundations were administered jointly by the abbots and patrons. Later, during the fourteenth century, patrons often turned against the monasteries, aiming to secularize their possessions. Zselicszentjakab and Ják are not the only examples in this period of abbeys that lost their properties to their patrons. These examples imply that despite conflicts, both abbeys were concerned to get help and protection from secular patrons. Theoretically (and according to canon law), private monastic foundations were landowners with full control over their properties. In practice, however, they could administer their estates only with the help of patrons.

The economic status of the monasteries was dual; they were proprietors, but at the same time properties. Similarly, the relationship with the patrons evolved dually; income and properties were sometimes lost to patrons, but most private foundations managed to survive in a weakened condition. This suggests that monasteries continued to fill several functions for the patrons and the wider community – probably closely related to the spiritual functions of the monastery, among which the most important seem to have been burial places and the commemorative liturgy performed there. The interdependent relations among patrons and their monasteries weakened through the centuries and were transformed to some extent, but did not cease to exist entirely.

The Ákos Kindred and its Monasteries: The Case of the Ákos Abbey

The Abbey of Ákos is among the best preserved Romanesque monuments in the former Hungarian Kingdom. Few charters are directly linked to the abbey, but the patron kindred – called, like the monastery, Ákos – was among the most ancient

and influential kindreds in the kingdom. Members of the family had important administrative positions as high as the office of palatine during the Árpáadian Age. At a later stage, the kindred disintegrated into several branches and, although some members still had successful careers, others, among them the owners of the village of Ákos and a monastery, gradually lost almost all of their possessions.

The estates owned by the kindred can be grouped roughly into three main blocks: One along the Berettyó River, one along the Ér in Bihar and Közép Szolnok Counties, and a third in Pest County in the lower valley of the Galga River. Three early monastic foundations were each made to corresponding to a block of estates. Among them, the monastery of Ákos in Közép Szolnok seems to have been the earliest, founded during the last decades of the twelfth century. The relations of the descendants of the kindred with the early monasteries weakened gradually and led to the abandonment or the dissolution of the kindred's ancestral monastic establishments.

The architectural and archaeological research on Ákos Abbey is a significant contribution to the study of monasteries under private patronage. The triple-aisled basilica with a western tower and gallery, eastern altars, and oratories with a side-chapel indicate the demands and ambitious program of the founder(s), above the average level seen in the region in that period. The monastic complex was surrounded by a ditch in the early phase, but besides the chapel no other buildings are known. The architectural features and finds, among them burials, fit into the group of monastic sites of this period. These discoveries yielded a detailed and accurate picture of a twelfth-century abbey under private patronage, probably built in connection with an early residence of the patron kindred.

Conclusions

The general overview of private patronage demonstrates that this concept is more than adequate to describe the relations of patrons with their monasteries and to explain their evolution. Its validity is wider in both a social and chronological sense; it applies to lower social strata, not only to the elites formed by noble kindreds; it can be detected in later periods in relation with Pauline and mendicant foundations. There are no architectural features which can be identified as typical for this group, but several elements related to the functions linked to the patrons can be seen. Among them the most important are the burials which were present at all the sites researched with archaeological methods. The case study of Ákos Abbey fits well into these results of the general overview as it offers good comparative material: the side chapel, burials, and grave goods. The fate of the

abbey is also paradigmatic, as only the abbey church is preserved, transformed to a parish church after the dissolution of the monastery.

**Hagiography as Memory:
Saints' Cults and the Construction of the Past in Medieval Dalmatia**

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8 April 2015

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The aim of this research is to trace the role of hagiography and the cults of saints in constructing and preserving particular aspects of collective memories in medieval Dalmatian cities. Through studying hagiography and cults of urban patron saints, this study deals with the history and reenactment of diverse memories of persons and events whose historicity is often doubtful, yet whose reception was of great importance for their medieval recipients. This approach is based on the presupposition that both “memory” and “history” – always “the result of retrospective processing” – were important and meaningful for their recipients as a way of recollecting their past, but reflecting equally their contemporary views about themselves as communities. Such a view is not a novelty in general. Yet, its well-defined and focused application to selected case studies from medieval Dalmatian cities promises not only to broaden the accessible corpus of case studies on medieval hagiography and cults of the saints, but, more importantly, offers insights into the ways particular “historical” aspects of “social knowledge” – preserved through “networks of memory” of urban patron saints – was operational in shaping group identities in medieval Dalmatian communes.

Concepts, Terminology, and Problems

The geographical term Dalmatia in the title was originally meant to stand for the three prominent coastal cities: Zadar, Split, and Dubrovnik. Focusing on these three, my original intention was also to refer to other Eastern Adriatic urban centers (like Osor, Rab, and Trogir) as well as some other communities in their hinterland (like Nin). In the present form the study covers much less. Expectedly, *brevitas vitae et longitudo artis* made me narrow my focus and adopt an approach of “asymmetrical comparison” with a strong focus on Zadar. In terms of the temporal framework, this study will cover the period roughly defined as the Middle Ages. In the local context, it usually refers to the period between ca. 600 and ca. 1400, a time span marked by two important watersheds: The collapse of the Roman administrative system in Dalmatia and the Venetian final subjection of the Dalmatian communes. While it is clear that neither dividing line should be taken as fixed, their particular symbolic importance justifies the choice.

While the cult of the saints and their hagiographies stand in the focus of this study, the point of departure in the background of the present inquiry are two historical problems: The break in cultural continuity (whether real or imagined) between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages and high medieval societies’ attempts to bridge these gaps by “recovering” their urban memories. How did the particular fragments of the heritage of Roman Dalmatia – in the form of “cultural memory” – survive (even if only as ideal stories) and continue to live in the radically changed social, cultural, and political settings of late medieval urban communes. In other words, the “background aim” of this study is to investigate how urban communities in the early through High Middle Ages perceived particular aspects of their history and how they used different “fragments of the past” to construct their own symbolic, social, and political realities.

Based on the quantity and quality of the available source material, two historical periods in the proposed framework will be approached as – to a certain extent – separate. In the first period (ca. 800 – ca. 1150) the most important (if not exclusive) agents were the ecclesiastical institutions and the most important “vehicles of remembering” were their “memories”, thus, the study will focus heavily on the ecclesiastical institutions and communities attached to them. Moving into the later period (ca. 1150 – ca. 1450), attention increasingly turns towards new institutions and social groups that were rising – with a special focus on the formation and the development of both the communal organization and urban nobility. This analysis is, therefore, an attempt at reading chosen medieval sources against their historical backgrounds *sub specie relationum* between the communities’

distant past and their present identities – as reflected in the “preservation” of a particular segment of collective memories connected to the saints. In tracing these, the study comes close to examining and reconstructing what is sometimes termed “discourses of collective identity” or “different strategies of collective self-representation” of these urban communities.

The study is divided in two parts. In the first, consisting of two chapters, I will discuss: (a) the theoretical and methodological foundations of this inquiry and develop an analytical model for this study; (b) present an overview of sources and assess relevant scholarship; and (c) give an introductory overview of the history of the region – viewed through the lenses of “three discourses of identity” – meant to set the background for particular case studies. The second part of the study consists of a series of case studies where the model is applied to particular micro-histories. The possible disproportion between methodological discussion and two case studies from one city derives from the original goal of this project. Namely, this work was originally meant to include three case studies exploring “mnemohistories” of the main urban patron saints of Zadar, Split, and Dubrovnik. In the present form, however, it is narrowed to a rather asymmetric comparison focusing on two case studies from Zadar (dealing with three saints’ cults) and comparing the results with the evidence concerning cults from other cities.

Research Methods and Thesis Structure

While possible approaches to these phenomena are to a large extent determined by the nature of the (medieval) source material, the basic theoretical foundation of this study comes from an understanding of society as a system of communication. In this, I rely – in the most general sense – on the work of the authors nowadays called “social constructivists” (N. Luhmann, P. Berger and T. Luckmann) and their interpretative frameworks of society – most notably their notions of a “system of systems” and their insights into the “nature of social knowledge.” Another indirect inspiration derives from symbolic/interpretative anthropology, especially authors like M. Douglas, V. Turner and C. Geertz and their insights into the importance of symbols for understanding society. The key methodological question here is how to access these problems in particular historical societies. In other words, the issue is how these largely theoretical hypotheses and models can be applied to analyze and interpret the utterances one encounters in the available medieval sources.

As regards a concrete means of analysis, this study draws strong inspiration from the branch of what is nowadays termed memory studies, notably the

work of authors like J. Assmann, and their understanding of cultural memory. As memory has, according to many theoreticians, become one of the central analytical concepts of modern historiography – although to a certain extent controversial – it is hard to avoid discussing basic terminology and epistemological foundations of its application in medieval studies. In this sense, the first chapter is meant to address the problem of “how the term ‘memory’ can be operational in articulating the connections between the cultural, the social, and the political, between representation and social experience” in a particular historical setting. Therefore, in this chapter I will discuss methodology, the basic concepts and analytical tools to be used here by departing from the definitions of the basic terminology. By summarizing and reviewing the state of the art in memory studies and assessing its applications in medieval studies in the first subchapter I will discuss its applicability for the present study. In the second subchapter, I try to clarify particular problems, first by returning to the general problem of the relation between memory and history, and then by focusing on medieval history writing, then finally turning to hagiography. Here I will approach my source base by discussing the meaning of hagiography, defining the term as it will be used in this study and pointing out its role in shaping the cult of the saints into a vehicle of memory. The last subchapter develops the analytical model to be applied here. The proposed analytical model (“hagiographical memory network“) is meant to help understand the relationships between texts, objects, and practices, on the one hand, and the “discourses of identity” on the other. In this basic distinction, the former can be understood as a passive element while the latter implies more dynamic aspects of the interaction. While aware of tensions between these concepts deriving from different conceptual backgrounds, I hope the tension will prove to be inspiring rather than a hindrance.

The central hypothesis here is that “memory networks” connected to the saints, only a single aspect of huge and complex networks of different types of “historical knowledge,” are, in many ways, unique and important. Developing a workable model should result not only in detecting valuable “historical moments” in mnemohistories of the saints, but also identifying lasting “symbolic structures” that allowed for the clustering of memories and the production of enduring narratives. In chronological sequence, the material will be approached by moving from the older towards the more recent evidence. In an analytical sense that means moving from fragments (elements), through the network (reconstruction of), towards the emergence of the “discourses of identity”. Finally, while, the scarcity of evidence often makes it difficult to reach any firm conclusions, I am

convinced that this approach is especially useful in an attempt to overcome the traditional distinctions among different types of sources.

In the second chapter, I assemble a workable typology of sources, assess the existing scholarship, and discuss the problems of interpretation in the framework of this analysis. In undertaking such a complex task, drawing upon a broad array of sources is unavoidable (from hagiography, historiography and other types of narrative sources, liturgy, objects, and monuments to charter evidence and laws), thus, I propose grouping sources and treating the groups separately to a certain extent. In addressing the problems connected to the existing scholarship I also refer to the most important advances in the study of medieval Dalmatian cities with special emphasis on recent publications, (unpublished) dissertations and relevant papers in Croatian. By assessing these texts, I try to detect “gaps in the field” that may mark the limitations of the proposed approach on the one hand, and point towards possible breakthroughs on the other.

Historical Background

The third chapter presents a brief overview of the history of the region with the focus on three key critical issues that loom in the background of this inquiry: (a) The question of the continuity/discontinuity of ecclesiastical and other institutions between late antiquity and the High Middle Ages, (b) The role of the memories of an ambiguous Classical and early Christian past in bridging the historical gap and constituting communal identities, and (c) The particular (in my view central) role the cult of the saints played in this process as an important point of reference. These issues will be approached through heuristic concepts (analytical categories, “discourses of identity”): *civitas* (implying primarily the idea of “urbanity”), *christianitas* (Christianity/Christendom), and *romanitas* (“Romanity”). As these three concepts stand for sets of more complex issues, they are taken as the point of departure not because it is certain or self-evident that they were indeed the central aspects of urban self-identification in late antique and early medieval Dalmatia, but primarily because they have often been “neuralgic points” of recent scholarly debate on issues of continuity and discontinuity in the region. Thus, far from claiming they were (ever) only, or even, the prevailing, “discourses”, I use them primarily as organizing principles and analytical tools.

Case Study: Zadar and its Patron Saints

The fourth and the fifth chapters explore the cults of the two patron saints of Zadar. Both are the result of applying the proposed analytical model to particular

cults. In brief, these chapters present case studies of diverse memories that took shape in the context of the hagiography and the cults of the patron saints of Zadar. The foundation and backbone of this study is the analysis of the “histories of memories” of the chosen Iadertine patron saints. Therefore, chapters four and five, both in terms of the quantity and quality of the analyses, surpass the rest of the material by far. The saints in question were the local early medieval bishop St. Donatus and the early Christian martyrs St. Anastasia and St. Chrysogonus (with the cults of other early Christian martyrs belonging to the same “hagiographical record” (Agape, Chionia, Irene, and Zoilus) taken into consideration). Other important cults (such as that of Symeon the Just in Angevine Zadar) are treated only *en passant*. The extension of the “asymmetrical comparison” in the sixth chapter is a remnant of the original project to include case studies from Split and Dubrovnik. Observations on the cults of other Dalmatian patron saints are – in the present shape of this project – meant primarily to test the proposed model and sketch directions for future comparative research.

Thus, having outlined the basic chronological framework of the cults’ emergence in early medieval Zadar, the bulk of these chapters is a result of an attempt to reconstruct the “memory network” that grew gradually around the relics and churches during the subsequent centuries. In order to do this, I will, following the model, first treat the “colder” (or the more passive) elements of the network – that is, the buildings and the temporal network (local *sanctorale*) – moving through somewhat more “lukewarm” reliquaries towards the “warmest” (the most active) elements such as the legends and images. The reason to address the buildings first derives from the fact that they represent the oldest layer of the network, while the decision to go on with the “shaping of time” is mostly due to the fact that reconstructing the liturgical system helps detect a series of disturbances in the network important for understanding the dynamics of the adoption/appropriation of the cults.

The starting point of these two chapters is the “lack of a local early Christian hagiographic tradition,” therefore making the translation legends particularly important testimony on the local appropriation of the otherwise “universal” saints. In both cases, the first two subchapters describe the ways the cults “conquered” the town in space and time, how the churches came to dominate the physical space of Zadar, and how the feasts filled the local calendar with the presence of the two martyrs. In this context, the buildings are seen not only as important evidence of the power of the institutions which stood behind them, but as a rich source for understanding the history of the cults. While the earlier episcopal basilica, built on the foundations of an early Christian cult center placed in the

Roman forum itself, testifies to continuity in urban functions in the fragmentation of the spiritual and secular authority in the later period, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, with its sister monastery of St. Mary, contested the ideal centralized unity of the community. Inquiry into the dates and layers of the feasts will help establish a temporal network as well as trace clues for understanding the relations between the cults and the communities of their venerators.

The next step is an attempt to reconstruct the part of the network consisting of the physical remains of the martyrs, focused on reliquaries. The central part of the inquiry into the function of the networks consists of subchapters dedicated to analyses of local hagiography and visual material (i.e., iconography) related to the saints. Finally, each of the chapters includes a third part dealing with the “discourses,” or the local knowledge of the saints and their place in late medieval politics. These subchapters are meant as the closest possible approach to the modern-day understanding of collective memory. The sources from this period (thirteenth through fifteenth century) allow for a somewhat more concrete inspection of the epistemological and ethical status of the cults in politics and history.

Conclusions

In the final chapter the results of this inquiry are summarized and juxtaposed to similar phenomena in the regional context (i.e., other medieval towns “typologically” sharing Zadar’s hagiographic heritage). Split had a strong local hagiographic tradition of Salonitan martyrs which was appropriated by the Church of Split during the early Middle Ages. The appropriation of Salonitan hagiography is analyzed in the broader context of the transformation and assimilation of the Salonitan early Christian tradition in medieval Split. The development of the relations between the Split ecclesiastical and communal organization gives a picture quite different from that of Zadar. In Split, both the weight of the Apostolic tradition and the seemingly overwhelming burden of evidence contributed to this tradition being church-centered. Unlike Zadar, here the patron of the commune never came into play. Finally, the third point of comparison – Dubrovnik – shows a completely different political and institutional situation. Its more distant location, different political destiny and more successful trading activity made Dubrovnik different from other Dalmatian cities in many ways. All in all, this comparative perspective will help raise questions of how different development in these cities, vis-à-vis external factors like Venice, on the one hand, and inner urban developments, on the other, influenced the ways urban patron saints were “remembered.” Finally, while it might be irritating to

end unanswered questions, my view is that the present discussion will offer not only enough material for fruitful analysis, but also an inspiring interpretative framework for future comparative research.

Martyr Memories: The Afterlife of the Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium between East and West in Medieval Hagiographical Collections (Eighth – Eleventh Centuries)

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2 June 2015

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This dissertation explores the “afterlife,” uses and medieval readings of an early Christian martyrdom narrative, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. I reconstruct the cultural and social contexts of the text centuries after it was composed as reflected in Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian, and Georgian manuscripts. This narrative is a paradigmatic representative of its genre: anonymous, without exact dating, allegedly written in the fourth century. Bereft of information about the original language and the original version, it records the death and martyrdom of an early Christian bishop, Irenaeus of Sirmium. The “afterlife” encompasses the places and the collections in which this text was included, its relation with the cult, and its textual transformations.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* belongs to the genre of martyrdom literature, which had a changing status and ambiguous treatment from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. One of the purposes of this literature might have been the exhortation to martyrdom and the establishment of model behavior for Christians facing persecution. After CE 313, however, encouraging martyrdom was curtailed to simple veneration and memory. Created at the threshold of the acceptance of Christianity as a tolerated religion, martyrdom literature went

through processes of rewriting and purification to be acceptable after the age of transition. Rewriting is clearly observable in the great many textual variations of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. The study of these textual variants constitutes the core of this dissertation. Textual variants, however, do not reveal much in their own right without taking into consideration the communities behind the texts. The communities that rewrote this text in different languages were bound to a multiplicity of places, environments, and realms. These circumstances influenced the text. The analysis of different contexts contributed to understanding how the martyr was “remembered” in various Christian communities. The Middle Ages were chronologically removed from the age of Early Christian martyrs. The distance compelled me to reflect on the uses of the past in the early medieval period. I dealt with the uses of the past through my case study of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*.

Concepts, Terminology, and Problems

In this dissertation I understand “martyrdom narratives” as an early Christian genre and a sub-genre of hagiography, which scholars commonly call “acts and passions of martyrs.” The term “martyrdom narratives” implies that the text ends with a martyr’s death or martyrdom. This is characteristic for acts and passions alike and the term does not necessitate further distinction between the two concepts. Scholars have attempted to distinguish the two concepts in the past and offered a number of definitions, none of them fully satisfying. Martyrdom narratives stand at the outset of medieval hagiography and are understood as part of the broader genre of hagiography.

The dissertation focuses on the Early Middle Ages (eighth to eleventh century). The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* first surfaces in an eighth-century Latin manuscript. By the eleventh century, Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic manuscripts copies of it existed. The eleventh century was a determining period in the afterlife of this narrative. After the eleventh century, the Latin West saw a notable increase of the number of manuscripts containing this text, while the text almost completely disappeared in Byzantium and its commonwealth, where the number of manuscripts decreased. Later manuscripts are used in the dissertation as a contrast group. Geographically, “East” and “West” in the title imply the Greek-speaking Byzantium and its multilingual Commonwealth (Bulgaria, Armenia and Georgia), and the Latin-speaking half of the former Roman Empire.

My research received inspiration from recent work on early martyrdom literature, which analyzes what these narratives reveal about the ideologies of martyrdom and the social and cultural contexts of Early Christianity. Yet, any such

research must acknowledge that the textual history of Early Christian martyrdom texts is extremely complicated. At the time when martyrdom narratives were copied in medieval manuscripts, their transmission was characterized by varieties. It is impossible to know the initial layer of a text and the consecutive additions during medieval reworking. Consequently, ancient Christian texts contain not only ancient layers, but also later interpolations and insertions. No text can be taken for granted without following each phase of its afterlife. However, modern scholars have hardly acknowledged the full extent of varieties and the textual variants have usually been neglected in favor of the representative manuscripts that were used as bases for critical editions. Current methodological trends, which attempt to reconstruct the ideologies and mentalities of Early Christians, mostly base their research on textual editions.

Research Methods

“New Philology” has the potential to deal with textual varieties. It describes the history of a period or a group by using the written sources which came out as cultural products of the same period and the same group in order to understand their perspectives on their own history. New Philology was a methodology used in colonial studies in the 1970s, striving to study the history of colonized people by using their own written sources (Lockhart, Restall, Schroeder). The study of native language sources was crucial to understanding indigenous societies. New Philology entered medieval studies in the 1990s, first in medieval French and Norse studies (Driscoll). The work of the Würzburg research group was particularly effective in the field of hagiography combined with New Philology.

The study of hagiographical texts combined with the methodology of New Philology has been encouraged by the general instability and differences among medieval textual variants. “Variation is what medieval text was about.” It is possible to have as many versions of a text as there are manuscripts. New Philology does not focus on varieties *per se*; the versions speak to the specific contexts of their use and reveal the way a text was performed and understood as a separate unit or as a part of the whole manuscript. This approach is particularly applicable when studying anonymous texts whose origin and original text are disregarded and the text is studied in the different contexts and the form in which it was used in different communities. Narratology and intertextuality complement New Philology in this dissertation in presenting textual variability regarding the narrative structure and textual borrowings. I relied on the works of Gérard Genette and Mieke Bal. The study of the places of manuscript production and use

concerns manuscript geography. In the study of calendars, I used the quantitative method of Guy Philippart.

Dissertation Structure

Chapter one presents the places where manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* were produced, kept, and used. The chapter touches upon the issues of availability and comprehensibility of hagiographical texts to wider audiences. The connections of the various *scriptoria* that produced the manuscripts containing this text and the emergence of the first translation of this text are also discussed. Chapter two discusses the importance of calendars in the processes of the survival of hagiographical texts. A hagiographical text had to cope with the complex set of rules applied in the formation of hagiographic collections. Complying with such guidelines meant an enduring afterlife for a hagiographical narrative. The period from the eighth to the eleventh century was the key period for martyrs and other saints to establish themselves in calendars and be remembered or to fade into oblivion for good. Chapter three investigates the links of the alleged local late antique and medieval saintly cult of Irenaeus and the appearance of his hagiographical text in collections arranged according to the calendars which were used in places that could claim him as a local saint. The aim of the chapter is to understand that the presence of saints in calendars did not necessarily depend on their cults and their local prominence. Calendars often had a life of their own. Chapter four deals with textual varieties of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in different Christian traditions and different languages, as well as within the same-language groups. It reveals the extent to which medieval interpolations affected the processes of textual transformation of late antique texts. The chapter seeks to determine whether the textual variants revealed the preferences of particular communities or whether the texts displayed solely the different phases of textual *metaphrasis*. This pertains to the question of whether communities shaped the text. This particular issue is elaborated in chapter five, where the focus is on several manuscripts in which the text was transformed to suit the purposes of new collections. The dissertation ends with the epilogue, where the contemporary use of martyrdom symbolism in Sremska Mitrovica is discussed.

Conclusions

The dissertation shows that martyrdom symbolism functions in both medieval and contemporary examples. Of the past reused, the strongest element is the

reworking of past suffering. This mechanism has been particularly efficient in times of turmoil between a current crisis and a need to invoke past martyrdoms. Candida Moss argues that whenever Christians feel threatened, they return to the martyrs of the early Church for consolation and inspiration. Early Christian martyrdom narratives were continually rewritten in the Middle Ages because of their potential for such appeal among Christians.

Byzantine emperors in the middle Byzantine period commissioned collections of saints' lives, some of which excelled in the number of martyrdom narratives. One of these collections is Moscow Syn. 183, the "Imperial Menologion" dedicated to Emperor Michael IV Paphlagonian. The texts ended in a prayer for the emperor where the martyr is asked to grant the emperor earthly benefits. The emotional tone in the texts of this *Menologion* differ significantly from their earlier versions. Such a collection was cleverly conceived in order to enforce the feelings of vengeance by the present and the generations to follow. It had an "agenda" to transform single texts in order to fit the collection. One of the changes introduced in version BHG 949e of this collection was the description of the martyr as a victimized hero. This feature shows the change in the initial purpose of the text among the Greek textual versions. While BHG 959e and BHG 950z transform a paradigmatic character into a victim, BHG 948 describes the martyr as an inspiring character apt for emulation. Such transformations fit into the general trends in rewriting hagiographical literature in the Middle Ages. The examples abound and go beyond what we know about them by far.

In the process of survival and transmission, medieval hagiographical texts not only had to go through extensive textual transformations but also cope with the complex processes of aligning saints in calendar collections. The memory of saints was dependent on the feast day of a saint, the position of the feast day in calendars compared to the movable cycle, other saints who were celebrated on the same date or on the choice of scribes and copyists. Some saints had a prominent cult, providing a safe way to keep their feast day, a place in the calendar, and secure ground in which to plant their hagiographical text. However, for lesser-known saints and saints without relics a cult was not the way to enter calendar collections in the transitional period from the popularization of the cult of saints to the standardization of the church calendars. Calendars were sometimes transferred and fossilized from a more authoritative realm and adopted without appropriation.

Hagiographical texts occasionally did not reveal anything about the communities and societies that used them. Alternatively, textual versions displayed different phases of textual *metaphrasis*. The Old Church Slavonic and Latin texts

analyzed in this dissertation reflect different phases of Greek textual *metaphrasis* and do not reveal much about the societies and groups which copied these texts. BHG 948 is another form of *metaphrasis* without uncovering the mentality of the communities that created it. Several variants reflect purposeful transformations, such as manuscript Moscow Syn. 183.

The Greek variants developed two independent lines of narrative which continued throughout the Middle Ages. One line relates to BHG 950z (*The Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or, and Oropsens*) in the manuscripts from Jerusalem, Athos, Sinai, and Southern Italy, while the other line relates to BHG 948 from Constantinople, which was later translated in Latin, Old Church Slavonic, and Armenian. Multiple narratives about the same saint thus appeared quite independently in different parts of the Mediterranean world.

The Old Church Slavonic text does not contain a paragraph of the text which commonly appears in other versions. This paragraph may not have existed when the text was translated from a Greek version. This conclusion makes the Old Church Slavonic text the earliest extant textual version, which further raises a red flag on trends in the study of martyrdom literature. It is uncommon that scholars use versions in languages such as Old Church Slavonic when discussing various early Christian views expressed in early Christian martyrdom narratives, even though at times hagiographical narratives in this and several other languages are among the earliest preserved variants. Unlike the latest trends in the study of martyrdom literature, which attempt to uncover Early Christian ideologies of martyrdom and the social and cultural contexts of Early Christianity based mostly on textual editions, this dissertation starts from the premise that it is generally difficult to recognize specifically Early Christian and late antique layers in hagiographical texts because of the medieval interpolations and subsequent contents added over time.

One of the aims of the dissertation is to put in relief the study of hagiographical texts in all the languages of their appearance, not yet a common feature in scholarship. Another goal is to contribute methodologically to the study of hagiography by emphasizing textual diversities. The method of examining textual diversities is applicable to other genres of medieval literature as well.