ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

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Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
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Map of Rhodes in the book on navigation by Piri Re'is, originally composed
in 932 H/1525. Digitized Walters Manuscripts, Ms. W.658, fol. 103a

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PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

The *Preface* of the 27th volume of the *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU,* written by Ildikó Csepregi, initiated that volume with the encouraging statement: in the midst of present-day calamities and pandemics, "it is good to be a medievalist." True to this vocation, we have been continuing our teaching, research and publication activities, and the 28th volume is presenting some of its fruits.

The first section, the selection of "Articles and Studies" written by our students, based on MA Theses defended in June 2021, exemplify the broad Middle Ages cultivated by the Department: starting with late antique Greek and Latin heritage, taking account of conflict-ridden Eurasian connections and Ottoman domains, we maintain our commitment to examine religious and social history of Central and Western Europe. A second large section of the *Annual* presents an important initiative of our PhD students. Eager to understand the enduring attraction of the Middle Ages in our contemporary culture, they organized an international workshop on "Medievalism and Computer Games" of which we provide a detailed overview and seven studies here.

The section "From the Workshop" contains two reports and a study connected to research projects and publications of the department. The first is the third report published by the interdisciplinary research project on *The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and its Eurasian Context.* The report focuses on field research, new archaeological results, and publications related to the project. The project team has paid special attention to the dissemination of the project results to the wider public, thus, members of the team have prepared a significant number of interviews and project presentations in different spheres of the media.

The second report presents a project supported by the German Academic Research Board (DAAD) and the Academic Cooperation and Research Support Office (ACRO) of CEU. Katalin Szende describes the key concepts of the project titled *Regions and Regional Exchanges in Medieval Central Europe* and offers an overview on the three workshops organized by the Institute of Regional History of Heidelberg University and our department. The regional aspects of Central Europe were discussed from many different viewpoints, including dynastic, urban, frontier, monastic, and religious aspects of the period.

The third paper in this part of this *Annual* is an important contribution to the academic research field of hagiography. This study grew out of the work dedicated to the most recent volume of Central European Medieval Texts, titled *The Sanctity of the Leaders. Holy Kings, Princes, Bishops and Abbots from Central*

Europe (11th to 13th centuries), currently forthcoming with CEU Press. This volume on medieval hagiographies, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, is indeed the result of a decade of workshop-like activity, which involved among the translators, preface and annotation writers several colleagues and alumni of the department, such as János M. Bak, Gábor Bradács, Ildikó Csepregi, Cristian Gaşpar, Gábor Klaniczay, Stanislava Kuzmova, Anns Marinković, Marina Schumann, Dorottya Uhrin. Petr Sommer's work on the Preface to the Life of Procop lead to the production of this more detailed study which we include here.

All this concludes with the "Report on the Year" as an *Annual* should. We hope we can convince the readers that it is still good to be a medievalist, and it is important, that a Department of Medieval Studies stands behind these activities.

The Editors

PART 1

Articles and Studies

HOW TO READ A FOURTH-CENTURY ANONYMOUS TEXT? THE USE OF A PHILOLOGICAL APPROACH IN ANALYZING THE OLDEST LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK VITA ANTONII[1]

Aleksandar Anđelović

Introduction

With the growing interest in Egyptian monasticism in the West,[2] the celebrated Greek *Life of Antony* (*Vita Antonii,* henceforth *VA*) was translated twice into Latin over the course of the two decades following Antony's death in 356 and the production of the Greek original.[3] The most popular and widely used high-register Latin translation of the *VA* is the one prepared by Evagrius, a prominent Christian intellectual from Antioch, in ca. 374.[4] Evagrius's translation (henceforth *VE* = *versio Evagriana*) of the *VA* had long been believed to be the only translation

[1] This paper is based on parts of my MA thesis defended in June 2021 at the Central European University in Vienna: Aleksandar Anđelović, "Between the Literal and the Literary: Social Background, Linguistic Competence, and the Bible in the Late-antique Latin Translations of the *Vita Antonii*" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2021).

[2] Claudia Rapp has distinguished three ways in which information on saints and monks traveled from the Greek East and Egypt to the Latin West: sub-literary transmission, cultural translation, and formal translation; see "Hagiography and Monastic Literature between Greek East and Latin West in Late Antiquity," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2004), 1251. For Latin in the East see *ibid.,* 1228–38.

[3] The critical edition of the Greek *Life of Antony* (henceforth *VA*) I will be using in this paper is Atanasio di Alessandria, *Sant'Antonio Abate: La sua vita*, ed. Gerhardus J. M. Bartelink, Italian trans. Luca Bruzzese (Bologna: Edizioni San Clemente and Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2013), which is based on the Greek text of the *VA* published by Bartelink, *Vie d'Antoine*, *Sources chrétiennes* 400 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004). There are several contemporary attestations of the early existence of the *VA* translated into Latin: Jerome, ca. 377, and Rufinus of Aquileia, ca. 400, noted that the *VA* had been translated into Latin, while, ca. 395, Jerome explicitly identified Evagrius of Antioch as the translator of the Greek *VA* into Latin, see Lois Gandt, "A Philological and Theological Analysis of the Ancient Latin Translations of the *Vita Antonii*" (PhD diss., Fordham University, 2008), 2.

[4] Not to be confused with his contemporary, Evagrius of Pontus. For general features of Evagrius's translation (henceforth *VE* = *versio Evagriana*) of the *VA* see Anđelović, "Between the Literal and the Literary," 7–10. The critical edition of Evagrius's translation that I will use in this paper is *Vitae Antonii Versiones latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Evagrio interprete. Versio uetustissima*, ed. Pascal H. E. Bertrand and Lois Gandt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); Bertrand's critical edition of the *VE* is printed on pp. 3–103.

from Greek into Latin, until 1914 when a French medievalist, André Wilmart, found a non-Evagrian Latin translation of the *VA* in a manuscript in the archives of the Chapter of Saint Peter in Rome.[5] Wilmart identified the text as an eleventh-century copy of the oldest Latin translation of the Greek *VA* produced some twenty years before *VE,* that is, shortly after the production of the Greek original.[6]

Immediately after its discovery, the anonymous translation (henceforth *VV* = *versio vetustissima*) received criticism for its literal approach and word-for-word translation of the Greek into Latin, beginning already with Wilmart who characterized the text he had found in the eleventh-century manuscript as "literal and rough" in comparison to *VE*.[7] Twenty-five years after its discovery, the first modern editor of the *VV*, Gérard Garitte, scorned it for its word-for-word approach and attempted to correct numerous readings he considered to be "errors" in the manuscript.[8] The authors of the following critical editions and of the major publications on the oldest, anonymous Latin translation of the *VA*, such as Henricus Hoppenbrouwers, Christine Mohrmann, Ludovicus T. A. Lorié, and to a lesser extent Gerhardus J. M. Bartelink,[9] all offspring of the Nijmegen School,

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[5] Available online in the digital database of the Vatican Library, shelfmark Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. A.2, accessed May 15, 2021, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.A.2. For a detailed description and discussion of this manuscript, see Paola Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)* (Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso, 1987), 68–73.

[6] That the anonymous translation (henceforth *VV* = *versio vetustissima*) precedes Evagrius's translation remains unchallenged; see André Wilmart, "Une version latine inédite de la vie de saint Antoine," *Revue bénédictine* 31 (1914): 164. Evagrius himself, in the prologue to his translation, alluded to an earlier translation, denouncing it for its literal translation style, which, in his view, meant to convey form, not meaning.

[7] Wilmart, "Une version latine inédite," 172.

[8] Gérard Garitte, *Un témoin important du texte de La vie de s. Antoine par s. Athanase: la version latine inédite des Archives du Chapitre de S. Pierre à Rome* (Brussels and Rome: Palais des Académies and Academia Belgica, 1939). This approach was questioned by Bartelink, see his "Observations de critique textuelle sur la plus ancienne version latine de la Vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase," *Revue bénédictine* 81 (1971): 92–95.

[9] For example, Ludovicus T. A. Lorié, in his important study on the spiritual terminology of the *VV*, called the language of the *VV* "the Latin of the Christian spiritual life," see *Spiritual Terminology in the Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii, with Reference to Fourth and Fifth Century Monastic Literature* (Utrecht: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1955), 5. The critical editions following Garitte's one are: Henricus Hoppenbrouwers, *La plus ancienne version latine de la vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase: Étude de critique textuelle* (Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1960). Later, Hoppenbrouwers published an article in which he discussed further the profile of the AT and his approach to translation, see Henricus Hoppenbrouwers, "La technique de la traduction dans l'Antiquité d'après la première version latine de la Vita Antonii," in *Mélanges Christine Mohrmann: Nouveau recueil offert par ses anciens* élèves (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1973), 80–95; *Vita di Antonio*, ed. Gerhardus J. M. Bartelink

viewed the non-idiomatic Latin of the translation as an example of "Christian Latin."[10] Even the author of a recent comprehensive study on the two Latin translations of the *VA*, Lois Gandt, embraced the theory about the anonymous translator's (henceforth AT) work developed by the aforementioned scholars.[11] In this paper, my hypotheses about the *VV* are formulated against the theory that it is an exemplar of "Christian" and "monastic" Latin. Instead, I will offer other explanations and reasons that might have prompted the AT's word-for-word approach to translation.

The AT did not provide any information about the circumstances in which he produced his translation, nor does he tell us at whose request and for whom he translated the *VA*.[12] Unlike his later counterpart Evagrius of Antioch, the AT is thus a completely unknown figure.[13] Nevertheless, since the discovery of his translation, there have been several attempts to uncover his identity: Hoppenbrouwers speculated that the translator was in fact a prominent Egyptian monk named Isidore,[14] while Gandt, the most recent editor of the *VV*, has identified the AT with another well-known Egyptian monk, Ammonius, basing her arguments on Ammonius's

(Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1974; repr. 2003), accompanied by an Italian translation and an introduction by Christine Mohrmann; the most recent critical edition of the *VV* and the one I will be using in this paper is *Vitae Antonii Versiones latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Evagrio interprete. Versio uetustissima*, ed. Pascal H. E. Bertrand and Lois Gandt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); Gandt's critical edition of the *VV* is printed on pp. 107–77.

[10] "Christian" Latin is a controversial notion of Latin as a Christian *Sondersprache,* implying that Christians spoke a "special" form of Latin in Late Antiquity as opposed to "non-Christian varieties" of Latin. For a brief overview of the theories developed by the so-called Nijmegen school, see Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of their Texts and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 153–54. The notion of "Christian" Latin as *Sondersprache* is now outdated and it never lacked critics; see, for example, the most recent publications on this topic, Tim Denecker, "Among Latinists: Alfred Ernout and Einar Löfstedt's responses to the 'Nijmegen School' and its Christian *Sondersprache* hypothesis," *Historiographia Linguistica* 45, no. 3 (2018): 325–62, as well as id., "The Nijmegen School and its 'Sociological' Approach to the So-Called 'Sondersprache' of Early Christians: A Preliminary Historiographical Study," *Latomus: revue d'études latines* 77, no. 2 (2018): 335–57.

[11] In this PhD dissertation, Lois Gandt compared the two Latin translations and provided a solid philological and theological analysis of both texts. Yet, the author followed the theory of Lorié that "the *VV* of the *VA* exemplifies the early Christian Latin that was prevalent in the late fourth century," see "A Philological and Theological Analysis," 74.

[12] That the *VV* was produced for a Roman audience was suggested by Wilmart, "Une version latine inédite," 173; there is, however, no conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis.

[13] For the little that is known about the AT, see Gandt's edition of the *VV*, 205–8.

[14] Hoppenbrouwers, "La technique de la traduction," 91–95. Isidore was a prominent fourth-century desert ascetic and later a presbyter in Alexandria, who often acted as a host for pilgrims, see Gandt, "A Philological and Theological Analysis," 293.

erudition and knowledge of the Bible.[15] While I agree that the author of the *VV* was most probably an Egyptian monk, primarily because of his familiarity with the Egyptian desert,[16] it is very unlikely that we will ever be able to establish his identity.

In my view, in the lack of any external information about the AT, rather than asking *who* he was and attempting to identify him with this-or-that figure of fourth-century Egyptian monasticism, our knowledge about him should be gleaned from the very text of his Latin translation of the Greek *VA*. An exploration of linguistic evidence certainly cannot uncover the AT's "identity" in terms of his name but can indeed yield new insights into the AT's linguistic and educational background. Furthermore, since Athanasius widely quoted the Bible in shaping Antony as a monastic model in the Greek *VA*,[17] the direct quotations (i.e., quotations with no or minimal change in respect to their original formulation in the Greek Bible) that the AT translated from Greek in his version of the *VA* reveal a lot about the AT's individual approach to translation as well as more about his linguistic, cultural, and theological background than is known so far. The main reason for my focus on biblical quotations is that the AT was less likely to adopt a free, creative approach to translation when rendering something that was undoubtedly identified in the Greek original as a direct quotation from the Scripture, that is, the word of God, than when translating the other parts of Athanasius's text. In addition, I will state Evagrius's translations of the same biblical quotations in order to show what an idiomatic and high-style Latin translation looks like, as opposed to the AT's text.

Did the AT as the first translator of the *VA* use any of the existing Latin translations of the Bible to translate the biblical quotations he found in the Greek original or did he translate them himself, without taking recourse to the translations already available? What does the AT's "literal" and "low-register" style exactly mean and what does it tell us about the AT? What was the language of the

[15] Another fourth-century desert ascetic and one of the Tall Brothers, the four monks from Nitria known for their exceptional height as well as for their erudition, see *ibid.,* 298.

[16] As rightly noticed by Gandt, "A Philological and Theological Analysis," 73.

[17] The biblical quotations in the *VA* come in hundreds. See, for instance, Bartelink, "Die literarische Gattung der 'Vita Antonii.' Struktur und Motive," *VC* 36, no. 1 (1982): 52, who estimated the number of Bible-related passages at two hundred, whereas Tim Vivian performed a "rough count" of "some four hundred references or allusions" in Athanasius, see *The Life of Antony by Athanasius of Alexandria: The Coptic Life and The Greek Life*, trans. Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2003), xxvi. The text of the Greek Old Testament used in this paper is the latest edition of Rahlfs's standard edition of the LXX: *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentorum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. Alfred Rahlfs, 2nd ed. Robert Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006). The text of the Greek New Testament used in this paper is *Novum Testamentum Graece,* 28th edition, ed. Christos Karakolis et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

Bible that the AT would hear in church? What version of the Bible did he use when translating the Bible from Greek into Latin? My main hypothesis is that the AT was not a native speaker of Latin at all, but that he was in the process of learning Latin, and that it was his insufficient command of Latin, the target language, that resulted in his "literal" and non-idiomatic Latin translation of the Greek *VA*. Basing my arguments purely on linguistic evidence and using the focus on biblical quotations as a methodological tool, in this paper I will attempt to answer the questions stated above and illustrate and provide evidence in support of my main hypothesis.

Mechanical, Mirror, Glossary

My preliminary study has revealed that the AT's renderings of biblical quotations, in most cases, are unparalleled in other texts that quote the Bible in Latin.[18] This surprising fact could be explained as a deliberate choice to ignore existing translations, which is possible, but unlikely. Another explanation is that the text of the Bible that the AT used in private and liturgical contexts was not in Latin. This would further suggest that the AT was not a native speaker of Latin. Non-standard translations as a usual feature of translations made by bilingual speakers with insufficient command in the target language abode in the *VV*, as the following examples will demonstrate.

Athanasius's Antony is well known for the episodes in his life in which he resisted temptations by demons; in one such instance Athanasius describes how Antony's firm faith saved him from these demons, quoting Romans 8:35: οὐδέν με *χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.[19] The AT rendered this as *non separabo a caritate Christi*,[20] while Evagrius translated it as *nullus me separabit a caritate Christi*.[21] Although not taken verbatim from the Bible by Athanasius, in the Greek

[18] See Anđelović, "Between the Literal and the Literary." For this MA research I examined all the direct biblical quotations from the *VA* and their translations into Latin; around ninety of them are specific quotations or allusions where there is no doubt that Athanasius had in mind particular passages in the Bible when writing, and more than half of these are verbatim quotations, i. e., passages that Athanasius cited with no alteration to the lexical choice and word order of the biblical original. In almost all of them, the translations made by the AT stand on their own, without any parallels in the work of other writers that quoted the Bible in Latin.

[19] *VA* 9.2 (ed. Bartelink, 182), "nothing 'will separate me from the love of Christ'" (trans. Vivian and Athanassakis, 81).

[20] *VV* 9 (ed. Gandt, 125), "I will not separate from the love of Christ." The translations of the *VV* into English in this paper are mine.

[21] *VE* 9 (ed. Bertrand, 15), "no one will separate me from the love of Christ" (*Early Christian Lives*, ed. and trans. Caroline White (London: Penguin Books, 1998) 15).

original this is clearly a reference to the Epistle to the Romans, where the passage is formulated as a question: "who will separate us from the love of Christ?"[22] The exact translation of this biblical passage, in the form of a question and with strict correspondence to the formulation in the original, "who will separate us from the love of Christ?" (*quis nos separabit a caritate Christi?*), can be found in Augustine,[23] Jerome,[24] Ambrose,[25] Ambrosiaster,[26] and Rufinus's translations from Greek,[27] as well as later in the Vulgate version. Even though in the Greek text of the *VA* Athanasius reformulated this biblical quotation and structured it rather as a statement and, in my view, as his answer to the original question "who/what will…? (τίς)," with "nothing will…" (οὐδέν), this did not prevent Evagrius from recognizing this quotation from Romans, as he quoted exactly the same Latin version of Romans 8:35 that was used by the authors mentioned above. The only difference between his translation and the form quoted by other authors is that in his text the words are not phrased as a question since he adjusted his translation to the form of the Greek *VA*. This strongly suggests that Evagrius was familiar with the existing form of Romans 8:35 as it circulated in Latin, as it was quoted by other Christian authors of his time and was, therefore, known to his elite readership.[28]

The AT, on the other hand, does not seem to have been aware of Romans 8:35 in its Latin form quoted by the Christian authors mentioned above. Rather, he formulated it as a separate sentence: "I will not separate (*non separabo*) myself." His usage of the Latin verb *separare* in this passage is intriguing. This verb was usually transitive in Latin,[29] as it was used by Evagrius and the other authors mentioned above, that is, "no one/who will separate me," and was almost never

[22] Rom. 8:35.

[23] For instance, *Epist.* 145.

[24] *In Matth.* 4.

[25] *In Psalm.* 43.46.

[26] *In Rom.* 8.35.

[27] *Orig. princ.* 3.1.

[28] Evagrius was without any doubt a member of the late antique Christian elite in Antioch and a close friend of Jerome. He is mentioned in the writings of Libanius, Basil of Caesarea, Ambrose, and Jerome; see the "Introduction" to *Early Christian Lives*, 5. For a complete overview of Evagrius's life, see Stefan Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis: Prosopographische undsozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 52–75. On Evagrius's origins and social status, see *ibid.,* 52–56.

[29] See *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), s.v. "separo." Although not with reference to this particular verb, the development of an intransitive form of a Latin verb from an initially transitive one was not uncommon in late Latin; see Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 467.

used intransitively in its active form as here.[30] The use of this form, instead of the expected passive such as *separabor*, could therefore be explained as due to his lack of familiarity with the proper use of passive/medium verbal forms in Latin. Another possible explanation could be that it was a scribal error in the transmission of the *VV*, where the final *-r* could have easily been omitted by accident.

That the AT was not familiar with the existing version of Romans 8:35 in Latin is further supported by another feature of his usage. In chapter 40.5 of the *VA*, Athanasius again draws on the same biblical quotation.[31] Unlike Evagrius, who used the same existing Old Latin translation as in *VA* 9.2, *nullus me separabit a caritate Christi*, the AT rendered this as *nihil me separabit ab agape Christi.*[32] Here, he not only used the verb *separare*, "to separate," transitively (*separabit me*), but he also resorted to a mere transliteration of the Greek ἀγάπη as *agape* instead of providing a Latin equivalent.[33] The AT's way of dealing with the Greek ἀγάπη can be regarded as an example of code-switching between Greek and Latin, and as such might well represent a significant trace of the Greek-Latin bilingualism of the AT.[34]

The *VV* has been, as mentioned in the introduction, labelled as too "literal." This claim indeed holds true, and, in order to explain what "literal" actually means when speaking about the AT's word-for-word approach and what the possible reasons for, and limitations to, verbatim translation were, several examples will be discussed where the AT mechanically translated certain Greek verbs and nouns into Latin, regardless of the context of the sentence in which they appeared.[35]

Describing the devil's first and, as usual in the *VA*, unsuccessful attack on Antony and praising Antony's resistance and perseverance with the Lord's assistance, Athanasius quoted 1 Corinthians 15:10: ὥστε τῶν οὕτως ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστον

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[30] *Separabo/separabimus* appears a few times in Augustine, yet it is always related to an object in the accusative case, so not intransitive: *separabimus superbiam ipsam* (*De nat. et grat.* 29.33) and *separabo me* (*Enarr. in Ps.* 99.10).

[31] *VA* 40.5 (ed. Bartelink, 276).

[32] *VV* 40 (ed. Gandt, 139): "nothing will separate me from the *agape* (love) of Christ."

[33] Lorié lists other borrowings from Greek in the *VV*, see his *Spiritual Terminology,* 6.

[34] On code-switching between Greek and Latin, see Adams, *Bilingualism*, 34. In this sense, I disagree with Lorié's claim about *agape* in the *VV* that "it is quite possible that the use of a word in a given Greek passage was to the translator the last ounce to tip the scale in favor of the Greek word, which was already current among the Latins," cf. *Spiritual Terminology,* 18.

[35] The term "mechanical" is used in this paper as equal to non-idiomatic and word-for-word approach to translation, resulting in automatic equivalence between words translated from one language to another, in this case from Greek into Latin, as opposed to language choice that is seen as idiomatic and dynamic. This terminology is also used by James N. Adams, see, for instance, his *Bilingualism,* 37.

λέγειν· *Οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.*[36] The AT rendered this as *ita ut singuli taliter certantium dicerent: Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei qui mecum est.*[37] On the other hand, Evagrius translated it as *ut singulis ita certantibus apostolicum liceret proferre sermonem: Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei quae mecum est.*[38]

A case in point for the present discussion is primarily the way in which the two translators rendered Athanasius's introduction of this biblical quotation. The AT's *ita ut singuli taliter certantium dicerent* ("so that each of those who struggle like this could say") is a verbatim and mirror translation of the Greek ὥστε τῶν οὕτως ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστον λέγειν. As we can see, his translation of the Greek Λέγειν,"to say," is simply *dicere*, "to say." This itself is not surprising, however, the AT's lexical choice for the occurrences of the verb λέγειν in the Greek original was always *dicere*.[39] Another example of mechanical translation is the AT's use of *de cetero*, which he always and automatically used as the equivalent of the Greek λοιπόν, both in biblical quotations and elsewhere in Athanasius's text.[40]

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[36] *VA* 5.7 (ed. Bartelink, 166), "so that each of those who struggle like *this* can say 'It is not I but the grace of God that is in me.'" (trans. Vivian and Athanassakis, 69, slightly altered and emphasis added).

[37] *VV* 5 (ed. Gandt, 112), "so that each of those who struggle like this could say: 'It is not I, but the grace of God who is with me.'"

[38] *VE* 5 (ed. Bertrand, 10), "so that any individual who became involved in this struggle could cite the words of the Apostle, 'Not I, but the grace of *God* which is with me.'" (trans. White, 12, slightly altered).

[39] The Greek λέγειν in the *VA* appears in various present-stem forms ninety-eight times, which is not surprising given that Athanasius extensively quotes the Bible and one of the main formulae that introduce a biblical quotation is "saying" (λέγων), with thirty occurrences in the *VA.* To give just one example where the AT automatically translates λέγειν to *dicere*, *VA* 39.1: Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν σιωπῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ *λέγειν,* ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ μόνοις τούτοις. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ νομίσητε ταῦτά με *λέγειν* ἁπλῶς, translated in *VV* 39 as *Et uolebam quidem tacere et nihil ex me dicere, arbitrans sufficere ista quae dicta sunt. Sed ne putetis me ista simpliciter dicere*. Compare this with Evagrius's rendering of the same passage, *VE* 39: *Volueram quidem iam finire sermonem et silentio premere quaecumque meae acciderant paruitati. Sed ne putetis frustra me commemorasse*. Apart from this example in *VA* 39.1, the AT's literal equivalence between *λέγειν* and *dicere* appears another ten times: 7.7, 8.3, 16.3, 18.1, 26.3, 28.3, 60.9, 65.8, 66.7, and 69.4. In these cases, Evagrius either avoided translating λέγειν completely, used *dicere* twice, or offered stylistically upgraded equivalents, such as *referre, edicere, dicens uel mente concipere*.

[40] See, for example, *VA* 6.4 (ed. Bartelink, 170): οὐδεμία μοι λοιπόν ἐστι φροντὶς περὶ σοῦ, "*From now on* I am not going to pay any attention to you" (trans. Vivian and Athanassakis, 73), and the *VV*: *nulla de cetero sollicitudo est de te, VV* 6 (ed. Gandt, 113), "no care about you *anymore*." The same equivalence occurs with λοιπόν in *VA* 3.7, 4.2, 6.1, 7.7, 14.7, 23.6, 25.3, 31.1, 37.2, 50.9, 90.6, 91.9 and *de cetero* in the corresponding chapters of the *VV.* Another feature of the AT's work that could be interpreted as translations made by a Greek-Latin bilingual is the equivalence between

On the other hand, *VE* of Athanasius's introduction to 1 Corinthians 15:10 is much more elaborate and stylistically upgraded. First, by adding *sermo apostolicus*, "the apostle's discourse/words," he provided a reference to Paul, which is missing from the Greek original. Then, unlike the AT, he rendered λέγειν, "to say," not simply as *dicere,* but as *proferre*, "to cite/quote," a term less general and more perspicuous as a quotation tag than *dicere*.

Mechanical translations of certain Christian key terms in Greek are to be found throughout the *VV*. In one of the numerous discourses on demonology Antony delivered to his fellow monks, he discussed the nature of the demons' malice, but he also claimed that they nevertheless cannot do any harm to those who worship God. Athanasius again lent authority to his hero's words by quoting verbatim from the Bible (Sirach 1:25: *βδέλυγμα γὰρ ἁμαρτωλῷ θεοσέβεια*)[41] and without introducing the quote as such but rather making it a part of the sentence in the *VA* and adding the explanatory copula "because" (γὰρ), the role of which is to make clear that the sentence quoted presents an authoritative argument for previous statements made by Antony. The AT recognized the Bible here, as proven by the introduction that precedes his translation: *scriptum est enim: Abominatio impii Dei cultura.*[42] Evagrius also signaled the biblical quote[43] in his translation: *secundum quod scriptum est: Quia abominatio est pietas peccatori?*[44]

The two translators' renderings of Sirach 1:25 match in only one word, that is, *abominatio.* This biblical passage was not widely quoted in Latin in Late Antiquity, yet there is a rare attestation in Jerome that reads *abominatio enim peccatori est*

Greek and Latin syntactical structures, so-called "mirror" translation. For an excellent example of "mirror" translation see the AT's use of *postulare* with accusative as equivalent with Greek, where the verb "to ask for" (αἰτέω) in this meaning is normally constructed with the accusative, see Aleksandar Anđelović and György Geréby, "Greek, Latin, Translating & Quoting the Bible: Contrastive Linguistic and Cultural Backgrounds of the Two Latin Translators of the *Life of Antony,*" *Clotho* 3.2 (2022, forthcoming).

[41] *VA* 28.7 (ed. Bartelink, 242), "for godliness is an abomination to a sinner" (trans. Vivian and Athanassakis, 123).

[42] *VV* 28 (ed. Gandt, 131), "for it is written: 'the worship of God is abomination for an impious person.'"

[43] There are two explanations for Evagrius's introduction to Sir. 1:25, otherwise absent from the Greek original: Evagrius did so either because he recognized the biblical quote himself or, more likely, because he found it already tagged in the *VV*, which, in my opinion, he consulted when working on his own translation.

[44] *VE* 28 (ed. Bertrand, 35), "following what is written: 'for piety is an abomination to the sinner.'"

pietas,[45] which is, in a somewhat different word order,[46] the same Latin version that was quoted by Evagrius. This textual parallel in Jerome leaves no doubt that Evagrius was familiar with an already existing version of Sirach 1:25 in Latin.[47] The AT, on the other hand, is the only author that uses *impii* and *Dei cultura* in his Latin version of Sirach 1:25, which leaves no doubt that he translated Sirach 1:25 without taking recourse to existing versions of this biblical quotation in Latin in the fourth century. It remains unknown what motivated the AT's lexical choice, that is, his use of *impius* as a translation of the Greek ἁμαρτωλός, "sinner," instead of *peccator*, which he usually used in the *VV* when translating the Greek ἁμαρτωλός and its cognates ἁμαρτία and ἁμαρτάνειν.

Further, the AT's employment of the expression *Dei cultura* as a translation for the Greek Θεοσέβεια, meaning "religiosity, godliness, worship," seems to be another example of automatic translation. While Evagrius rarely used the noun *cultura*, and never as a translation of the Greek θεοσέβεια,[48] there are five additional instances in the *VV* where the AT equated the nominal group *Dei cultura* or its related expression *Deum colere* and the Greek θεοσέβεια/θεοσεβοῦντας/θεοσεβεῖν.[49] Although the AT did use *Dei cultura* elsewhere in the *VV*,[50] he seems to have been using *Dei cultura* and the related expression *Deum colere* mostly to render the Greek θεοσέβεια and its cognate grammatical forms.[51]

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[45] *In Am.* 2.5.

[46] *VE* of the biblical quotation formed as a question was his intervention, a so-called *erotema*, see Gandt, "A Philological and Theological Analysis," 192–193. It is a part of a wider discourse in *VE* of this chapter in the *VA*, which consists of several questions directed to Satan, unlike in the Greek original, where Antony delivers his speech to monks speaking of the demons in the third person plural. This is also a hint to Evagrius's brilliant rhetorical technique and an example of "free" translation.

[47] The identical wording of this biblical quotation in Evagrius and Jerome, but not in other Latin authors, is intriguing. Given that Sir. 1:25 is quoted in Jerome's commentaries on the minor prophets, the composition of which is dated ca. 393, which is later than *VE* (ca. 373), Jerome may have been inspired to use Evagrius' formulation after reading his translation of the *VA*. Still, given that we do not have many attestations of Sir. 1:25, it is equally possible that both Evagrius and Jerome used an already existing translation, for which, as it happens, we do not have other attestations.

[48] Three times in total: in *VE* 22 for the Greek φαντασία, in *VE* 50 he translated the Greek βραχύτατόν τινα τόπον εὑρὼν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐγεώργησεν as *grandum culturae aptum reperit locum,* and in *VE* 76 where he used *cultura* as a part of an expanded exegetic translation.

[49] *Dei cultura* for θεοσέβεια from *VA* 11:1, 44:3, and 80:1; *diligentes Dei culturam* for the participle θεοσεβοῦντας from *VA* 28.5; and *Deum colere* for the infinitive θεοσεβεῖν from *VA* 77.2.

[50] In *VV* 30 for the Greek εὐσέβεια and in *VV* 54 for the Greek ἐφόδια.

[51] Bartelink also commented on the AT's use of *cultura*, see his commentary in *Vite dei Santi*, 255n74 and 257n77. In addition, the AT widely employed the noun *religio* in the *VV.* On the distinction

There are places in the *VV* that not only strongly suggest the AT's literal translation of Greek syntactic structures, but that also point to the translator's knowledge of the Bible in Greek. After the narrative of Antony's first combat with the demons, Athanasius described Antony's lifestyle and his initial ascetic practices. Here, he discussed Antony's attitude to virtue and how he continuously made progress by working harder, which was helped by his meditation on the Bible: ἐπιλέγων ἑαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ῥητὸν συνεχῶς· *Τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος*.[52] Athanasius here drew on Paul's epistle to the Philippians 3:13, which the AT rendered as *dicens assidue sancti Pauli dictum*: *Ea quae retro sunt obliuiscens, ad ea autem quae in priore sunt me superextendens*.[53] Evagrius's version of the same passage is *supra memorati doctoris sermonum recordabatur, qui ait: Praeterita obliuiscens et in futurum conualescens.*[54]

The lexical choices in the two translations of Athanasius's introduction of this biblical quotation are again noteworthy. First, the AT resorts to the simple *dicens – dictum.* Second, while in the Greek original the apostle Paul is simply mentioned by name, the AT attributes "saint" (*sanctus*) to Paul; this is not the sole example of such added qualification, as *Paulus sanctus* and *Apostolus sanctus* are attested six times in the *VV*, making Paul the figure most often called "saint" in this text, even more so than Antony himself.[55] On the other hand, Evagrius does not translate Paul's name at all, but rather refers to him as the "above-mentioned teacher" (*supra memoratus doctor*), since he had mentioned him four sentences earlier as *Apostolus*.[56] Also, Evagrius's *recordari*, "to bear in mind, be mindful of," is again much more precise and appropriate as a translation of the Greek ἐπιλέγω in this context than the AT's *dicere*, "to say."

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between *cultura* as the "objective idea" and worship and *religio* as "subjective meaning" in the *VV* see Lorié, *Spiritual Terminology*, 71–72. On *religio* in the *VV* see *ibid.,* 188n33. In the *VV*, *religio* is mostly used as a part of the nominal group *studium religionis* as a translation of the Greek ἄσκησις, see Gandt, "A Philological and Theological Analysis," 128.

[52] *VA* 7.11 (ed. Bartelink, 176), "reflecting continually on what Paul said: 'We are forgetting what lies behind and straining forward to what lies ahead.'" (trans. Vivian and Athanassakis, 77).

[53] *VV* 7 (ed. Gandt, 114, slightly altered—I retain the corrected form *assidue* proposed by most modern editors instead of *assiduae* in the MS, preferred by Gandt), "constantly saying the saying of saint Paul: 'Forgetting those things that are behind and, instead, straining forwards to things that are ahead of me.'"

[54] *VE* 7 (ed. Bertrand, 13), "he bore in mind the words of the learned man I mentioned earlier who said, *Forgetting the past and growing strong in the future.*" (trans. White, 14).

[55] See Gandt, "A Philological and Theological Analysis," 84–85; also, Lorié, *Spiritual Terminology*, 86–87, as well as Hoppenbrouwers, "La technique de la traduction," 22.

[56] *VE* 7 (ed. Bertrand, 13), *secundum Apostoli praeceptum dicentis.*

The two translators' renderings of Philippians 3:13 are likewise telling. There are some similarities between the AT's version and versions of this passage quoted by other patristic writers. Augustine almost always used *ea quae retro sunt obliuiscens,* which corresponds to the *VV*, but in one instance he used *praeterita* instead of *ea quae retro sunt*,[57] just as Rufinus did,[58] while *in futurum* was used by Jerome,[59] a reading closer to Evagrius's rendering. The AT's wording is thus much more likely due to his literal translation from Greek than to any familiarity with the same source in Latin for Philippians 3:13 that Augustine, Rufinus, Jerome, and Evagrius used.

It should be stressed here that the Greek ἐπεκτεινόμενος, "straining forward," was translated by the AT as *superextendens*; not only was this verb in this context used only by the AT and otherwise is rarely attested in the Latin versions of the Bible,[60] but the AT's *superextendens* closely mirrors the structure of the Greek verb it translates, ἐπεκτεινόμενος, with both prefixes of the Greek verb matched by Latin equivalents, *super* for ἐπ- and *ex* for εκ-. Lastly, given that personal pronouns are absent from the second part of the quotation as quoted by Athanasius in the Greek *VA,* the presence of the personal pronoun *me* in the *VV* is in my view an important indication of AT's knowledge of the Bible. In the Greek original of the New Testament, what precedes the part of Philippians 3:13 that Athanasius quoted reads as follows: "I do not consider *myself* (ἐμαυτὸν) yet to have taken hold of it."[61] The AT seems to have been familiar with the Bible in Greek, which he quotes from memory when translating the *VA*.[62]

Although the discussed examples point to the challenges and linguistic limitations the AT faced, which resulted, as shown above, in a rather mechanical and simple word-for-word translation style, this is not to say that the author of the oldest translation was indifferent to conveying meaning and context when translating. On the contrary, there are several instances in the *VV* that reflect the translator's concern to be precise, that is, to convey a specific meaning when translating, probably caused by his hesitation in lexical choices in translating from Greek into Latin.

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[57] *In euang. Ioh.* 9.3.

[58] *In Rom.* 6.11.

[59] *In Is.* 15.54.

[60] See Bartelink's commentary in *Vita di Antonio*, 200n49.

[61] Ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν οὐ λογίζομαι κατειληφέναι.

[62] It should be noted that the Vulgate version of this passage also has a second *me* precisely in the portion quoted by Athanasius: *in priora extendens me*, attested also in Augustine, *Spec.* 35, though I do not think this could have prompted the presence of *me* in the *VV*.

In the narrative on Antony's first days in ascetic life, Athanasius describes the hermit as an already chaste and hard-working young man, as if predestined for an ascetic lifestyle. Antony, according to Athanasius, as a part of his ascetic discipline, worked with his hands, and this is justified by an appeal to 2 Thessalonians 3:10: ἀκούσας· Ὁ δὲ ἀργὸς *μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω*.[63] This the AT rendered as *quod audiuit scriptum esse: Vacuus autem et otiosus non manducet*.[64] Evagrius translated the passage rather differently, as *sciens scriptum esse: Qui non operatur, non manducet*.[65]

Notice how the two translators rendered Athanasius's words that precede the biblical quotation. The AT's *audiuit*, "[he] heard," is a literal translation of the Greek ἀκούσας, "having heard," while Evagrius opted for *sciens* "knowing/being aware [that],"[66] using a verb which changes and intensifies the meaning of the original from "hear" to "know."[67]

On a more important matter, it is particularly telling that the AT added to his translation *quod scriptum esse*, "[he heard] that it is written," words absent from the Greek original. This points to the fact that he clearly signaled a quotation from the Bible, which is an indication of his familiarity with the text. The fact that Evagrius preserved the additional *scriptum esse* is another indication that, I believe, supports my other hypothesis that Evagrius had had direct acquaintance with the oldest *VV* when working on his own translation.[68]

Both Latin translations of 2 Thessalonians 3:10 have *non manducet*, "should not eat," but render the first part of the quote in Athanasius's reworked version in different ways; both *otiosus* of the AT and Evagrius's *qui non operatur* correspond to the Greek ἀργός, "lazy," but *VE* comes closer to the original wording of 2

[63] *VA* 3.6 (ed. Bartelink, 158), "having heard 'Let the lazy person not eat.'" (trans. Vivian and Athanassakis, 63).

[64] *VV* 3 (ed. Gandt, 110), "for he heard it is written: [the one who is] idle and inactive will not eat."

[65] *VE* 3 (ed. Bertrand, 7), "for he was aware that it says in the Bible, *He who does not work, will not eat.*" (trans. White, 10).

[66] *Sciens scriptum esse* was used by Jerome in his letter to Marcella (*Epist.* 24.4), verbatim, also as an introduction exactly to this quotation from the Bible, with the difference of *nec* instead of *non*. Provided that Evagrius finished his translation by 373 at the latest, as indicated by Pascal H. E. Bertrand, "Die Evagriusübersetzung der *Vita Antonii*: Reception – Überliefung – Edition. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der *Vitas Patrum*-Tradition" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2005), 27, while Jerome's letter to Marcella is dated to 384, Evagrius and Jerome most probably used the same source for their translations of 2 Thess. 3:10, or, equally possible, Jerome used *VE* of the *VA* for his translations of some biblical quotations.

[67] This is Evagrius's translational and rhetorical technique that one can find, e. g., in the case of *promisit* rather than *dicit* in *VE* 48, see Anđelović, "Between the Literal and the Literary," 26.

[68] See *ibid.,* 43–47.

Thessalonians 3:10 in Greek: "[anyone] unwilling to work."[69] Evagrius seems to be using here some existing version of this biblical passage in Latin, because the same wording, as mentioned above, was used by Jerome.

The AT, however, rendered the Greek ἀργός, "idle, free from [work]," as both *otiosus* and *vacuus,* two nouns of similar meaning. As I see it, the fact that the AT deemed it necessary to add *vacuus* to *otiosus*, an already literal translation from the adjective ἀργός, suggests his desire to translate with the utmost accuracy and his concern to convey the information as well as context from Athanasius's text to his readers. Another plausible explanation for the presence of a double translation of one Greek word, in this case adjective ἀργός, is that it may be a symptom of the translator's hesitation in a language in which he was not proficient.[70] In both cases, it is tempting to imagine the AT working with what today would be called a dictionary, seeing both *otiosus* and *vacuus* as possible translations for ἀργός, and then deciding to just use them both.[71] A third possible explanation for the presence of this double translation is that one of the two Latin words might have been a marginal gloss, which, at some point during the textual transmission of the *VV*, was integrated in the main text. This is not the only place in the oldest translation where the translator, roughly speaking, elaborates on Athanasius's wording by offering two lexical choices for one term, as in chapter 7 where he translated the Greek σκληροτέραις [ἀγωγαῖς], "to even more strenuous [disciplines]," as *severiter et duriter.* I would therefore speculate that offering terms of similar meaning as translations of one term might well suggest both the translator's concern and hesitation when translating into the target language, which is in his case Latin. Finally, Latin not being his native language would thus perfectly explain the issues the AT faced when translating as well as the solutions he came up with.

[69] εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι [μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω].

[70] In this sense I agree with Bartelink, who explains *vacuus et otiosus* as the AT's indecisiveness, putting both "just in case," see his commentary in *Vite dei santi*, 193n25.

[71] Of course, that the AT used a glossary, or a dictionary is, although probable, beyond any proof. Yet, it is possible that he might have operated with some kind of a Greek-Latin bilingual glossary that merged Greek words and phrases with Latin ones in the form of a vocabulary list, which was not uncommon in late antique Egypt among Greek speakers at an early stage of learning Latin, see, for example, Adams, *Bilingualism*, 735. On Greek-Latin glossaries as Latin-learning material in general, see Eleanor Dickey, *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11–12.

Conclusion

This paper presented several examples from an exhaustive inventory of verbatim biblical quotations in the *VV*, which has demonstrated that, first and foremost, the AT's renderings of the biblical quotations do not match any of the Latin versions of the Bible available at the time. Given the knowledge of the Bible in private and religious daily life in Late Antiquity and especially in monastic circles, I strongly believe that the AT would have used some of the circulating Latin versions of the Bible had he been used to hearing Latin both in liturgical and private settings. The discovery of the AT's ignorance of the contemporary versions of the Bible in Latin therefore points to the high probability that the translator was not a native speaker of Latin. What is more, the wording of the Latin versions of the biblical quotations that the AT provides in his translation very often correspond exactly to the wording of the relevant passages in the Greek Bible, and only exceptionally with other Latin versions of the same passages. This not only suggests that the biblical text that the AT used and was exposed to in a liturgical and a private context was not in Latin, but also that it was most probably in Greek. In addition, the AT's mechanical translations of certain Greek verbs and nouns into Latin and his mirror rendering of a number of syntactic structures from Greek into Latin, both in a biblical context and in other parts of his translation, further support the hypothesis that the author of the oldest translation was not a native speaker of Latin.

Although the question of whether Greek or another language was the AT's native language cannot be answered conclusively, given the presence of Coptic as well as of Greek in late antique Egypt, the kind of insufficient command of Latin as the target language found in the *VV* is a usual feature of translations produced by bilingual speakers. Thus, in contrast to what has been assumed about the language of the *VV* as an exemplar of "Christian" Latin, my hypothesis is that the bilingualism of the AT may explain his literal approach to translation and many of the linguistic features of his Latin version of the *VA*. This paper hence demonstrated that a proper philological analysis of linguistic and textual evidence, which has been at our disposal since the discovery of the manuscript at the beginning of the twentieth century, provided us with much more information about the fourth-century anonymous author, his education, and the context in which he worked on his translation, than if we knew his name and his "identity."

THE INFLUENCE OF ROMAN CONTRACT LAW ON CHRISTIAN RITUAL

Glenn Mills

The second to fifth centuries CE constituted a time of profound change for Christianity and its position in the Western Roman Empire.[1] The period was punctuated with sporadic periods of persecution, tolerance and embracement, which alternated depending on the persuasions of the incumbent emperor as well as changing cultural attitudes on the ground. Under these precarious circumstances, early Christians sought to carve out and consolidate their position within a society which was, at times, vehemently opposed to their ideas. A general tactic deployed by these writers was to cast their religion in a light more familiar to their target audience, thus making their doctrine more palatable and assimilable to Roman society. Roman Law in particular was a highly familiar and reputable institution, complete with its own technical language which was easily recognised by contemporaries.

Scholars have long recognised the tendency for early Christians to import elements of Roman law into their own texts and rituals, however limited attention has been paid to the actual effects such borrowings had on their audience. This article aims to give this question greater attention by focusing on the case study of Roman contract law and the rite of baptism. It is argued that the formula used within Roman contract law constituted a convenient ready-made apparatus which could be appropriated and extrapolated by those wishing to capitalize upon its hegemonic status. The rite of baptism represents the most salient example of this phenomenon, for it was essentially a contract between the catechumen and God.

The article begins with a comprehensive overview of the main contractual forms found in Roman law, with a specific focus on the most common type of contract, the *stipulatio*. This will establish the degree to which this formula was woven into the fabric of Roman society and how familiar its grammatical structure would have sounded to Roman ears. I will then expound the importance of orality to the *stipulatio* by arguing that it was the audible, verbal affirmation which constituted the binding agreement. The second half of the article will turn to Christianity, first by demonstrating that Christianity is a "contractual faith,"

[1] This article is a modified version of the first chapter of my MA thesis. Glenn Mills, "Christianity's Judicial Voice: Elements of Roman Private Law in Latin Christian Sources (2nd–5th Century CE)" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2021).

anchored in bilateral agreements, covenants and an ultimatum. Lastly, I will bring these discussion threads together by examining the rite of baptism, the significance of the spoken affirmation and the corresponding logic between the baptismal formula and the *stipulatio*.

Contractual Forms: An Overview

In the Late Roman West, binding agreements could be brokered through three main types of contract, each of which was suited to one or more particular contexts. In the case of marriages, the *Dotis dictio* (statement of dowry) was the common method of pledging the payment of a dowry, by having the wife or her *paterfamilias* verbally pledge to pay a certain sum as dowry which the husband then accepts.[2] A second form, of which relatively little is known, was the *Promissio operarum a liberto*, which was a pledge made by a slave to their master to render certain services after (or possibly in exchange for) their emancipation.[3] The third and by far the most preponderant contractual form was the *stipulatio*. This followed a question-and-answer format in which the prospective creditor would ask the prospective debtor a close-ended question (e.g., 'Do you promise to…?) to which the debtor gives an affirmative answer to seal the agreement. The contract, then, was comprised of two essential components, the question (*interrogatio*) and answer (*responsio*), both of which needed to be articulated verbally for the contract to be legitimate.[4] The second-century jurist Gaius elucidates this formula in the following way:

> An obligation is made verbally by question and answer, in this manner: "Do you agree to convey? "I agree to convey," "Will you convey?" "I will convey," "Do you promise?" "I promise," "Do you promise on good faith?" "I promise on good faith," "Do you guarantee?" "I guarantee," "Will you do?" "I will do."[5]

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[2] Alan Watson, *Roman Law and Comparative Law* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 32.

[3] Kathrin Stocker, *Die Verbalverträge des römischen Rechts* [The Verbal Contracts of Roman Law] (PhD thesis, University of Graz, 2015).

[4] For a further discussion of the *Stipulatio*, see Barry Nicholas, "The Form of the Stipulation in Roman Law," *Law Quarterly Review* 69 (1953): 63–79.

[5] *Verbis obligatio fit ex interrogation et responsione, velut: 'Dari spondes?' 'Spondeo,' 'Dabis?' 'Dabo,' 'Promittis?' 'Promitto,' 'Fidepromittis? 'fidepromitto,' 'Fideiubes?' 'Fideiubeo,' 'Facies?,' 'Faciam.*' Gaius *Institutiones*, ed. Edward Poste (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904), 3.92. My translation.

Latin, at least in the Late Antique period, lacked a single word for "yes." Instead, the affirmative response is conveyed by repeating the verb of the question in the first-person conjugation (*spondes* > *spondeo*, *promittis* > *promitto*).

Henry S. Maine, in his timeless work on *Ancient Law*, stresses the importance of the *stipulatio's* dialogical aspect. A simple promise made by the promisor was not in itself enough; rather, it had to fit into a prescribed interrogative formula if it is to have any legally meaningful effect:

> Now, if we reflect for a moment, we shall see that this obligation to put the promise interrogatively inverts the natural position of the parties, and, by effectually breaking the tenor of conversation, prevents the attention from gliding over a dangerous pledge. With us, a verbal promise is, generally speaking, to be gathered exclusively from the words of the promisor. In old Roman law, another step was absolutely required; it was necessary for the promisee, after the agreement had been made, to sum up all its terms in a solemn interrogation; and it was of this interrogation, of course, and of assent to it, that proof had to be given at trial – not of the promise, which was not in itself binding.[6]

The practical merit of this method lies in its conciseness and precision. The sequential series of questions linked with grammatically congruent answers lends itself easily to longer and more complex agreements with multiple clauses. The unambiguous quality of the *stipulatio* adhered to the emphasis on brevity and transparency in Roman law and educated discourse more generally. The second-century grammarian Aulus Gellius set out the importance of this Boolean (true/false) formula for avoiding uncertainty and preventing disputes:

> They say that it is a rule of the dialectic art, that if there is inquiry and discussion of any subject, and you are called upon to answer a question which is asked, you should answer the question by a simple [affirmation or denial]. And those who do not observe that rule, but answer more than they were asked, or different, are thought to be both uneducated and unobservant of the customs and laws of debate.[7]

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[6] Henry S. Maine, *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society and Its Relation to Modern Ideas, 16th edition* (London: Murray, 1897), 193.

[7] "Legem esse aiunt disciplinae dialecticae, si de quapiam re quaeratur disputeturque atque ibi quid rogere, ut respondeas, tum ne amplius quid dicas, quam id solum, quod es rogatus, aut aias aut neges; eamque legem qui non servent et aut plus aut aliter, quam sunt rogati respondeant, existumantur indoctique esse disputandique morem atque rationem non tenere. Hoc quidem, quod dicunt, in plerisque disputationibus procul dubio fieri oportet. Indefinitus namque inexplicabilisque sermo fiet, nisi interrogationibus responsionibusque simplicibus fuerit determinatus." Aulus Gellius, *Noctium*

The *stipulatio* ensured that contract law reaped the benefits of this idyllic form of discourse. Combined with its versatility which made it easy to adapt to any scenario, it is unsurprising that the *stipulatio* continued to endure while the circumstance-specific *Dotis dictio* and *Promissio operarum* receded into obscurity.[8] So widespread was its usage, in fact, that Seneca viewed it as a dispiriting symptom of the moral state of mankind:

> If creditors could only be persuaded to accept payment solely from those who are willing to pay. If only there were no strict formal contract binding purchaser to vendor. If only our agreements and compacts could be guarded without the impress of seals, just preserved through good faith and the cultivation of equity in the soul. But men have put compulsion before ideals. They would rather enforce good faith than await it.[9]

Seneca seems to imply that the *stipulatio* had become *too* convenient, unduly supplanting the role of less formal, non-legal agreements. Even when a trusting relationship was in place, the *stipulatio* was an easily employed gesture of good measure and there was no reason not to use it.

Orality

The *Stipulatio*, like the majority of Roman contracts, was primarily anchored in orality. It was the spoken word, the audible affirmation from the creditor, which constituted the binding agreement between the two parties. This is attested by the fact that most formal contracts could not normally be rendered by the deaf and mute without the assistance and verification of a mediator.[10] Further, while written

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Atticarum, 16.2. Translation with minor modification from Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights of Aulus* Gellius, trans. John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927), 133.

[8] By the mid sixth century, these contractual forms were excluded from Justinian's revised *Institutes* due to their specialized nature. See Peter Birks and Eric Descheemaeker, *The Roman Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52.

[9] "Utinam quidem persuadere possemus, ut pecunias creditas tantum a voentibus acciperent! Utinam nulla stipulation emptorem venditori obligaret nec pacta commentaque impressis signis cusodirentur, fides potius illa servaret et aecum colens animus! Sed necessaria optimis praetulerunt et cogere fidem quam expectare malunt." Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 3.15.1-2, in L. Annaeus Seneca, *Moral Essays*, vol. 3, ed. John W. Basore (London and New York: Heinemann, 1935). Translated in *Seneca: Moral and Political Essays*, ed. and trans. John M. Cooper and J. F. Procopé (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 252.

[10] A commentary by Ulpian, included in the *Digest* of Justinian, states that the deaf and mute cannot render a *stipulatio*, but a deaf or mute master could make an agreement through his slave who had to be present during the act. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* Vol. 4, trans. Alan Watson (Philadelphia:

contracts became steadily more common in the West, they were generally deployed in tandem with or following an oral agreement. Hans Ankum has observed that the importance of a written record of an oral *stipulatio* grew from the end of the third century CE onwards.[11] A rescript from Paul in the *Digest* of Justinian makes reference to a written deed which was 'preceded by words of stipulation' (*praecessisse verba stipulationis*).[12] Hence, the written contract served as a supplement to the oral agreement, not a substitute. Nevertheless, a combination of illiteracy among certain demographics, time constraints and the difficulty and cost of procuring writing material ensured that purely oral agreements remained commonplace.[13]

The significance of this paradigm will be explored further when I turn to the religious scene. For now, it will suffice to say that the moment the words of agreement are uttered is the moment the indelible and irreversible promise is actualized. It is not, as in some legal traditions, the moment material goods change hands, a physical gesture is made, or a signature is printed. Reinhard Zimmermann points to the rigid formula and specific lexicon of the *stipulatio* as evidence of the decisive role of the verbal affirmation. Juxtaposing the *stipulatio* with modern contractual arrangements, he notes:

> In modern law it is often difficult to determine whether certain declarations still form part of the preliminary negotiations or are already intended as a binding offer of acceptance. In Rome a question in which "*spondes*?" (or a similar verb) was used immediately set an imaginary little warning light flickering, because everybody knew then that, by giving the appropriate answer, he would become contractually bound.[14]

University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 45.1. Subsequent references to the *Digest* are taken from this edition. Where the original Latin has been quoted, I have used *The Digest of Justinian*, Vols. 1–4, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1985). Albert C. Gaw concedes the point that verification may have been required, but also argues that other types of contractual agreement, including marriage, were in fact open to the deaf and mute provided they were of sound mind. Albert C. Gaw, "The Development of the Legal Status of the Deaf: A Comparative Study of the Rights and Responsibilities of Deaf-mutes in the Laws of Rome, France, England, and America," *American Annals of the Deaf* 51, no. 5 (1906): 412 and 420–21.

[11] Hans Ankum, "Was *Acceptilatio* an Informal Act in Classical Roman Law," in *Critical Studies in ancient Law, Comparative Law and Legal History: Essays in Honour of Alan Watson*, ed. John Cairns and Olivia Robinson (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2001), 13.

[12] *Digest*, 45.1.134.

[13] Ernest Metzger, "Roman Judges, Case Law, and Principle of Procedure," *Law and History Review* 22, no. 2 (2004): 264.

[14] Reinhard Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (Capetown: Juta & Co, Ltd, 1992), 69.

The interrogatives and key verbs thus served as discourse markers, signalling a transition from mere conversation to legalistic register. Presumably, this transition would be further signalled by a change in intonation and an emphatic stress on the most consequential words and the associations those words evoke. Indeed, the need to cut through the fog of ambiguity, some anthropologists have argued, lies at the very heart of the ritual and ritualistic discourse. Richard Schechner summarizes that "both human and animal rituals arise where misunderstanding (or missignalling) can lead to catastrophe."[15] Naturally, a contractual obligation represents just such a high-stake scenario and calls for the additional failsafe embedded in the unmistakable language of the *stipulatio*.

Modern studies on the philosophy of language help to shed light on the precise way in which this verbal paradigm played out. The full significance of this dynamic is best understood through the lens of J. L. Austin's research on speech acts. In his influential work, *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), he rails against the positivist view which maintains that language is primarily concerned with producing statements which are either true or false. Instead, he coins the notion of the 'performative utterance' to illustrate the way in which language may do something other than simply describing or reporting empirical reality at the present moment. The performative utterance is made with an ongoing or prospective action in mind – "I declare," "I promise," "I give" and so on.[16] It is uttered not with the intention of describing the present, but with the implication of changing the long-term or immediate future. This distinction is otherwise conceived through the notion of locutionary and illocutionary speech acts. A locutionary act comprises only the uttered word or phrase itself and its most fundamental meaning. An illocutionary act, by contrast, is the consequence the locutionary act is expected to bring about. For instance, if someone is about to go outside wearing only a vest, I might say, "it is cold out there." The locutionary act is a simple description of the weather conditions at that particular moment. The *illocutionary* act, however, could be interpreted as a warning ("you will be cold"), advice ("you might want to take a coat") or a command ("take a coat!"). The difference is neatly summarised by Austin when he describes the locutionary act as 'the performance of an act *of* saying something' and the illocutionary act as the 'performance of an act *in* saying something' (in this example, hoping my friend will revise his choice of clothing).[17] Returning to the *stipulatio*, this distinction becomes critical, for when the promisee

[15] Richard Schechner, "The Future of Ritual," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 1, no. 1 (1987): 5.

[16] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 9.

[17] *Ibid.,* 99.

utters the affirmation *spondeo*, he is not simply saying he agrees to pay the sum or commit the act stated in the contract but is formally entering into an adamantine agreement enforced by the edifice of Roman legal tradition.

Furthermore, the idea that a verbal utterance can be understood as an act in its own right lies at the very heart of formal rituals – secular and religious alike. This is best demonstrated in Austin's example of the marriage ritual:

> ...the utterance "I do" (take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife), as uttered in the course of a marriage ceremony. Here we should say that in saying these words we are *doing* something – namely, marrying, rather than *reporting* something, namely *that* we are marrying. And the act of marrying, like, say, the act of betting, is at least *preferably*… to be described as *saying certain words*, rather than as performing a different, inward and spiritual, action of which these words are merely the outward and audible sound.[18]

Provided certain circumstantial criteria are met (i.e., that the utterance is made in the context of the marriage ceremony), the words and the action are conflated and indistinguishable. The speech *is* the act.

So far, it has been established that Roman legal culture was intensely concerned with the spoken word. In providing this background, I have aimed to lead the reader into a profoundly different world where a person's word of honour carried grave importance. Today, we would justly recoil at the idea of making a legal agreement without some form of tangible proof (a signature on paper). For the Romans, however, as noted by Zimmermann, evidence was relatively unimportant, and the notion of *fides* (trust, reliability or good faith) was a sufficient guarantee for oral agreements.[19]

Contractual Elements in Early Christianity

Christianity is a religion built upon the forging (and quite often breaking) of agreements, covenants and promises between man and God. From the very point of creation, God effectively renders an agreement between himself and man, telling Adam and Eve they may eat of any tree in the Garden of Eden bar the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.[20] This is, one might object, a *command* rather than an

[18] *Ibid.,* 13.

[19] *Ibid.,* 70.

[20] Gen 2:16-17. Biblical quotations are taken from *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*, ed. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1998).

agreement, however the very existence of free will already complicates this matter. God has given man life with a condition attached which, if broken, will result in the withdrawal of that life ("for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die").[21] Man is technically free to decline the offer and forfeit the gift they would not have had in the first place. By contrast, a unilateral agreement is made from God to Noah following the Deluge. Here, God promises unconditionally that he will never flood the world again (though other methods of destruction remain on the table):

> … neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by waters of a flood; neither shall there anymore be a flood to destroy the earth… I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a token of a covenant between me and the earth.[22]

This agreement is further consolidated by a specific sign and action which marks the moment the covenant is formed. Another agreement appears in the covenant between God and Abraham in which God pledges to make Abraham a father of many nations provided Abraham is faithful to him:

> … walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee exceedingly… As for me, behold my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations.[23]

The importance of the covenant as an institution in early Christianity and Judaism has been trenchantly explored in Walther Eichrodt's *Theology of the Old Testament* who stresses the point that the covenant (Hebrew: '*berit*'), although always instigated by one party – God – was a bilateral agreement which required certain actions from man as well as God.[24]

In sum, the incipient Christian faith already possessed a quasi-contractual facet which, as I argue below, lent itself easily to assimilation with surrounding legal cultures such as that of the Roman Empire.

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[21] Gen 2:17.

[22] Gen 6: 11-13.

[23] Gen 17:2-4.

[24] Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament Volume I, Sixth Edition*, trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), 37. On the covenant relationship more generally, see chapter 2, from pp. 36–49.

Baptism as a Contract with God

Of the various covenants and agreements found in Christianity, the rite of baptism remains one of the most enduring. While the examples discussed above were watershed historical events, baptism became a perfunctory part of Christian culture and something which all serious Christians would be expected to undertake. Repetition begets consistency, and it was essential that the baptismal ritual was enacted through a prescribed discourse which ensured that everyone was agreeing to identical tenets. The *stipulatio* was an easily convertible formula which already had a long pedigree and enjoyed a reputation as a reliable method of solidifying agreements. There was little need to tamper with a winning system.

The correspondence between the baptismal formula and that of the *stipulatio* was too striking to be ignored, either by contemporaries or modern scholars. J. A. Harrill has already explored the issue in some depth through the writings of Tertullian.[25] However, there is more to be said about the particular way in which this correspondence played out as well as the effect it would have had on the catechumen. In the final section of this article, I will examine this issue in greater depth, paying attention to the subtext of the formula and its hidden implications.

The baptismal procedure is attested in a number of sources and clearly shows the question-and-answer format with which we are already familiar. One such attestation is found in *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*:

> Then holding his hand placed on his head, he shall baptize him once. And then he shall say: "Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God…?" And when he says: "I believe," he is baptized again. And again he shall say: "Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, and the holy church, and the resurrection of the flesh?" He who is baptized shall say accordingly: "I believe."[26]

The formula is clearly redolent of the *stipulatio*, and this, I argue, would have been recognised by the contemporary participants just as it is recognised by us. The widespread use of the *stipulatio* meant that this particular style of interrogative discourse – even when deployed in a non-legal setting – remained inextricably associated with the idea of a binding irrevocable pledge. Moreover, the *stipulatio's* other concomitant associations would also be silently invoked in the catechumen's

[25] J. A. Harrill, "The Influence of Roman Contract Law on Early Baptismal Formulae (Tertullian, *Ad Martyras* 3)," *Studia Patristica* 35 (2001): 275–282.

[26] Hippolytus, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, trans. Burton S. Easton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 47.

mind. Intertextual theory has taught us that a text always exists within a matrix of other texts, making it an "illimitable tissue of connections and associations."[27] To be effective, these associations rely upon and pre-suppose an audience familiar with the 'father text' (the *stipulatio*), how it relates to the 'daughter' text (the baptismal contract), and the implications encoded within this relationship. In the case of the *stipulatio*/baptism, the implications would include, not least, the stringent penalties for breaking a contract you had unequivocally agreed to. According to Cicero, defaulting on a *stipulatio* would be an open and shut case in the Roman court:

> If anyone, when he has given security, when he has bound himself by one word, does not do what he has rendered himself liable to do, then he is condemned by the natural course of justice without [any scruple from the judge].[28]

For the baptisee, that 'one word' is *credo* (I believe), meaning that he or she has made a pledge to remain steadfast in their faith, with the tacit understanding that failure to do so will incur the wrath of the judge par excellence – God.

This phenomenon of borrowing and transferring the idiosyncratic phraseology from one cultural sphere to another can be understood as a form of *entextualization*. Katherine E. Hoffman has suggested that the written and oral text alike have the "quality of being bounded and moveable between contexts" and, further, that a text's meaning depends upon this very intertextuality.[29] Alluding to Greg Urban's notion of 'meta culture,' she goes on to argue:

> Each reproduction of a bit of culture is 'meta' in that it constantly comments on itself by containing a notion of an ideal or norm which it strives to attain… Both performers and audiences have clear ideas about the evaluation criteria for any given entextualisation, and can assess its success or shortcomings.[30]

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[27] Roland Barthes, "Theory of the Text," in *Untying the Text*, ed. R. Young (London: Routledge, 1981), 39.

[28] "Si quis quod spopondit, qua in re verbo se uno obligavit, id non facit, maturo iudicio sine ulla religione iudicis condemnatu, Si quis quod spopondit, qua in re verbo se uno obligavit, id non facit, maturo iudicio sine ulla religione iudicis condemnatur." Cicero, *Pro Caecina,* 7 In Cicero, *Orations* (*Pro Lege Manilia. Pro Caecina, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabirio, Perduellionis Reo*) *Loeb Classical Library* No. 198, trans. H. Grose Hodge (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,1927). Translation with minor modifications by the author.

[29] Katherine E. Hoffman, "Culture as Text: hazards and possibilities of Geertz's literary/literacy metaphor," *The Journal of North African Studies* 13, nos. 3/4 (2009): 420.

[30] *Ibid.*

The meaning and implications of the baptismal rite is generated through its very engagement with the Roman contract on which it is modelled. By 'reperforming' the basic formula of the *stipulatio* in an entirely different context, the baptismal rite at once relies upon the expectations set up by the *stipulatio* while at the same time modifying and heightening these expectations by introducing God in place of a fellow citizen as the stipulator.

As with the *stipulatio*, the verbal utterance is the definitive moment of the baptismal ritual. This point is underscored by Harrill who notes that, for Tertullian, it is the affirmation of the catechumen which marks the moment the baptismal bond is forged and *not*, as one might think, the moment they are immersed in water.[31] The evidence cited by Harrill is found in Tertullian's treatise *De Resurrectione Carnis* (On the Resurrection of the Flesh) in which he proclaims, *anima enim non lavatione sed responsione sancitur* ('the soul is sanctified not by the bath, but by the answer').[32]

This detail becomes critical when we recall Austin's notion of the speech act – the idea that the utterance of a word or phrase can become the very act it signifies. Austin used the example of the marriage vow to demonstrate the way in which the speaking of words can precipitate a transformation in reality. It is the moment the words 'I do' are spoken and not, say, the moment the groom kisses his bride, which marks the transition from unmarried to married. By the same token, the word *credo*, when said in the appropriate context of the baptismal ritual, and the word *spondeo*, when said in the context of a *stipulatio*, constitutes the very act those words represent. The moment immediately before and after the utterance represent two profoundly different states of reality (unmarried > married, catechumen > Christian, free of obligation > obliged).

As a final point of consideration, I would like to draw attention to the commonalities between the *stipulatio* and the baptismal formula beyond the superficial level of the performed ritual. In fact, much of the internal logic and legal philosophy underlying the *stipulatio* also applied to the rite of Baptism. Soundness of mind, volition and legal agency were of paramount importance in Roman contract law. For instance, it was axiomatic to Gaius that an insane person cannot make an enforceable contract: "It is clear in the nature of things that a lunatic, whether he makes a stipulation or a promise, performs no valid act."[33] By the same

[31] Harrill, "Baptismal Formulae," 280.

[32] Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Carnis*, 48.11. Parallel Latin and English text in Tertullian, *Treatise on the Resurrection: De Resurrectione Carnis*, trans Ernest Evans (Michigan: S.P.C.K, 1960). See also Harrill, "Baptismal Formulae," 280.

[33] Justinian, *Digest*, 44:7.1.12.

self-evident reasoning, "a person who is of an age that he does not yet understand what is being done" was likewise debarred from making contracts.[34] What is quite remarkable, however, is that children could make contracts once they had learned to talk, "for one who can speak is regarded as being able lawfully to stipulate as well as to promise."[35] Nevertheless, the fact that infants did not possess legal agency was recognised and capitalised upon by Tertullian in his polemics against infant baptism. In his treatise *De Baptismo*, he challenges the practice by drawing direct parallels with secular law:

> Let them be made Christians when they have become competent to know Christ. Why should innocent infancy come with haste to the remission of sins? Shall we take less cautious action in this than we take in worldly matters? Shall one who is not trusted with earthly property be entrusted with heavenly? Let them first learn how to ask for salvation, so that you may be seen to have given to one that asketh.[36]

Tertullian's rather minimalist criterion – that they must "learn how to ask for salvation" – would seem to accord with Gaius' view that a child may make contracts if they are capable of intelligible speech, regardless of their other intellectual faculties (or lack thereof).[37] Regardless, it is evident that Tertullian viewed the baptismal pact as a heavenly counterpart to the profane *stipulatio,* and this was clearly reflected in his use of the latter as an analogy for the former.

By examining the baptismal rite alongside the *stipulatio*, I have attempted to show that it was shaped and influenced by these contractual forms, and that the similarities were significant enough to be recognized and highlighted by contemporary commentators. It was shown that the *stipulatio* in particular offered a useful formula which was adopted and modified by the early Christian

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[34] *Ibid.,* 44:7.1.13

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] "Fiant Christiani cum Christum nosse potuerint. quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum? cautius agetur in saecularibus, ut cui substantia terrena non creditur divina credatur? Norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris." Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, ed. J. M. Lupton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 18.5. Translate in Tertullian, *Homily on Baptism*, trans. Ernest Evans (Michigan: S.P.C.K., 1964). See also Harrill's discussion in "Baptismal Formulae," 281.

[37] Indeed, elsewhere Gaius makes it clear that the *paterfamilias* could have his children act in a legal capacity on his behalf, which included making contracts. However, if a child makes an obligation of his own volition, the *paterfamilias* is not bound by that obligation. Regardless, this is evident that children could and did make contracts. Justinian, *Digest*, 50.17.133. See also the discussion in Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations*, 51–52.

communities. It was further demonstrated that the importance of orality in Roman law bled into Christianity through the conduit of the *stipulatio*, producing the baptismal formula which was built upon an identical paradigm and placed similar emphasis on the binding power of the verbal utterance. As I have shown through the work of Austin, in the baptismal ritual, as in the *stipulatio*, the utterance of words is not only the symbol of an action but *is* itself the action. All of this was discussed against the backdrop of a religion which was built on a foundation of covenants and agreements between man and God – a foundation which lent itself easily to integration with the legal culture of the Roman Empire.

A REASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF NOGAI IN LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Jack Wilson

The Mongol prince Nogai is generally presented as the most influential and powerful individual of the late thirteenth century Golden Horde. A descendant of Chinggis Khan through the line of his oldest son Jochi, Nogai is commonly seen as an all-powerful khanmaker, appointing and deposing Khans of the Jochid *ulus* (Golden Horde) as it suited him from about 1270 until his death in 1300. Beyond, and sometimes in place of his depiction as the appointer of khans, secondary literature will often also make Nogai largely independent, ruling his own principality along the lower Danube, based at Saqchi, modern Isaccea in Romania. additional statement that, late in the 1290s he took the title of khan, clearly situating himself as a rival in power to the Jochid khan (at that time, Toqta), and that the territory he controlled was therefore not merely autonomous, but an independent, sovereign entity from the Golden Horde.

This independence is usually uncritically taken as a fact by the scholarship, but in fact I believe it to be far from conclusive. Rather, I have argued that the primary historical sources only place him in the overthrow of a single khan, Tele-Buqa, in 1291.[1] Further, on a basis of recent scholarly arguments and a reevaluation of the relevant primary sources, I suggest Nogai did not rule his own independent khanate along the Danube. I will readdress the common components of Nogai's supposed independent – allegations he seized the Danube territory himself, undertook his diplomacy, carried royal titles and minted his own coinage – and demonstrate that this evidence can be presented alternatively.

Nogai's Movement to the Danube

Perhaps the best place to begin, is the first event scholarship usually cites as an indication of Nogai's independence. His first appearance in the historical sources is taking part with Khan Berke in the war against the Ilkhan, Hülegü. This conflict, from 1262–1266, was one of the major civil wars which divided the Mongol Empire in the 1260s and determined the border of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate

[1] As argued in my master's thesis, Jack Wilson, "The Role of Nogai in Eastern Europe and the Late Thirteenth-Century Golden Horde: A Reassessment." MA Thesis. Central European University, Vienna, 2021. See also my forthcoming articles in *Golden Horde Review* and *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*.

in the Caucasus for the next century. Nogai, perhaps twenty years old, appears as Berke Khan's commander-in-chief, *beylerbeyi*, leading his armies faithfully in battle in the course of which he suffered grievous injuries. Withdrawing after Berke's death in 1266, warfare was briefly resumed by Berke's successor Möngke-Temür Khan (r.1266–1280/1282. Making no greater progress than Berke, Möngke-Temür then agreed to a truce with the Ilkhanate and returned to the Golden Horde. Though not explicitly stated in the sources, it seems probable that Nogai had accompanied Möngke-Temür on campaign, providing his experience.[2]

Upon the end of the fighting, scholarship generally has Nogai travel to the lower Danube, and seize a territory there. However, the presentation is notably contradictory; in large part, due to the fact that in 1264, a joint Mongol-Bulgarian raid was launched into Byzantine territory which freed a captive Seljuq Sultan. In 1272, Nogai also led a raid into Byzantine Thrace. The two events have been conflated by much of the scholarship, leading to statements such as Curta and May writing of Nogai already being autonomous on the Danube by the time of Berke's death (1266), while Tanase dated the emergence of Nogai's principality to 1265 and giving Berke's death as 1267.[3] Favereau has Nogai stay in the region following the 1263 raid to free the Seljuq Sultan.[4] The idea of Nogai moving to a distant corner of south-eastern Europe while the khanate grappled with the aftermath of Berke's death has been a persuasive piece of evidence for those looking for him establishing his own principality. However, Vásáry and Uzelac have demonstrated thoroughly that the raids are in fact two distinct events.[5] Additionally, as noted above Nogai spent the early 1260s on the frontier with the Ilkhanate; it seems doubtful that

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[2] Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan,* trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971): 123–124; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols,* trans. W. M. Thackston. Cambridge (MA: Harvard University, 1998): 356, 506–508, 513–514.

[3] Florin Curta, Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300) (Boston: Brill, 2019) 713, 715; Timothy May, The Mongol Empire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 289; Thomas Tanase,"Le 'Khan' Nogaï et la Géopolitique de la mer Noire en 1287 à travers un document missionnaire: la Lettre de Ladislas, Custode de Gazarie," Annuario dell'Istituto romeno de cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia 6–7 (2004–2005): 227.

[4] Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (London: Belknap Press, 2021), 154.

[5] Aleksandar Uzelac, "The Golden Horde and the Balkans (13th–14th Centuries)," in *The Golden Horde in World History: A Multi-Authored Monograph*, ed. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau, (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017), 380; István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 73, 75.

Berke would have moved his top commander from his most important theater for a distant and rather minor raid on Byzantium.

Some scholarship has also argued for Nogai's movement to the western steppe being a means to reclaim familial lands. Pochekaev, for example, wrote that "Nogai stayed put in his family domain, the Cis-Dniester River Region, [I.e, westernmost Ukraine] throughout the ruling period of the first Khan of the Golden Horde [Möngke-Temür]. Mengu-Temur excluded him from the Golden Horde's affairs but did not interfere with Nogai's ulus or his activities in the neighbouring states."[6] This attribution of the lands of the western steppe as belonging to Nogai's family comes from an effort to identify a figure in the account of the Franciscan diplomat John de Plano Carpini with Nogai's grandfather Bo'al. John de Plano Carpini, during his journey through the Golden Horde in 1245 to the Great Khan's court in Mongolia, mentions a prince named "Mauci" or "Mochi" controlling the territory on the east bank of the Dnieper.[7] Some historians, like Cherkas, have suggested that Mauci was a corruption of Muval, by which Nogai's grandfather Bo'al is known in the Mamluk accounts.[8] Based on this identification, Cherkas suggests Nogai's move west in the late 1260s was simply him returning to the family appanage, and his return led to the "Muval wing" growing in prominence and power.[9] This attribution is doubtful for several reasons. The name Moche is closer to Muji, a son of Chagatai, while the Dnieper territory that Carpini ascribes to Moche was never held by Nogai even at the height of his influence.[10] Therefore, Nogai's movement to the western steppe was not to reclaim lands belonging to his family.

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[6] Roman Pochekaev, "First Rulers of the Ulus of Jochi," in *The Golden Horde in World History: A Multi-Authored Monograph*, ed. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau (Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences: Kazan, 2017), 228.

[7] M*ission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,* trans. a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. Christopher Dawson, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 55.

[8] The Mongolian *B* and *J* often shifted to *M* and *Y* in Qipchaq Turkic. See for example, the consistent rendering of *Jebe* to *Yeme* in early Islamic sources on the Mongols. Nogai's grandfather was certainly rendered as Bo'al, the Mongolian term for a house slave. My thanks to Stephen Pow for assistance with this matter.

[9] Boris Cherkas, "Territorial Organisation of the Ulus of Jochi (Territory to the West of the Don,)" in *The Golden Horde in World History: A Multi-Authored Monograph,* ed. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau (Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences: Kazan, 2017), 155–158.

[10] [Alexander Uzelac] *Александар Узелац*, "*Почеци Ногајеве власти у западној степи на доњем Дунаву* (c. 1267–1273)" ["The Beginnings of Nogai's Rule in the Western Steppes and in the Lower Danube (c. 1267–1273)"] *Историјски часопис [Historical Journal]*, 62 (2013): 19–20.

The motivation for Nogai's transfer to the lower Danube is actually outlined by two independent sources, which both attest to it being a decision made by the highest echelons of the Jochid *ulus.* The Byzantine author Pachymeres (1242–*c.*1310) wrote "This Nogai was a mighty man among the Tatars; an astute strategist and experienced in business, it is with very many forces, composed of Tatars of the same race, that these people call Mongols, that he was sent by the chiefs of his nation, who were on the Caspian and that they call khans," and later in book IX, "So Nogai, who has been spoken of before, was originally sent by the leaders of his nation; he was not the leader, but their lieutenant."[11] Pachymeres is very clear: Nogai was ordered to the region by the khan of the Golden Horde. The Mamluk chronicler Baybars al-Mansūrī's (*c.*1247–1325) brief depiction largely agrees with this, stating "We have already said how he advanced and strengthened in these countries thanks to the wife of their king Möngke-Temür, named Jijek-Khatun, who ruled (the state) during the time of her husband and during the reign of Töde-Möngke, who sat on the throne after him."[12] For the Mamluk historian, Nogai's movement to the west was on the urging of Jijek-Khatun, one of Möngke-Temür Khan's chief wives, a Muslim, and a widow of Berke.[13] Baybars al-Mansūrī and Pachymeres are the only sources which provide a motivation for Nogai's establishment on the western edge of the Golden Horde, and both agree that the motivation came from the top of the Jochid state, not Nogai's own inclinations.

Nogai's position in what is now eastern Romania was not a return to family lands or a move to establish an *ulus* for himself but was instead an order coming from the leadership of the Golden Horde. As the area Nogai was moving to, on the borders of the Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria and the Hungarian Kingdom, was territory at the limits of the Horde's control, placing an experienced military commander in the region was a means to shore up the Jochid position there. As Möngke-Temür concerned his reign with establishing the Golden Horde as

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[11] *Georges Pachymérès Relations Historiques,* part 1, *Livres I–III*, ed. and trans. Albert Failler and Vitalien Laurent, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984), "Ce Nogai était un homme puissant parmi les Tatars; stratège avisé et rompu aux affaires, c'est avec de très nombreuses forces, composées de Tatars de même race, que ces gens appellent Mongols, qu'il fut envoyé par les chefs de sa nation, qui se trouvaient sur la Caspienne et qu'on appelle khans" ; *Georges Pachymérès Relations Historiques,* part 3, *Livres VII–IX,* ed. and trans. Albert Failler (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1999), IX.26, "Donc Nogai, dont il a été parlé auparavant, fut envoyé à l'origine par les chefs de sa nation; il n'était pas le chef, mais leur lieutenant."

[12] *Сборник Материалов, относящихся к истории золотой орды* [Collection of materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], trans. [Vladimir Tiesenhausen] *Влади́мир Тизенгаузен*, vol. 1. (*Алматы: дайк-Пресс* [Almaty: Dyke Press], 2005), 109.

[13] [Tiesenhausen], *Сборник Материалов*, (al-Mufaḍḍal) 93, (al-ʿAyni) 507.

an independent kingdom and securing its borders, Nogai's arrival to the edge of Europe fit perfectly within Möngke-Temür's political strategies.[14]

Nogai as *tammachi*

Nogai's position, I suspect, was then a typical one for a Mongol commander: the head of a *tamma* force. The *tamma*, commanded by a *tammachi,* were in the words of Buell, "a special military force, comprised of selected chiliarchies from the total Mongolian levy and sent into conquered areas to secure and hold them, and, if possible, expand Mongolian power and influence."[15] Employed since the days of Chinggis Khan, the *tamma* were (generally permanent) garrison forces usually made up of mobile troops from various backgrounds (that is, nomadic and local non-Mongolian troops commanded by a Mongol) stationed on the frontiers of the empire, who served as the first line of offense and defense. From expanding the empire through outright conquest, or raiding to disrupt enemy states to levy tribute, *tamma* commanders served as governors conducting diplomacy and war on behalf of the khan until a more permanent civilian administration was established. Once this occurred, the *tamma* then advanced with the frontier to continue the conquests. Some of the most well-known Mongol commanders headed *tamma* forces, such as Mukhali in North China in the early 1220s and Chormaqun, who largely completed the Mongol conquest of Iran and the Caucasus in the 1230s.[16]

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[14] Aside from peace with the Ilkhanate, Möngke-Temür's actions included securing, through treaty, his borders in Transoxania with Qaidu and Baraq Khan of the Chagatai Khanate (Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (New York: Routledge, 1997): 26–29); a brief detente with Great Khan Khubilai, which saw offers of cooperation and an exchange in personal and military manpower (Biran, *Qaidu,* 30; Arsenio P. Martinez, "Institutional development, revenues and trade," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age,* eds. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 94); strengthening Mongol rule over the Rus', including a census (Thomas T. Allsen, "Mongol Census Taking in Rus', 1245–1275," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5 no. 1 (1981): 45–46); *yarliqs* to confirm rights of the Rus' church (including tax exemptions), and thereby make them a supporter of his rule (Lawrence N. Langer, "Muscovite Taxation and the Problem of Mongol Rule in Rus'," *Russian History* 34 no. ¼ (2007): 116); while also ensuring the Rus' princes relied on him, granting them *yarliqs* to confirm their positions while making them join him on campaign, (Pochekaev, "First Rulers of the Ulus of Jochi," 227–228; *The Nikonian Chronicl*e, trans. Serge A. Zenkovsky and Betty Jean Zenkovsky, vol. 3 (Princeton, NJ: Kingston Press, 1986): 58, 62).

[15] Paul D. Buell, "Kalmyk Tanggaci People: Thoughts on the Mechanics and Impact of Mongol Expansion," *Mongolian Studies* 6 (1980): 45.

[16] Buell, "Kalmyk Tanggaci People," 45–46; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017) 82; Timothy May, "Mongol Conquest Strategy in the Middle East," in the *Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation*

Tammachi like Mukhali, Chormaqun Noyan, Baiju Noyan and Eljigidei Noyan were all immensely powerful, and their regional influences appear comparable to Nogai's, and were all appointed to their positions by the Great Khans – yet, none of them are ever considered as independent, or outside of the khan's oversight. The only exception with Nogai compared to these figures, is his status as a Chinggisid prince. Whatever Nogai may have done at the end of his life, it seems his initial posting was that as *tammachi*, and thus his actions over the 1270s fall in line with other such individuals in the Mongol conquests.

When taken from this point of view, Nogai's military operations along the Danube (campaigns into Bulgarian, Byzantine Empire, Hungary, Danubian banates and Serbia) appear less like a man carving out his own kingdom, and more as expanding the Mongolian empire. Take, for instance, the matter of diplomacy. It is not unusual for the scholarship to state that Nogai undermined the khan by taking control of diplomacy, or engaging in his own diplomatic efforts. One of the most well-known examples comes soon after Nogai's arrival to the Danube, when he sent a letter to the Mamluk Sultan Baybars I, which has often been interpreted as Nogai's attempt to create his own alliance with the Mamluks.[17] Firstly, this letter itself bears no offers of an independent alliance, and, as Uzelac pointed out, was written in conjunction with a number of other prominent *noyad* in the western Golden Horde, recently appointed to the region by the khan and not Nogai's subordinates; it's doubtful it was written without Möngke-Temür Khan's knowledge in some way.[18] Nogai's letter arrived in Cairo in 1271, after Möngke-Temür had come to peace with the Ilkhanate (*c.* 1268) but only shortly before Möngke-Temür sent another letter to Cairo offering a renewed military alliance against the Ilkhanate in 1272.[19] I suspect Möngke-Temür encouraged Nogai to send the letter to test Baybars' thoughts to alliance after Möngke-Temür had initially brushed him off. Baybars' response, which urged the Jochids to continue fighting the Ilkhans, pleased Möngke-Temür and led him to send a more open letter. Secondly, diplomacy was not merely the khan's prerogative, as there are

in Ilkhanid Iran, ed. Bruno de Nicola and Charles Melville, (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 17–20; Donald Ostrowski, "The 'tamma' and the Dual-administrative Structure of the Mongol Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 61 no. 2 (1998): 263, 269.

[17] See, for instance in Favereau, *the Horde,* 192 and Tanase, "Le 'Khan' Nogaï," 274–77.

[18] [Alexander Uzelac] *Александар Узелац, Под сенком Пса – Татари и јужнословенске земље у другој половини XIII века* [Under the Shadow of the Dog – Tatars and South Slavic Lands in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century] (Belgrad: *Утопија* 2015): 133–34.

[19] Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds (*Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 60.

numerous examples of *tammachi* engaging in diplomacy with foreign powers, most regularly to demand submission. Chormaqun Noyan took most of southern Iran's submission diplomatically; Baiju Noyan exchanged letters with, and took the submission of, the Seljuq Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw, and received a Dominican embassy on behalf of the Great Khan in 1247; and Eljigidei Noyan sent an embassy to the King of France, Louis IX, when he landed in Cyprus in 1248.[20] Noting that Mongol missions were often accused of deliberate subterfuge and information gathering, as Eljigidei's letter to Louis IX has been accused of, then there is even less reason to take Nogai's letter to Baybars as intended to orchestrate his own alliance.[21]

Nogai's actions in south-eastern Europe, consisting of raiding, threatening, demanding tribute or submission, and generally destabilizing states bordering the Golden Horde, fit well into what we would expect of a *tammachi*.[22] A possible exception, one may argue, is Nogai's marriage to the Byzantine Princess Euphrosyne. Soon after his arrival to the Danube, Nogai led a devastating attack on Byzantine Thrace, most likely in 1272, which culminated in the Emperor Michael VIII marrying off an illegitimate daughter, Euphrosyne, as part of the peace arrangement with Nogai.[23] This 1272 attack on Byzantium is often presented as entirely Nogai's initiative, taking advantage of local conditions for his own advancement.[24]

Yet as Uzelac has noted, the Mamluk sources are consistent in placing this attack on the order of Möngke-Temür Khan due to his displeasure with Michael

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[20] Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, T*he Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Boston: Brill, 2011), 60–61, 63; May, "Mongol Conquest Strategy," 22–25; *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: his Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255,* ed. and trans. Peter Jackson and David Morgan (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), 31, 33–37.

[21] *Mission of Friar William of Rubruck,* 38.

[22] See an overview of Nogai's actions in southeastern Europe in the late thirteenth century, see either Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars,* 71–91, or Aleksandar Uzelac, "The Golden Horde and the Balkans (13th–14th Centuries)" in *The Golden Horde in World History: A Multi-Authored Monograph,* eds. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau, (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017): 381–385.

[23] Pachymeres, part 1, III.5.

[24] "Although at first Noghai was merely Sarai's agent in settling Tartar-Byzantine affairs after the crisis of 1264–1265, he [Nogai] had become an independent player by 1272 at the latest, with sufficient political clout to be considered worthy of a Byzantine alliance. His marriage to Euphrosyne was a fundamental political act which created a new basis for relations between the states of the Western Balkans." Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Samuel Willcocks (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 257.

VIII.[25] Möngke-Temür wanted Constantinople more compliant, as the *basileus* had married another daughter to Ilkhan Abaqa in 1265.[26] Allying with the Jochid khan's foes was unacceptable, as Constantinople could hamper the movement of envoys between the Golden Horde and the Mamluk Sultanate through the Dardanelles. Indeed, in the early 1260s Michael VIII had briefly detained Mamluk envoys *en route* to the Golden Horde.[27] Nogai was therefore acting as the enforcer of Möngke-Temür Khan's will, reminding everyone where the balance of power lay. So effective was Nogai's attack that for the rest of his reign Michael VIII worked effectively with the Golden Horde.

The union of Nogai and Euphrosyne should not be seen as an independent marriage alliance of his own organization, but likely done with the approval of Möngke-Temür, a reward for Nogai's effectiveness in enacting the khan's will. Such was the reasoning for generals Sübe'etei Ba'atar and *tammachi* Chormaqun being awarded Chinggisid wives in the 1230s.[28] Foreign princesses though were more regularly married into the Mongol imperial family.[29] Marriages were a tool the Mongols used to tie a state closer to the empire, as for example, is the understanding behind the offers for intermarriage King Béla IV received from the Jochids.[30] The fact that the marriage to Euphrosyne occurred with no recorded response or action from Möngke-Temür (that is, we do not see Möngke-Temür treat Nogai as acting in revolt), and that Nogai continued to enjoy high status within the Jochid *ulus* (as *aqa,* senior prince, and as a valued adviser to the khans), suggests the marriage was

[25] [Tiesenhausen], *Сборник Материалов,* (al-Nuwayrī) 153–54, (ibn Khaldūn) 380, (al-Maqrīzī) 434, (al- ʿAyni) 511; [Uzelac], "*Почеци Ногајеве власти*," 27–28.

[26] Maria Isabel Cabrera Ramos, "Maria Paleologina and the Il-Khanate of Persia. A Byzantine Princess in an Empire between Islam and Christendom," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum,* 11 (2017): 220. The daughter, Maria, was originally to marry Abaqa's father Hulegu, but Hulegu had died before her arrival

[27] Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 72.

[28] Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File Inc, 2004) 461; Christopher P. Atwood, "Titles, Appanages, Marriages and Officials: A Comparison of Political Forms in the Zünghar and Thirteenth Century Mongol Empires," in T*he History of Mongolia*, vol. 2, part 3, *Yuan and Late Medieval Period,* eds. David Sneath and Christopher Kaplonski, (Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2010), 620; Dashdondog, *Mongols and Armenians*, 52; Stephen Pow and Jingjing Liao, "Subutai: Sorting Fact from Fiction Surrounding the Mongol Empire's Greatest General (with Translations of Subutai's Two Biographies in the Yuan Shi)," *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7 (2018): 60.

[29] Anne F. Broadbridge, Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 92–100.

[30] Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 167.

not a problem for the khan. Therefore, not only did the marriage take place with Möngke-Temür's approval, but it also suggests Nogai's oft-remarked illegitimacy – based on the supposed concubine status of his mother or grandmothers – is overstated by the scholarship, and Nogai was seen as a member of the Chinggisid royal family.[31] He was therefore eligible for marriages with royal powers, with the permission of the Golden Horde khan. All other known Byzantine-Mongol marriages occurred between members of the respective royal families.[32]

A Matter of Titles

A common reframe for supporters of the khanmaker model is that the medieval sources all call Nogai by lofty, royal titles.[33] As Halperin recently noted, due to the lack of internal sources from the Golden Horde, it is not clear what title or rank actually Nogai bore, only what he was called by foreign authors.[34] Numerous sources attest that he carried a rank of significance, though not all write of a royal rank. *Beylerbeyi*, referring to him as a commander-in-chief, and later *aqa*, as a senior member of the Jochids respected for advice and settling disputes, are common epithets though neither indicate sovereignty.[35] Both titles reflect roles

[31] Charles Halperin, "On Recent Studies of Rus' Relations with the Tatars of the Jochid Ulus," Golden Horde Review 8 no. 1 (2020): 34–35

[32] Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The Ilkhans in the Byzantine Sources' in *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*, ed. Timothy May, Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan and Christopher P. Atwood (Boston: Brill, 2020), 386, 396, 409, 412; May, *Mongol Empire,* 312–13; Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 74, 80–81, 127, 140; *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, vol. 2. trans. H.A.R. Gibb, (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1962), 488, 497–514; Anna Linden Weller, "Marrying the Mongol Khans: Byzantine Imperial Women and the Diplomacy of Religious Conversion in the 13th and 14th Centuries," *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* no. 2 (2016): 185, 198

[33] Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*: *Die Mongolen in Rußland, 1223–1502 (*Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowtiz, 1965): 64.

[34] Halperin, "On Recent Studies," 34–37.

[35] Rashiduddin, *Jami' u't-tawarikh*, 357; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, 124–25; Halperin, "On Recent Studies," 34; Judith Pfeiffer, "Aḥmad Tegüder's Second Letter to Qalā'ūn (682/1283)," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honour of John E. Woods,* ed. Judith Pfeiffer, Sholeh A. Quinn and Ernest Tucker (Wiesbaden: Harssowitz 2006), 183, 189; Pochekaev, "First Rulers of the Ulus of Jochi," 230; [Uzelac], "*Почеци Ногајеве власти*," 21; Aleksandar Uzelac, "An Empire Within an Empire? Ethnic and Religious Realities in the Lands of Nogai (c.1270–1300)," *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History* 18 (2018): 272.

to which the Jochid khans turned to him for: military service or advice.[36] It is these military titles and references to *aqa* which are predominately associated with Nogai in the Ilkhanid sources – that is to say, by authors with access to Mongol informants, to whom the distinctions of such titles mattered a great deal. Yet Nogai is referred to with more exalted titles. In certain European sources he is referred to as emperor, such as a letter from the Venetian senate in 1294 to Nogai asking to establish a consular post in his territories, and letters from Franciscans in Crimea in 1287 refer to Nogai as emperor alongside Tele-Buqa.[37] Marco Polo calls Nogai a "King of the Tartars."[38] The Rus' sources consistently refer to Nogai as *tsar*, and it has been remarked that Nogai's power caused the Rus' to be confused as to who was the true master of the Horde.[39] However, these sources generally refer to all ranking Chinggisid princes with these royal titles. *The Chronicle of Novgorod, Galician-Volynian Chronicle* and *Nikonian Chronicle* refer to Alghui and Tudan, two sons of Möngke-Temür Khan, as well as minor princes Katiak and Ali-Beg, as *tsar* in addition to Nogai. Sartaq, son and successor of Batu, is referred to as *tsar* during Batu's lifetime. All use the same title for the recognized khans in each period.[40] Yet, the *Galician-Volynian Chronicle,* for instance, is careful to not refer to non-Chinggisid commanders like Quremsa and Burundai as tsar or khan.[41] Seemingly, *tsar* was reserved for the *altan urag,* the princes descended from Chinggis Khan, and as Nogai was recognized as one, then his identification as *tsar* is hardly extraordinary. Rus' informants may have spread imperial titles in more western materials. In greater distance from the territories of the Golden Horde,

[36] For example, when Töde-Möngke Khan consulted with Nogai and Qonichi of the Blue Horde to release Nomukhan, the captive son of Khubilai Khaan (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors,* 269) or Nogai succeeded in getting Tele-Buqa Khan to come to him, unarmed, according to Baybars al-Mansūrī, by convincing the khan he was only coming to bring his council. Baybars in [Tiesenhausen], *Сборник Материалов*, 107.

[37] Ciocîltan, *Mongols and the Black Sea Trade,* 157; Szilvia Kovács,"The Franciscans and Yaylaq Khatun," *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia* 13 (2016): 49; [Uzelac], *Подо сенком Пса,* 234; Tanase, "Le 'Khan' Nogaï," 268.

[38] Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, ed. and trans. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1938), 483.

[39] *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, trans. Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes, (London: Camden Society, 1914), 111; *Nikonian Chronicle,* 76; *The Hypatian Codex II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle,* trans. George A. Perfecky, (Munich: Wilhem Fink, 1973), 95; *May, Mongol Empire*, 291; George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953): 175.

[40] *Chronicle of Novgorod*, 111; *Nikonian Chronicle,* 30, 80, 82; *Galician-Volynian Chronicle,* 99.

[41] For Quremsa, see *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, 68–69, 74–75, and Burundai, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, 76–80.

knowing Nogai was a prominent figure on the Horde's western border with Europe (and knowing few other figures within the Horde other than the khan himself) may have been enough to provide this influential commander a more exalted title than he ever actually bore.

Coins of the Khan

Perhaps the most damning evidence in favour of Nogai's independence is the argument that he minted coins in his own name. Coins found from territory associated with Nogai (eastern Romania and Moldova) minted at Saqchi with Greek and Arabic inscriptions bear his name, the name of his son Chaka, and Nogai's distinctive trident-like *tamgha*. As the privilege to mint coinage in one's own name is often seen as a mark of sovereignty, it is convincing evidence when seen in isolation. The coins are used to argue that Nogai took the title of khan around 1296, about a decade after the city of Saqchi (the commonly identified centre of Nogai's *ulus)* began minting Golden Horde coins. For many scholars, this coinage is the greatest and most convincing evidence for Nogai's independence from the mid-1280s onwards.[42]

While the issuing of coinage in one's own name can be associated with a declaration of sovereignty, recent studies on late thirteenth-century Golden Horde numismatics reveal a more complicated picture. Namely, from the reign of Tele-Buqa Khan (1287–1291) onwards, multiple figures minted coins without the name and *tamgha* of Tele-Buqa, but their own *tamgha*, the *tamgha* of the late Möngke-Temür Khan, or even multiple *tamgha.* Reva has argued these coins, which vary by geography, indicate the division of the Golden Horde between Tele-Buqa and his allies, a group of princes who ousted Töde-Möngke Khan in 1287 and ruled together. The use of Möngke-Temür's *tamgha* in coins minted from Sarai, Ükek and Khwarezm indicate areas ruled over by Möngke-Temür's sons Alghui and Toghrilcha, while Tele-Buqa's *tamgha* is associated with the mints around Crimea, and his brother Konchek along the upper Volga. While Tele-Buqa was the khan, Reva suggests he was a first amongst equals in the junta, as

[42] Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages,* 713; Favereau, *The Horde,* 201; Halperin, "On Recent Studies," 35; Peter Jackson, *Mongols in the West: 1221–1410,* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2018): 168; [Uzelac], "*Почеци Ногајеве власти*," 30–31; Uzelac, "Empire within an Empire," 273; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars,* 89–91. The most cited studies for Nogai's coinage as support for his declaration of the Khanate are Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Numismatical contributions to the history of south-eastern Europe at the end of the 13th century," *RRH* 26 (1987): 245–58 and Lăčezar Lazarov, "Sur un type de monnaies en cuivre avec la tamgha de Nogaj," *BHR* 25:4 (1997) 3–11.

demonstrated by the regional division.[43] Yet the sources do not depict the Golden Horde breaking into numerous independent khanates during the reign of Tele-Buqa. Why then, as coins with Nogai's *tamgha* date from the same period, are they taken as a mark of independence, considering that coins bearing Toqta's name and *tamgha*, or bearing the names of Chaka and Toqta, are found in association with those of the Saqchi mint?[44] During Toqta Khan's reign (1291–1312), according to Petrov, Toqta's *tamgha* or the *tamgha* of Möngke-Temür was removed from certain regions where mints were controlled by the khan's agents, while certain regions begin minting with the *tamgha* of Toqta which had not been minted with them previously: these included Bulgar, Crimea, Azak and Nogai's supposed capital of Saqchi. These, Petrov argues, represented an area "relatively independent economically but still under the khan's power," zones where the right of *sikkah* (the right to mint coins) had been granted to the regional governor/land holder.[45] Petrov notes certain of these Saqchi-minted coins bear the *tamgha* of both Nogai's son Chaka and Toqta, of silver dirhams in Bulgaria with only the *tamgha* of Toqta, and of coins from Akcha Kerman with only Nogai's *tamgha*.[46] Similar coins marked with the *tamgha* of two individuals are found from the unified Mongol Empire, bearing the *tamgha* and names of both Ögedai Khaan and his brother Chagatai, or of Ögedai and Batu, yet none would argue for the independence of either.[47] Rather than a declaration of Nogai's independence, they simply indicate where each figure had the right to *sikkah* on the khan's behalf, a marker of decentralization rather than fragmentation.

While commonly reported as Nogai beginning to mint his own coins in the 1280s, this reading is debated. According to Vásáry, Oberländer-Târnoveanu, who argued strongly for these coins as tokens of Nogai's formal independence, had to revise his dating, first 1285–1295, then to 1271–1285.[48] Petrov however sees no evidence that Nogai struck coinage at all before the reign of Toqta Khan (1291–1312), while Reva believed the coins dated 1287–1291, only during the

[43] *Р.Ю Рева*, [R. Yu. Reva], "*Распределение власти в Улусе Джучи в* 686–690 / 1287–1291 *гг,*" ["The Distribution of Power in the Jochid Ulus in 686–690/1287–1291,"] *НУМИЗМАТИКА ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ* [Golden Horde Numismatics] no. 4 (2014): 136–39.

[44] Pavel Petrov, "Jochid Money and Monetary Policy in the 13–15th Centuries," in *The Golden Horde in World History: A Multi-Authored Monograph*, eds. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau, (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017), 622.

[45] Petrov, "Jochid Money," 622–23.

[46] Petrov, "Jochid Money," 623.

[47] Badarch Nyamaa, *The Coins of Mongol Empire and Clan Tamgha of Khans (XIII–XIV)* (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2005), 47; Petrov, "Jochid Money," 618.

[48] Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 90.

period of Tele-Buqa Khan.[49] The ambiguity in dating makes it difficult to reliably attribute these coins to a specific period of Nogai being independent. Even coins which are supposed to read "Nogai Khan" cannot be totally accepted. According to Uzelac, Sjeverova demonstrated that coins identified as bearing Nogai's *tamgha* and the title *khan* do not actually have Nogai's name, but Toqta's.[50] While some coins may carry only the name and *tamgha* of Nogai and his son Chaka, it seems many bear their names and *tamgha* along with the names of the Golden Horde khans during Nogai's period of "independence," (i.e, late 1280s–1290s). The coins of Nogai reflect shifts in Jochid monetary policy from the reign of Tele-Buqa onwards, rather than indication of Nogai forming a separate kingdom.

Though coins indeed do bear Nogai's name, they should not be used in isolation from monetary trends in the rest of the Jochid *ulus.* It should instead be recognized that the Golden Horde's currency was undergoing a wide process of reform and change over the late thirteenth century, and reflects internal organization that is still not quite apparent to the scholarship today.

The War with Toqta Khan

Brief mention should be given to Nogai's final war, that against Khan Toqta at the close of the thirteen century. In the khanmaker model, it simply becomes Nogai's failed effort to depose of Toqta as he had Tele-Buqa Khan; essentially, the final proof for Nogai as an independent monarch. When reexamining the war however, I do not see evidence that Nogai was fighting for his independence, or declared himself as a rival to the khan in Sarai. No primary source describes him taking the title of khan in this manner, or their civil war being fought for this reason. The origins of the Toqta-Nogai war are only sparsely referred to in the sources, but when they are, they are consistently portrayed as familial.[51] Following Nogai assisting Toqta to the throne, both made demands of the other, largely involving the killing of individuals associated with Tele-Buqa Khan, who they had overthrown in 1291.[52] Both took part, but in time began to ignore each other's requests. Nogai grew angry that Toqta gave greater heed to the advice of Salji'dai Güregen, Toqta's grandfather.

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[49] Petrov, "Jochid Money," 622; [Reva], "*Распределение власти*," 141.

[50] [Uzelac], *Под сенком Пса,* 234–35.

[51] Alexander Uzelac, "Echoes of the Conflict between Tokhta and Nogai in the Christian World," *Golden Horde Review* 5, no.3 (2017): 509, 517. Uzelac notes that the sources, particularly in the Europe, were more interested in the outcome than the origin of the conflict.

[52] [Tiesenhausen], *Сборник Материалов*, (Baybars) 108–09, (al-Nuwayrī) 157–58, (ibn Khaldūn) 383.

Salji'dai's son had married a daughter of Nogai, and begun to mistreat her upon her conversion to Islam, and Toqta refused to hand him over, despite the demands of Nogai. In an effort to force Toqta's compliance, Nogai encouraged a revolt among princes and commanders in the Ukrainian steppes, which escalated into open war.[53] The conflict, in the available sources, does not appear as Nogai attempting to assert control over the Golden Horde itself, or making himself a khan, or hoping to depose Toqta for another contender – this is an extrapolation of the modern literature. In essence, I see it as Nogai's failed gamble to force Toqta to meet his demands. I find it telling that when Nogai won his first battle over Toqta along the Don River, he immediately returned closer to his home territory, rather than pursue Toqta towards the Horde capital at Sarai.[54] The reason of course, is because the war was not being fought for mastery over the entire Jochid *ulus,* and Nogai had nothing to gain by overextending himself in such a manner.

Perhaps after war had broken out, Nogai envisaged an independent khanate for himself and his family, though it came to naught with Toqta's victory and Nogai's death by 1300. Regardless of that though, it does not seem to me that his career built up to such an obvious confrontation.

Conclusion

The image of Nogai as a khanmaker has rested on three distinct pillars – his appointment and removal of Jochid khans, reducing the khans to puppets, and acting provocatively independent from his base on the lower reaches on the Danube. Here I have examined some of the most common pieces of evidence used to support his status an independent monarch, and demonstrated that none of it is unequivocal. In fact, once we strip away the expectations of the ever-ambitious khanmaker, Nogai appears rather more concerned with his local affairs, enjoying his autonomy but still a part of the Golden Horde; even the Ilkhanate recognized him as the Jochid *aqa,* the senior member of the lineage, and thus indicating his involvement in consultations on matters of state and the family. If Nogai was a *tammachi,* or given the region as his own appanage – which, as a Chinggisid, he could expect lands *(injü)* and patrimonial peoples *(ulus*) to support him – then in his approximately three decades in southeastern Europe, he very well came to see

[53] Rashiduddin, *Jami' u't-tawarikh,* 358, 376; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors of Genghis Khan,* 126–27; [Tiesenhausen], *Сборник Материалов*, (Baybars) 110 (al-Nuwayrī) 158.

[54] Rashiduddin, *Jami' u't-tawarikh*, 358; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors of Genghis Khan,* 127; Pachymeres part 3, IX.26; [Tiesenhausen], *Сборник Материалов,* (Baybars) 111, (al-Nuwayrī) 159; Polo/Moule, Description of the World, 488–89. This first battle is Polo's "battle of the Plains of Nerghi."

it as *his* domain. Similarly, Baiju Noyan, after his lengthy stay in the pastures of the Caucasus, became very possessive of the territory occupied by his *tamma,* and reacted with great displeasure when displaced by Hülegü.[55]

The expectation of Nogai as the almighty khanmaker, a rival to the khan in Sarai, has coloured all understanding of the late thirteenth century Golden Horde. By removing this view, we are offered not just an opportunity to reinterpret all of the Golden Horde's politics, but its interactions with Europe in this period. Much like how scholarship portrays Nogai as a forerunner to true Jochid khanmakers of the fourteenth century – Mamai and Edigü – and thus forced all his actions within the Golden Horde into this khanmaker framework, so too do I believe scholarship has put all of his actions in Europe into this model as well. That is, the scholarship has expected him to be an independent monarch and has therefore intentionally interpreted his actions in this manner. This process has obscured his motivations and actions and placed them into a context I feel is unreflective of what is present in the primary sources. By moving past Nogai as the khanmaker, and revisiting the source descriptions, his actions appear much less dramatic than so often ascribed to him.

[55] Michael Hope, Power, *Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 96; Sara Nur Yıldız, "Baiju: The Mongol Conqueror at the Crossfire of Dynastic Struggle," in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectual,* eds. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), 45, 47.

"ARTE THOU WELL APAID?": JULIAN OF NORWICH AND THE THEOLOGY OF ABUNDANCE

Faeza Yuldasheva

Preamble: Back to Gardening

Candide's resolution "Il faut cultiver notre jardin" sums up the symbolism of the garden and labor ethics pertains to in the tradition of Western Christendom. In order to make one's own way in the world, which is certainly not the best of all possible, Voltaire, neither a Protestant, nor a Christian at all, proposes a self-centered work ethic, resigned from the rest of the world. Depleted of eschatological fervor, the cultivation of one's garden becomes a secular ethical endeavor – it is about leading a good life here and now more than waiting patiently for some sort of final resolution. Cultivating one's garden is a metaphor for cultivating oneself, transposing the location of the garden to the spiritual realm. The Voltairean garden in this sense inherits the Augustinian reading of the Garden of Eden, conceived as a site of spiritual delights. The Fall, when Adam and Eve were expelled from Eden, took the divine proximity away, and the spiritual delights followed.

In his most recent book, *Treasure in Heaven*, Peter Brown asserts that the Garden of Eden, no doubt imbued with metaphoric meaning, also appealed to the authors and the first readers of *Genesis* on a literal level.[1] Brown distinguishes between the two types of holy poor – the beggars and the workers – and connects the distinct preference for idleness in Syrian monasticism to the long-standing disfavor towards work among the peoples of the region.[2] The Syrian fathers knew well that labor, especially the agricultural kind, brings toil and anguish and is not suitable for leading a holy life.[3] Their Egyptian counterparts who embraced labor did so as a part of their humility and self-sufficiency practice but still hardly offered any appraisal of work in and of itself.[4]

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[1] Peter Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: Holy Poor in Early Christianity* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 39–40. As it will become clear from my further exposition, the literal appeal of the ever-giving plentiful garden is built on the opposition between it and the grave reality of agricultural labor in Ancient Near East.

[2] *Ibid.,* 42–3.

[3] Brown, *Treasure*, 43.

[4] *Ibid.,* 84. This seems to be a point upon which several very different scholars agree. The same view is expressed in Giorgio Agamben, *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, trans.

The Recluse and her Books

The Middle English and largely medieval devotional manuals might well be conceived as the steppingstones between Voltaire's celebration of gardening and St. Anthony's relentless and self-abdicating manual labor. Julian of Norwich is not quite an adherent of labor ethics. Her revelations do not result from a conscious practice of meditation on suffering. Rather, entering a liminal state between life and death, half-paralyzed, Julian is seized by a vision.[5] Little is known about Julian's life both before and after this moment, but the singular revelation she received on what could have been her deathbed resulted in two books, both of them closely following the visions of that day. As we know from the later, longer version of Julian's text (further "LT"), she kept on ruminating on the revelation, and there is no evidence of her having mystical seizures apart from the 1373 one.[6]

The recluse of Norwich presents a case quite different from the works one would commonly draw on whilst discussing economic matters. Her writing is neither instructional, nor biographical, and she does not speak about earthly matters at length. Nevertheless, there is much interest in the economy of creation in her writings. One has to make a connection to the ancient meaning of *oikonomia* as divine dispensation, most importantly the divine organization of salvation, to make sense of the economic thinking in Julian's revelations.

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by Adam Kotsko (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), 23–4; and in Sylvain Piron, *Généalogie de la morale économique. L'Occupation du monde,* vol. II (Le Kremlin-Bicêtre: Zones-Sensibles, 2020), 177.

[5] The nature of Julian's illness has been discussed in James T. McIlwain, "The 'Bodelye syeknes' of Julian of Norwich," in *Journal of Medieval History* 10, no. 3 (1984): 167–180. On the basis of the symptoms described – the rapid onset of the disease, paralysis and fever – James McIlwain speculated that it could be botulism.

[6] All the citations for Julian's *oeuvre* are referring to the most recent critical edition: Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins, eds., *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: A Vision Shown to a Devout Woman and A Revelation of Love* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006). I am also following the naming introduced by Watson and Jenkins that retrieves the titles directly from the manuscripts rather than applies those under which Julian's writing circulated in print since the seventeenth century. For an alternative, cf. Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich,* ed. E. College O. S. A., J. Walsh, and S. J. Wetteren (Belgium: Universa Press, 1978). In order to shorten the footnotes, I will refer to the earlier and shorter version as ST (short text), and to the later and longer one as LT (long text), followed by a page number according to the Watson and Jenkins edition. The chronology I am using here is based on Julian's own claim that the revelation occurred on May 13, 1373 in the later version of her text, i.e., more than twenty years later. LT, 125.

The little biographical detail that we know about Julian mostly comes from her own writing, and one of those details might give us a clue to the otherwise obscure social standing of Julian. When narrating her illness, Julian mentioned that she was lying sick in her bed in a separate room, her mother attending to her.[7] It remains unclear whether the room belonged to Julian or was just allocated to her for the time of her disease. The archaeological data on the medieval English urban household shows that people of modest income could have had more than one room in their houses, but it required a considerable amount of wealth for a family to have separate rooms for family members, let alone bedrooms.[8] The ownership of the bed and the proverbial "room of one's own," thus, would enable us to place Julian into a middle- to high-income urban family. It is more likely that she would lean to the middle – there are no servants mentioned, and Julian's mother attends to her personally.

In the course of her life Julian wrote two accounts of her revelations. The main difference between the books, as well as the reason why the second, longer version had to be written by Julian's own admittance, is the lack of understanding she had of a certain vision. This was the parable of the servant and the lord, used as a visual metaphor for the Fall and redemption. The lack of understanding of this part of her vision was the reason why Julian did not include it when she was writing down her revelations for the first time, and it was after the parable became clear to her that she conceived of writing a second book. The role of the parable in Julian's theology is subject to much debate. Certain scholars assert that it is a key to her theology, while others maintain that the parable simply expands on the currents already present in the shorter version of the visions.[9] It is my view that the parable and its implications are continuous with what Julian maintains in the short text, although it gives more detail and more certainty to her views.

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[7] Julian's mother is only mentioned in the early version of her revelations, ST, 83.

[8] Sarah Rees Jones, Felicity Riddy, Cordelia Beattie, *et al.,* "The Later Medieval English Urban Household," *History Compass* 5/1 (2017): 121–2.

[9] Among the most influential exponents of the first view is Nicholas Watson, "The Composition of Julian of Norwich's Revelation of Love," *Speculum* 68, no. 3 (1993): 637–683. Whereas Watson mostly draws onto the divergence in form between the two pieces, Rebecca June sees the elimination and/or decentering of the female characters as a key modification introduced in LT compared with Julian's first account of her visions. Nevertheless, both authors see LT's language and theology as a considerable departure from Julian's earlier writing. Rebecca June, "Reassessing Gender in the Course of Julian's Short Text," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 49, no. 1 (2013): 37–40. The second view is maintained by Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Authority and the Female Body in the Writings of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 85–90.

Work, Suffering, and Salvation

Labor is present in *Revelations* through three different stems. One of them is "labor" and all the words derived from it, like laborer, which Julian uses as an equivalent to servant and links with poverty and subjugation. The other one is "work," mostly spelled as "werk" in the text and all its derivatives, which is not used in connection with any kind of human activities. "Werking" is reserved for God and the Holy Spirit in *Revelations* and designates the enactment of grace upon humanity. Finally, "travelye" with its derivatives, closer to the modern French meaning than to what we call "travel," is mostly applied to Christ and to the servant from the parable. "Travelye" is used as both labor and suffering, the ambiguity purposefully played up by Julian.

The proverbial treasure in heaven appears in *Revelations* twice in passing, first as a promise of the future reward for prayers:

> Oure lorde himselfe, he is the furst receivoure of our prayer, as to my sight, and he taketh it full thankefully. And, highly enjoyeng, he sendeth it uppe above, and setteth it in tresure wher it shall never perish.[10]

Here God is cast as a kind of spiritual banker, who receives the prayers from his devout and adds it lovingly to his deposit. Julian pushes the intermediary role of the church out of the equation by calling the Lord, not his priest or his saints, "the first receiver." It can be presumed that Julian is talking about the individual act of prayer, a well-established devout practice by the late Middle Ages, as opposed to the collective prayer of early Christian congregations. Thus, the absence of the intermediary that Julian postulates to encourage her readers to pray more often and more devoutly is congruous with the dominant practice of prayer as individual act of addressing God.

Another layer of the de-materialization and individualization Julian performs in her theology is to be found in the manner she deals with Matthew 6:19–20, the source of the "treasure in heaven" reference:

> Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.[11]

[10] LT, 249.

[11] Matthew 6:19–20.

In the Gospel text we see an admonition to believers to divest themselves of earthly riches through a devout life and giving. Both Matthew 6:19–20 and Julian's text understand the exchange of holy acts into spiritual currency very literally, somewhat disrupting the Augustinian vision of salvation as incommensurable with any amount of earthly good deeds. Her literal reading notwithstanding, Julian bypasses the sheer materiality of the exchange between earthly commodities and heavenly treasure. Matthew 6 starts with the topic of alms and proceeds to the publicity of one's fasting and prayer. Christ advocates for concealed devotion, and his invocation of treasure in heaven is double-edged. Firstly, one should not be too invested in sublunary goods but should engage in almsgiving, for the goods will perish, but the alms will survive. Secondly, one should not pursue recognition for their devotion here and now, including for their almsgiving, for those who receive esteem in this world squander their celestial deposit.

Fifth-century African donors flaunting their generosity on the walls of the churches they helped build seem to have put the emphasis on the first meaning of Matthew 6:19–20, while Julian offers a peculiar fusion of both.[12] She does not talk about the equivalent exchange between renounced property and recognition in heaven, moreover, she never talks about alms or any other deeds that pave the way to salvation. Rather, the thing exchanged into celestial treasure is prayer, not even a thing but an action, a practice that yields profit, albeit only of a spiritual kind. The reason I invite the reader to dwell so much on this fairly conventional evangelical reference is to show Julian's contemplation of the generative nature of prayer: spiritual wealth is not formed through the transformation of dull matter into splendid heavenly riches but is generated through human action. We come here quite close to the labor theory of value, but before delving into the episode that illustrates most vividly Julian's views on the subject, let us consider the second time she invokes treasure in heaven:

> For he beholde his hevenly tresure with so grete love on erth that he will give us more light and solace in hevenly joye, in drawing of oure hartes fro sorow and darknesse which we are in.[13]

Once again, Julian casts Christ himself as beholding the treasure, which belongs to him, not the devout. One is left guessing what this treasure might be since the sentence is dropped in the eighty-sixth and final chapter of the LT without much elaboration. Since before this sentence Julian takes pains to

[12] Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 367.

[13] LT, 379.

reiterate the message of God's love for humanity, it would make sense for "hevenly treasure on erth" to stand for saved humanity. In other words, what Julian calls a "hevenly treasure on erth" for Augustine would be the concealed City of God, the community of saved believers to be revealed at the Final Judgement.

Political Theology of Servitude

In *Julian of Norwich and the Mystical Body Politic of Christ* Frederick Bauerschmidt proposes a political reading of Julian's revelations.[14] Drawing on John Milbank, he asserts that much of liberal political philosophy is built upon the secularized conceptual apparatus of Christian theology.[15] In an act of reversal, Bauerschmidt interprets Julian's *Revelations* as a work of political theory, affirming feudal power by likening it to the power of God over humanity.[16] The parable of the lord and the servant is central for Bauerschmidt's argument for the body politic of Christians being harmoniously yet hierarchically organized in the view of the medieval English mystic. I will show in this section that the parable, which lends itself quite gracefully to a political interpretation at first glance, might be better conceived of as an economic tale.

Before delving into analysis of the Middle English text, a couple of remarks need to be made on the twentieth-century Schmitt-Peterson debate, for it was Carl Schmitt who originally asserted the continuity between Christian theology and political theory. A lawyer by training, Schmitt denied that law could ever be consensually constituted. The foundation of any law lay in the singular imposition of the will of the omnipotent lawmaker rather than any democratic deliberation.[17] Having noticed the homology between modern political and legal vocabulary and Christian theological apparatus, Schmitt has asserted that the former is a secular transposition of the latter. Thus, political theory proper necessarily has to be political theology, and God should be paralleled by a law-making monarch presiding over the state.

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[14] Frederick Bauerschmidt, "Julian of Norwich and the Mystical Body Politic of Christ" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1996).

[15] As stated below, it is Carl Schmitt's doctrine of political theology that Bauerschmidt receives through the work of John Milbank. His unwillingness to reference Schmitt directly is, however, understandable.

[16] Bauerschmidt, "Julian," 328–330.

[17] I am relying here mainly on György Geréby, "Political Theology versus Theological Politics," *New German Critique* 105 (Fall 2008): 9–10. The debate is also surveyed in Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory*, trans. Lorenzo Chiesa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 2–12.

Eric Peterson took issue with the direct assimilation of heavenly matters into human society.[18] He draws upon Cappadocian theology to prove that being a Christian in faith does not necessitate – and is, in fact, contradictory to – being a monarchist in politics. Divine monarchy as a unique interrelationship of persons within the Trinity has no analog in the created world, nor can it have, with the failed attempts to elect three emperors underscoring the other-worldliness of the Trinity. Thus, what is said of the divine does not have to be translatable to the world around us; the desire for monarchy does not have to be presumed as a feature of Christian theology.

What was argued by Peterson through the theology the Cappadocian Fathers can be applied to Julian of Norwich, for through the parable of the lord and the servant she is talking about the Trinity and the mystery of incarnation. Let us follow closely the text of the parable as narrated in *Revelations*:

> I sawe two persons in bodely liknesse, that is to sey, a lorde and a servant, and therwith God gave me gostly understanding. The lorde sitteth solempnely in rest and in pees. The servant stondeth before his lorde reverently, redy to do his lordes wille. The lorde loketh upon his servant full lovely and swetly, and mekely he sendeth him into a certaine place to do his will. The servant not onely he goeth, but sodenly he sterteth and runneth in gret hast for love to do his lordes wille. And anon he falleth in a slade, and taketh ful gret sore. And than he groneth and moneth and walloweth and writheth. But he may not rise nor helpe himselfe by no manner of weye.[19]

This is the end of what Julian saw in "bodely liknesse," for she received the two versions of the vision – a bodily and a ghostly one, meaning roughly a figurative and an affective one, respectively. With her spiritual vision Julian is given insight into the thoughts and dispositions of the characters, a servant being willingly obedient and ready to please his master, and a master being loving and desirous of alleviating his subordinate's suffering.[20] In the end both the servant and the lord are renewed, the servant dwelling on the right side of the lord in a shining white garment.[21]

The writing is characterized by the same vividness of visual detail that is present in the rest of the text. The initial puzzlement with the meaning of the

[18] Gerëby, "Political Theology," 15–16.

[19] LT, 273–5.

[20] LT, 285.

[21] LT, 325.

example comes from Julian's interpretation of the servant as Adam and the lord as God. Economy comes in precisely at this point, for the servant is the son of man – he is Adam for as much as there is human in Christ. The parable does not narrate solely the Fall of humanity, but also the remedy of the Fall by Christ's sacrifice. Thus, we see sacrifice presented as a form of labor – a servant eagerly running errands for his master, an image not unprecedented in the Middle English devotional tradition. *Our daily work,* a largely forgotten treatise written by Julian's anonymous contemporary, deems Christ's salvific endeavors "an ensample of wirk" that ought to inspire believers to work in their own lifetimes.[22] For Julian though, the relation between divine sacrifice and human labor is more than the former ordaining the latter for Christian believers. Since Christ's partaking in human toil is an essential part of the incarnation, him performing the lowliest of possible occupations is not a didactic device; it is not called upon to show the faithful the example to follow. Rather, Christ-the-Servant signifies the fullest degree of the fusion of humanity's fallen nature with the divine essence.

This is also the point when Bauerschmidt's argument for likening the relationship between the servant and the lord to any kind of earthly powers departs from Julian's own interpretation of the text. For this is what she has to say about the characters: "The lorde is God the father; the servant is the sonne Jesu Crist; the holy gost is the even love which is in them both."[23] Since we see the two greatest mysteries of Christian faith, the mutual indwelling of the Trinity and the incarnation, allegorized by this parable, overturning the metaphor to apply to any actual power relation present on Earth seems quite strained. To Bauerschmidt's credit, we never see such an overturning dismissed in *Revelations*, and I can merely reapply what Peterson claims about Gregory of Nyssa's understanding of trinitarian dogma to Julian of Norwich in hopes that they would agree on the incommensurability of divine and earthly polity.

The main ground for calling the lord and servant parable an economic tale rather than a political one is the sense in which the word *oikonomia* was used by Gregory of Nyssa and his "colleagues." The mutual indwelling of the Trinity belongs to the realm of theology, fundamentally alien to the human mind. Meanwhile, one can sense the divine in the created world, governed towards salvation. This process of directing humanity towards salvation, Christ's sacrifice being a central event,

[22] This is a less popular text that has not been the subject of any recent editions. Therefore, all references here are to the Middle English version from 1895. The phrase I am quoting here appears in Richard Rolle, "Our Daily Work," in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and His Followers,* ed. Carl Horstmann, vol. 1 (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 139.

[23] LT, 283.

is economy in the patristic sense. Therefore, the tale of the lord and the servant, summarizing the history of redemptive divine dispensation, is economic in one of the possible senses.

It is, thus, not surprising that the treasure comes back to play its role in the parable. It is the job of the servant to unearth the treasure for his Lord:

> Ther was a tresoure in the erth which the lorde loved. I merveyled and thought what it might be. And I was answered in my understanding: "It is a mete which is lovesom and plesing to the lorde."[24]

We see in this fragment that it is not a treasure of gold or any other commodity that the servant is supposed to fetch. Rather, the treasure is "mete," or sustenance, that the lord derives from the servant working his land:

> I beheld, thinking what *manner labour* it may be that the servant shulde do. And then I understode that he shuld do the *grettest labour and the hardest traveyle* that is: he shuld be a *gardener:* delve and dike and swinke and swete and turne the erth up and down, and seke the depnesse, and water the plantes in time. And in this he shulde continue his *traveyle,* and make swete flodes to runne, and nobille and plentuous fruite to spring which he shulde bring before the lorde and serve him therwith to his liking. And he shulde never turne againe till he had dighte this met alle redy, as he knew that it liked to the lorde, and than he shulde take this met with the drinke, and bere it full wurshiply before the lorde.[25]

This passage stands in striking contrast to Le Goff's assertion of the absence of abstract labor in the conceptual inventory of the early Middle Ages.[26] For Le Goff as for Marx undifferentiated labor torn from its concrete manifestation, that is, the idea that a carpenter, a peasant, and a doctor somehow all participate in a type of activity called "work," emerges with the era of commodified labor – capitalism.[27] The cited fragment (and I would like to remind the reader that its role in the text is

[24] LT, 281.

[25] LT, 281–3.

[26] Jacques Le Goff, "Labor, Techniques and Craftsmen in the Value Systems of the Early Middle Ages (Fifth to Tenth Centuries)," in *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), 71–2.

[27] I am relying here on the discussion of Marx's idea of abstract labor by Michael Heinrich, *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital* (New York: NYU Press, 2004), 42–55; and David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012), 123–125.

to explain Christ's sacrifice and redemption; thus, it is central to Julian's theological teaching) shows an early awareness of abstract labor. The Latin progenitor of the word, *laborare*, was initially used only for agricultural work.[28] Hence, the term *laboratores* stood for "peasants."[29] Julian does not only think there is labor-as-such, composed of qualitatively different activities, but she also knows that within this category occupations can be arranged hierarchically. Some "manner" of labor is harder and greater than others, namely, agricultural labor, the main productive occupation for medieval societies and the least prestigious one.

Christ-the-Gardener, "turning the earth up and down" and "watering plants in time," is simultaneously a sign of the ultimate self-humiliation of the divine – he is occupied with the most arduous and the least honorable of all tasks – and the sign of its immense power; Christ-the-Servant produces the most necessary of all goods, the nourishment for his Father. In contrast with Christ's gardening activities, the Father sits waiting for him in the desert. It is the work of the agricultural laborer that makes the barren desert into a blossoming garden, and one might wonder whether Julian would subscribe to the labor theory of value if she were ever presented with it. For once again, we see Julian being aware that treasure is not unearthed by any means other than the application of human activity.

I will attempt to explain this unexpected appraisal of peasant labor from a city-dwelling anchoress through her overall economy of salvation in the following section. To close our treatment of the lord and servant tale, let us now turn to another layer of material symbolism – the garments of the characters.

Julian's preoccupation with clothes and what they mean betrays an urban Englishwoman in the waning of the Middle Ages. The fourteenth century is associated in the history of dress with the post-plague revolution.[30] Average people started having more than the bare necessities in the terms of wardrobe, which often meant that they had more than one change of clothes that were used for a shorter duration, not to the point at which they were so physically worn-out that using them further was impossible.[31] The merchant classes in Italian cities created fashion

[28] Le Goff, "Labor", 78.

[29] Jacques Le Goff, "A Note on Tripartite Society, Monarchical Ideology, and Economic Renewal in Ninth- to Twelfth-Century Christendom," in *Time*, 53–54.

[30] Fernand Braudel places the change in 1350 in *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th century. The Structure of Everyday Life*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: William Collins, 1985), 317.

[31] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages,* trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 43–44. Sarah-Grace Gellar proposes an earlier cut-off line based on the written evidence from courtly literature: the desire to discard the old and outmoded and preference for the new can be found already in the twelfth century, albeit limited to very few. Sarah-Grace Gellar, *Fashion in Medieval France* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 3–4, 18.

trends that would perish over a season, something familiar to the modern reader. Nevertheless, the clothes were still hand-woven, hand-sewn, and dyed with natural pigments, which made their production rather costly and time-consuming. Before mass-production, clothes were a much clearer indication of wealth and social status and took out a much higher proportion of one's income than they do nowadays.

The rich blue coloration of the lord's garment and the bleak "whit kirtle" of the servant brought a striking class division to the minds of medieval Englishmen and women. The connection between purity and Margery Kempe's shining white attire is far more palatable for our age. The servant's garment is white both before and after renewal. However, these are two very different whites. In its initial state, the "kirtle" bears dark sweat-stains, and its color is bleak; Julian might have thought of un-dyed linen or wool, the go-to materials for peasant attire until the arrival of cheaper cotton textiles.[32] The bright blue cloak of the lord, blue being among the most expensive pigments with its price rising according to the intensity of the color, conveys his power and majesty in an instant.[33]

The other key difference is the amount of fabric used for these hypothetical garments. While the lord's body is fully covered by the richly colored flowing material, the servant's shirt barely reaches his knees, exposing his body to the sun, the wind, and onlookers. The association between keeping one's physique covered and higher social standing is, again, inversed nowadays, but the time and place in which *Revelations* was written were ruled by the idea of the enclosed body.[34]

Thus, we see Julian being alert to the class divisions in her society and the way they inscribed themselves on the very bodies of her contemporaries. The Father's dignity is symbolized through his static posture and the abundant blue of his garment. Christ's suffering is represented in the poverty of his shirt, for he had to assume poor human flesh to redeem the fallen. The modesty of his appearance is appropriate for the mission, "he was clad simply, as a laborer which was disposed to traveyle," and a sign of his devotion to the lord.[35] The renewed garment of the resurrected Christ is the ameliorated version of the same "kirtle," now as shiny and

[32] On the materials used for medieval commoners' garments see Piponnier and Mane, *Dress,* 22–24. Linen was typical for northern Europe, while England was famous for her wool long before Thomas More's laments. Cf. *ibid.,* 15–16.

[33] Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of Color,* trans. Markus I. Cruse (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 48–52.

[34] Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 23–25.

[35] LT, 281.

flowing as the Father's attire, underscoring both the rupture of incarnation and its continuity with the history of salvation.

The Economy of Salvation

The phrase for which Julian is, perhaps, best known to her modern readers is "All shall be well, all manner of things shall be well." Illustrated by the parable of the servant and the lord in the longer version of her revelations, it is already present and well-developed in the earlier text. Julian has been posited to be quite a subtle theologian, with certain authors asserting that her *Revelations* is, in fact, a theological treatise carefully masked as a mystical work, the type of writing more appropriate for her gender.[36] One thing distinguishing Julian's writing from the learned theology of her era is how little she tries to provide any type of justification for her views. Their subtlety is unquestionable, but the arguments for those views are not to be found in her books.

Julian's level of literacy remains unclear. Although there is no autograph present, it is very unlikely that she was unable to write in English. She calls herself "unlettered," which meant she did not have a command of Latin; and the only Latin phrase present in her text contains a grammatical mistake. However, as noted by Karma Lochrie, the ability to read and write were not conceived as inseparable in the Middle Ages.[37] One could be able to read and understand some Latin while being unable to write in it; one could know by heart and understand certain regularly heard Latin phrases while having no command of the rest of the language. Some key religious writings existed in fragmentary vernacular translations, and some were referenced and explained by preachers to their flock in vernaculars. Hence, it is not altogether impossible that the affinities between Julian of Norwich and Augustine of Hippo that are explicated below stem from some form of engagement the fourteenth-century mystic had with Augustine's works or ideas.

Julian grapples with many of the same questions that puzzled the bishop of Hippo, and at times she gives very similar answers. Both Julian and Augustine ontologically conceive of evil as non-being, as nothingness. For Augustine this was a way to deal with the paradox of God's inherent goodness, something he consciously appropriated from Platonism – God is not responsible for the existence

[36] The view that Julian is a theologian rather than a mystic is advanced by Bauerschmidt in "Julian", 16. The gender dimension is introduced by Elizabeth Dutton, *Julian of Norwich: The Influence of Late-medieval Devotional Compilations* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 30–32; and Diane McCray, "The Censored Pulpit: Julian of Norwich as Preacher" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2014).

[37] Lochrie, *Margery*, 79.

of evil, though he is responsible for everything that *is*, for evil *is not*; it does not truly exist in the way people, animals, and everything else do. Rather, it stems from the voluntary corruption of creatures.[38] Despite the ontological non-being of vice, it is a powerful current in an individual's life and a major force to be combatted by a pious Christian on a daily basis. The daily practice of virtue that alleviates humanity's endless guilt while being unable to radically redeem humanity is the basis of a good life and is a reason to donate regularly.

This link between giving and the continuous expiation of sin is overridden in the way Julian conceives of sin. Like Augustine she proclaims the nothingness of evil – "sinne is nought." [39] But she takes one step further and equates evil with sin, something Augustine is reluctant to do as explicitly,[40] and like him she notes that one is supposed to renounce sin continuously in order to lead a good life.[41] However, the latter claim is only a side-warning she feels necessary to include for the recipients of her central doctrine – the loving, mother-like nature of God – who might misinterpret it. Julian specifically warns us that although God is all-love and all-forgiveness, this does not constitute a carte blanche to sin, however much one is pleased to rely on God's abundant love for humanity. She also takes notice of the possibility of interpreting her teaching as universal salvation and goes on to assert that there will be some damned.

Apart from these occasional warnings, Julian does not concern herself with the continuous struggle against sin that is bound to happen in every Christian's soul. Sin is defeated once and for all, it is "nought"; and although it is important to refrain from wrongdoing, the combat within the human soul is just a rearguard hassle in the war that is already won.

The parable of the lord and his servant is one of the means to convey that evil is defeated and unthreatening. Another widely discussed though not unique image is

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[38] Augustine's argument against the positive existence of evil is a polemical one, designed to undermine the Manichean doctrines. It can be found in chapters II and III of Book XII in *The City of God. Books VIII–XVI*, trans. Gerald G. Walsh and Grace Monahan (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 248–250.

[39] The idea is present in both versions, but the quote above is taken from ST, 77. In LT Julian is shown all kinds of things that exist, and she remarks: "Botte I sawe noght sinne," implying sin's ontological non-existence. LT, 93.

[40] The closest Augustine approaches this view is when discussing "the enemies of the God": "In Scripture, those who oppose God's rule, not by nature but by sin, are called His enemies. They can do no damage to Him, but only to themselves; their enmity is not a power to harm, but merely a velleity to oppose Him." Augustine, *The City*, 249.

[41] Peter Brown treats the links between Augustine's views on sin, the nature of ethical life, and the economic foundations of the church in *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 368.

the motherhood of Christ.[42] The latter is present in both accounts of Julian's vision and conveys the same idea – the annihilation of sin through all-encompassing divine love. It is worth considering the detail in which Julian elaborates on Christ's motherly nature:

> The moder may suffer the childe to fall sometime and be dissesed on diverse manner for the own profite, but she may never suffer that ony manner of perel come to her childe, for love. And though oure erthly moder may suffer her childe to perish, oure hevenly moder Jhesu may never suffer us that be his children to perish. For he is almighty, all wisdom, and all love, and so is none but he. Blessed mote he be![43]

Once again, the evil that humanity might encounter on its journey to heaven is not quite real. Earthly suffering is only a pedagogical device in the hands of all-wise mother Jesus. The specter of universal salvation slips through the text, carefully circumscribed by restricting divine mercy only to *his* children. Since she does not give a reason for the damnation of some other than the teaching of the Church, and Julian is very cautious not to antagonize her readership, ever acknowledging clerical authority over herself, there are grounds to suspect that we are dealing here with a careful writing strategy. It is my view that Julian is purposefully ambiguous on the subject in the wake of the Lollard persecutions, avoiding potential causes for condemnation of her writing and self, while still trying to convey her message of divine love as neatly as possible.

The motherhood of Jesus and the vision of the servant and the lord are two opposing kinds of earthly relationships used to conceptualize God's relationship to humankind. One takes us to the domain of reproduction – unconditional and all-giving maternal love between the second person of the Trinity and humans – and the other to the relationship within the Trinity itself as the one between the lord and his servant. The servant is supposed to stand for the human nature of Christ, which would be an interesting choice in the context of fourth-century Christological debates; it is unclear how aware Julian was of those. The image of Christ's humanity as being fundamentally subjugated and separate from the pure divinity of God the Father might be read as a kind of neo-Arian démarche. The fact that the servitude of Christ has not been a subject of any known controversy, and that Julian, otherwise quite cautious, does not find it necessary to warn her

[42] A classic work on this trope was conducted by Caroline Bynum, though it is based on twelfth-century continental sources. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1982).

[43] LT, 317.

readers against taking the separation of the two persons too literally, leads one to believe that the Christological debate(s), unlike universal salvation, was not a concern for Julian.

What both the motherhood and servitude of Christ convey is the absence of debt and exchange-based ethics in the equation. While motherhood is pure giving by its very nature in the eyes of medieval devotees, the power of a feudal lord over his peasant is hardly an example of a harmonious and loving union. Using these estate positions as avatars for the Trinitarian dogma and the expiation of sin, Julian extricates them from any kind of earthly analogy: it is unseemly, she notes, that a rich and powerful nobleman only has one peasant at his service, thereby reminding the reader of the hypothetical nature of the scene.[44] On the economic side, this imagery brings forth the endless abundance of divine love, rendering obsolete daily virtue-bargaining, and drags in unwittingly the affirmation of labor, productive and reproductive, abstract and concrete.

The question that Christ asks in both versions of Julian's revelations, "Arte thou well apaid?," is far from a token of ransom or exchange-centered economy of salvation.[45] For the question is addressed to Julian – "Arte thou well apaid that I suffered for thee? It is joy, bliss and endlesse liking to me that ever I sufferd passion for the. And if I might suffer more, I would suffer more."[46]

Conclusion

The ease with which Julian allegorized Christ's humanity as a separate person, the servant, from the rest of the Trinity, and, furthermore, portrayed the human part of Christ as subjugated to the Father, indicates the distance she had from the Trinitarian debates of the fourth century. This is not to say that Julian was indifferent to the Trinitarian dogma. Quite on the contrary, she engages with it in the parable to explore the history of salvation, but she is most surely not concerned with the philosophical intricacies of persons, hypostases, and substances. *Theologia*, the inter-relationship of the persons of the Trinity, is only relevant to Julian in its engagement with *oikonomia*, the salvific divine dispensation.

The motherhood of Christ, another renowned trope of medieval devotional piety present in the works of Julian, comes into dialogue with the lord and the servant parable. The reader is presented with two kinds of labor – productive in the form of Christ-the-Gardener, and reproductive in the form of Christ-the-Mother.

[44] LT, 281.

[45] ST, 87; LT, 193.

[46] LT, 193–195.

The latter, "our swete moder Ihesu," is employed to evoke the endless mercy and the unconditional love of God towards his creation. The former, Christ-the-Gardener, conveys a similar message in spite of the associations with unfree agricultural labor he brings forth. For Christ-the-Gardener, the son of men, partakes with humanity in its sweat and toil, as he partakes in the misery of death, torture, and corporeal suffering. The principle behind the suffering of Christ, however, it not redemption in its original sense. Humanity is not re-purchased through the incarnation, no debts are paid, and no exchange occurs. The economy of salvation as Julian sees it is one of gift and abundance rather than payment and scarcity, a view that sets her apart till these days.

Starting from the same assumption as St. Augustine, Julian arrives at very different results. Both presume the ontological non-existence of evil, but the corruption of human nature that the fall of Adam signifies for Augustine is irrelevant to *Revelations*. Adam as a stand-in for the human nature of Christ is not to be blamed for his Fall, and where there is no guilt, there is no need for life-long atonement and constant self-scrutiny. This is, I believe, the reason why the treasure in heaven that appears several times in Julian's revelation does not stem from the renunciation of earthly goods, or even from a consistent practice of virtue. The heavenly treasure is created by prayers, and it in turn creates pleasure for Christ who beholds it dearly, but it does not have a place in soteriological drama. The "treasure" that Christ-the-Gardener is meant to unearth for his lord is not this celestial deposit, but simple agricultural produce, circling us back to his nourishing nature as a mother.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN CASES OF COERCION INTO MARRIAGE IN THE REGISTERS OF THE APOSTOLIC PENITENTIARY (1431–1503)

Olha Stasiuk

Georgius Holtzapfel appealed to the Apostolic Penitentiary from the Augsburg diocese in 1493. He was not married but had a concubine, Anna, from the same diocese. He kept their relationship under wraps and had not intended to marry her, so the woman decided to take over. Anna negotiated with three or four men – Georgius oddly did not remember the exact number – and they met him when he was alone in a grove. After some threatening words, Georgius decided that marriage was his only option because he would not withstand the strength of these men (*potentie dictorum virorum resistere non valens*). He married Anna – obviously, out of fear – but did not believe in the validity of this marriage and always said that he wanted to marry another woman. He asked the Penitentiary to let him marry another woman with legitimate offspring in the future and was granted permission to do it.[1]

Georgius may seem an odd example of a victim of forced marriage. It is easier to imagine a tender underaged girl, maybe an orphan, in his place. However, his story is not an unusual one in the registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary; some patterns repeat themselves. First, Georgius was not a child, and many cases of coercion into marriage were filed either by people whose ages are not mentioned or are adults like Georgius. Secondly, Georgius was a man: more cases involve men

[1] Ludwig Schmugge, ed., *Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum: Verzeichnis der in den Supplikenregistern der Pönitentiarie vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches*: 1–8: *Eugen IV – Alexander VI: 1431–1503* (Tübingen, Berlin, et al.: Niemeyer - De Gruyter, 1996–2012), (henceforth: RPG) VIII:3272: "Georgius Holtzapfel laic. August. dioc. [exponit,] quod postquam ipse olim quandam Annam mul. August. dioc. […] ad tempus in concubinam tamquam secretam tenuerat, prefata mul. cupiens, quod ipse Georgius cum ea matrim. contraheret, quosdam tres vel quatuor viros sibi adiunxit et ad ipsum Georgium cum ipsis accessit, qui ipso exp. in nemore solo reperto illum ut cum ipsa mul. matrim. contraheret instanter requisierunt eumque ad hoc per verba minatoria compulerunt; unde exp. potentie dictorum virorum resistere non valens matrim. cum ipsa mul. per vim et metum, que cadere poterant in constantem, contraxit; cum autem exp. cessante metu sic contractum matrim. gratum neque ratum habuerit, immo illud semper reclamavit cupiatque cum alia mul. matrim. contrahere […]: supplicatur pro parte exp. de decl. ipsum nullo vinculo matrim. prefate mul. astrictum esse, sed cum aliqua alia mul. matrim. contrahere posse cum legit. prol. suscipiende."

being forced to marry, unlike the well-known medieval phenomena of women being forced. Third, Georgius clearly protested the forced union as soon as he could do so. Fourth, Georgius' case reveals a popular reason for coercion, namely, when one party wished to legitimize a sexual relationship. Finally, it shows that although his behavior was not up to Canon Law standards, Georgius wisely chose the Penitentiary as the instrument to get out of the coerced union and succeeded.[2] In this essay, using the story of Georgius and some other petitioners, I will analyze the Apostolic Penitentiary registers as a source for cases of marital coercion, search for methods and reasons of coercion, victims' forms of protest, and describe the role of the Penitentiary as a final possibility to escape an unwanted union. I suggest that the registers show striking patterns in the forced marriages, which can deepen our understanding of medieval marriages and link the well-developed theoretical Canon Law with the existing practice.

The Apostolic Penitentiary was a child of both the development of papacy and Canon Law in the thirteenth century and the bureaucratization of papal offices in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was "one of the papal tribunals, but not courts,"[3] with four types of "grace" for petitioners. The *absolutio* could free one from the repercussions of from the most severe sins such as killing a cleric; the *dispensatio* made Canon Law regulations more flexible for the petitioner in a particular case, for instance, to allow marriage in the third or fourth grade of consanguinity; *licentio* aimed to help the petitioners in specific circumstances, for example, to confess to a priest from another parish; and the *declaratio* "cleared" the reputation of petitioners who unintentionally were involved in certain crimes or oaths. The latter was the document that most victims of coercion into marriage asked for.[4]

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[2] These patterns alongside the ones for forced monasticism were studied in my MA Thesis. See Olha Stasiuk, "*Per Vim et Metum*: Coercion to Marriage and Monasticism in Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary for Central Europe (1431–1503)" (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2021).

[3] Kirsi Salonen, "The Apostolic Penitentiary and Violence in Roman Curia," in *Violence and the Medieval Clergy*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Ana Marinković (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 17–19.

[4] The registers were hidden from scholars in the Vatican Archives until 1983, presumably because many petitions were considered confessions and had to be kept secret. Since then, many prominent scholars have studied the registers, including Ludwig Schmugge; the main source of this research, RPG, is the result of this work. Prominent studies were made by Kirsi Salonen (*The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527* (Saarijärvi: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia, 2001)), Peter Clarke ("English Royal Marriages and the

But why did Georgius need to apply to the Penitentiary to dissolve his marriage, which was a mere vow under forced conditions? In 1493 (the year of Georgius' application), Canon Law already accepted a vow as a valid marriage if it was consensual. The path to such a rule in the Church was long and challenging. Until the eleventh century, no standard regulation of marriage existed. There were only a couple of biblical concepts that differentiated Christian and pagan marriages, such as the indivisibility of the union, being declared by Christ,[5] and Augustine's model of marriage, which elicited discussions and remained popular among canonists.[6] Things became more complicated around 1139, when the Bologna canonist Gratian, in his famous work *Decretum,* affirmed the indissolubility of Christian marriages, bringing the importance of consent into Canon Law and creating a theory of errors, which could or could not cancel an inappropriate union.[7] However, he followed the consummation theory of marriage and distinguished between *matrimonium initiatum* (consent) and *ratum* (consummation), so he did not believe that merely pronouncing the words of consent could create a marriage.[8] Gratian was ambivalent about coercion into marriage, approving it in one canon and denying it in others, which led to diverse

Papal Penitentiary in the Fifteenth Century," *The English Historical Review* 120, no. 488 (2005): 1014–1029), and Jennifer R. McDonald ("The Papal Penitentiary, Illegitimacy and Clerical Careers in the Peripheries: A Case Study of the Provinces of Nidaros and Scotland, 1449–1542," *Northern Scotland* 3, no. 1 (2012): 32–44). In 2005, 2007, and 2011, the cooperation of scholars resulted in three volumes about different aspects of the Penitentiary. See Gerhard Jaritz *et al.,* eds., *The Long Arm of Papal Authority: Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and Their Communication with the Holy See* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2005); Gerhard Jaritz, ed., *The Apostolic Penitentiary in Local Contexts* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2007); Gerhard Jaritz and Ana Marinković, eds., *Violence and the Medieval Clergy* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2010).

5 Matthew 19:5–6.

6 *De bono conjugali* 1.32: "Haec omnia bona sunt, propter quae nuptiae bonum sunt: proles, fides, sacramentum." See in Augustine, *De bono coniugali; De sancta uirginitate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 58.

7 See C.29 c.1 in Emil Friedberg, ed., *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 1 (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1959) (henceforth: DG).

8 James A. Brundage*, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 223–236.

positions about his views in scholarship.[9] Still, the *Decretum* set out that *consensus facit matrimonium*[10] and marriage without consent was null and void.

The consensual theory of marriage finally gained a foothold under the papacy of Alexander III in the 1170s, and his follower Innocent III enforced it, turning the indissolubility of consensual marriages into a social reality.[11] From now on, pronounced consent created a union, which could not be dissolved without impediments, including coercion. The collection of papal letters, *Liber Extra,* also mentioned that any betrothal before the age of seven is illegitimate, and the children's consent is necessary.[12] The popes even declared that a woman forced to marry had to be placed in a secure and honorable place until the litigation ended.[13] In this period, plaintiffs, primarily women, began to appear in court with cases of coercion, and the popes became more suspicious and cautious. The petition would not be heard if a husband could prove that there was no coercion or a woman appealed to the court too late (after a year).[14] The registers show that it was not applicable to the Apostolic Penitentiary, but if a person could prove the coercion with witnesses the marriage could not stay valid.

Between 1431 and 1503, from Pope Eugene IV to Alexander VI, the registers of the Penitentiary include 82 approved petitions to dissolve a forced marriage.[15] In eight cases, women came to the Penitentiary with their husbands, either with new ones or those who represented the other party of the forced marriage. The age of

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[9] For instance, John Noonan was convinced that Gratian's theory of marriage was based on parental choice and lacked the practical regulations of free consent, while Jude Chukwuma Onyeakazi praised Gratian for his support of individual consent. See John T. Noonan, "Freedom, Experimentation, and Permanence in the Canon Law on Marriage," in *Law for Liberty: The Role of Law* in the Church Today (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1967), 52–68; Jude Chukwuma Onyeakazi, "Coercion and Fear in Marriage Today (Can. 1103): A Socio-Cultural Approach" (license thesis, Pontifical Gregorian University, 2011). The discordances between these views led the historian Andrew Winroth to the theory about two "Gratians": one author supported free will in marriage, and the other supported obedience to parents. See Anders Winroth, "Marital Consent in Gratian's Decretum," in *Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages: Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl*, ed. Kathleen G. Cushing and Martin Brett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 111–121.

[10] DG C.27 q.2 c.1; C.30 q.2 c.1.

[11] David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 100–107.

[12] Emil Friedberg, ed., *Liber Extravagantium Decretalium*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1959), (henceforth: X) 4.2.4; 4.2.7; 4.2.8; 4.2.12.

[13] See X 4.1.14. Also, even if a woman promised to marry a man, she could be recommended to fulfill the promise but never forced to do it, see in X 4.1.17.

[14] X 4.1.21; 4.1.28; 4.2.6.

[15] RPG I–VIII.

the petitioners is hardly visible. There is no case that mentions an age before seven; in fourteen cases (17%) victims were in *pueritia* (adolescence), and, again, only five victims claimed that they were already adults. Seventy-seven percent of the victims did not clarify their age at all; because of the mentioning of consummation and previous marriages, it is more likely that they were far behind the legitimate age of twelve or fourteen (for girls and boys, respectively).[16]

However, the gender correlation is striking: 53 cases (65%) described men being forced into marriage, 23 cases were about women, and four were about couples. As in the case of Georgius, there were fourteen female coercers reported, acting against the male victim either by themselves or with relatives, excluding cases when the woman's *consanguinei* or *amici* were the coercers, but the woman's will was not mentioned.[17] Still, coercion made by family members is more popular. Forty-one cases included parents or the closest relatives forcing one or both parties into matrimony. Fathers acting on their own were mentioned in seven cases,[18] while mothers, acting on their own or with other relatives, appeared in five cases;[19] among other relatives, brothers (mainly of women) were mentioned the most. In eight cases, the secular authority, mostly local governors, forced their subjects to marry.

The registers contain different reasons to force someone to marry, including sexual relationships, pregnancy, and money. As in the case of Georgius, extramarital sexual relationships were a common reason for forced marriages in the late Middle Ages. In 1480, such a story happened with Jeronima Cristofori de Missaka and Gaspar Teutonicus. In the best tradition of soap operas, they had a long-standing sexual relationship until Jeronima's father, Cristoforus, found them in his own house. Furious, Cristoforus threatened to kill them if they did not marry. Jeronima and Gaspar made the vow but never slept together again, so she decided to go to the Penitentiary because she wanted to be a mother and could not stay in this marriage.[20] The father's intentions were clear: he wanted to cover up the *infamia* of

[16] X 4.2.11.

[17] For instance, in RPG VIII:3430.

[18] RPG III:329; VI:3699; VII:2462; VII:2466; VII:2561; VIII:2734; VIII:3364.

[19] RPG I:604; VII:2609; VII:2634; VIII:96; VIII:1046.

[20] RPG VI:3699: "Jeronima Cristofori de Missaka […] exponit, quod postquam olim se a quodam Gaspare Theotonico etiam habitatore Urbis Rome pluries cognosci permiserat, accidit ut quadam die Cristoforus de Missaka, pater exp., predictum Gasparem cum exp. in sua domo repperit, propter quod Cristoforus iracundia et furore motus dixit et iuravit, quod si exp. et Gaspar matrim. inter se non contraherent, ipsos et lico interficeret [...]; quod videntes exp. et Gaspar propter vim et metum, que cadere poterant in constantem […] matrim. per verba de pres. contraxerunt carn. copula inter eos minime post contractum matrim. subsecuta; postmodum […] ad consumationem matrim.

his daughter and, probably, of the whole house. Women who lived in concubinage and became pregnant also had no other choice; for example, in the case of Margaret from Naumburg, a widow who became pregnant by an adolescent boy. She wanted to avoid scandal, so she forced an impotent local man, Bartolomeus, to marry her by promising him that they would live without having sex. Bartolomeus was shocked when she suddenly gave birth, so he wanted to dissolve the marriage, but Margaret took action against him in court. Bartolomeus went to the Apostolic Penitentiary in 1487 and asked for permission to stay unmarried.[21]

Covering up *infamia* is typical for adults; however, there are not many explanations why parents forced their small children into marriage. Rarely, as in the story of the Lithuanian girl Agnes Nicolai Hasakorvitz, the reason mentioned is the girl's dowry. Her parents died, so she was under her uncle's guardianship, who did not seem to care much about his niece. He presented her to Nicolas – a man she had never seen before – in a priest's presence, and the priest asked if she liked him.[22] Terrified, she agreed but never thought or spoke about the marriage. Nicolas did not care about the canonical validity of his marriage: Agnes claimed that he cared more about her dowry than about her as a wife. No ceremonies and no consummation took place, and the man disappeared immediately. After three and a half years, when Agnes became older, she married the nobleman Laurentius. All formalities were held, except for the solemnization because the information about her previous "marriage" impeded it, so she applied to the Apostolic Penitentiary.

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procedere recusarunt et recusant de pres. [...] supplicat de decl. ipsam premissorum occasione eidem Gasparo minime obligatam esse sed matrim. contrahere posse cum aliquo viro cum legit. prol."

[21] RPG VII.2539: "Bartholomeus Bucheler laic. de Czwickavia Nuemburg. dioc. exponitur, quod […] quidam adolescens […] Margaretam viduam pluries actu fornicario secrete carn. cognovisset et impregnasset, ipsa vidua Margareta sentiens se ita impregnatam ne ea de causa aliquid diffamie sentiret volens verecundiam suam cooperire et scandala evitare, sua industria incitavit et induxit eundem Bartholomeum, ut eam caperet in ux. et matrim. cum ea contraheret […] eus false asserens, si ipse Bartolomeus eam caperet in ux. eum vellet in maritum et cum eo in matrim. castitatem servare et caste vivere cum ipso tamquam fratre. […] Bartholomeus per suasionibus ipsius Margarete ignorans aliquid suspicationis eam pregnatam esse credens eam castam matrim. per verba de pres. cum eadem Margareta publ. […] contraxit carn. copula inter eos minime subsecuta […], ipsa Margareta peperit; unde dictus Bartholomeus […] eam recipere in coniugem recusavit et recusat de presenti, super quo dicta Margareta eum coram offic. cur. eccl. Misnen. traxit in causam, que adhuc pendet indecisa; [...] supplicat ipsum exp. divortiari et declarari ipsum premissorum occasione dicte Margarete nullo vinculo matrim. astrictum esse, sed premissis n.o. a dicta Margareta separari et in seculo remanere solutum posse ut in forma."

[22] Bringing a priest could be a part of a coerced union but not all priests agreed to cooperate. See a similar case in Sara M. Butler, "I Will Never Consent to Be Wedded with You! Coerced Marriage in the Courts of Medieval England," *Canadian Journal of History* 39, no. 2 (2004): 262.

The declaration that allowed her to marry if her words would be confirmed was issued on April 12, 1481.[23]

Various methods were used to coerce individuals into marriage. With some people, mere convincing or a few threatening words would work; with others, beating or luring into a trap were used. The fraud cases as a method of coercion are always the most colorful ones. In most cases, a male petitioner describes how a woman trapped him using friends, relatives, ecclesiastical courts, force, violence, alcohol, or other means. For instance, Johannes Kemer (Liège diocese, 1491) was caught naked in his bed and was moved into the bed of Helvigia Styls by some unknown men. They wanted to create a scandal, make him marry, and take his money; after the forced vow, he immediately escaped to other lands.[24] Georgius Corat (Salzburg diocese, 1470) was invited to the house of Cristina de Comaco (a widow) but suddenly captured by her relatives there and forced to marry her with the help of an armored (!) priest.[25] A certain Agnes Sundlerin asked Macharius Sollower (Konstanz diocese, 1498) if he wanted to sleep with her for four florins, which she proposed to pay. Her relatives, who "suddenly" found them together, forced him to marry Agnes under the threat of death.[26] But it was not only women who trapped their future spouse: Mauritius Verner proposed to a virgin, Anna Paleman (Włocławek diocese, 1499), to have sex near the river but never came to her and used her agreement as a marital consent in the ecclesiastical court, calling on fake witnesses.[27] Local secular authorities could also become instruments of coercion. The most popular punishment for fornication was imprisonment, and counts, nobles, and provincial governors used it as a means of conviction to

[23] RPG VI:3722: "Agnes Nicolai Hasakorvitz mul. Wilnen. dioc.; [exponitur pro parte], quod cum ipsa olim in iuvenili etate orbata parentibus suis orphana sub certi sui patrui potestate esset, ipsa […] et Nicolao Dergevitz laic. ad latus dicte Agnetis locato ac presb. vocato, idem patruus ab ipsa et Nicolao dictum presb. inquirere iussit, an ipsi sibi invicem placerent; Agnes […] per eum coacta et timorosa […] sibi dictum Nicolaum placere respondit, Nicolaus vero similiter per presb. an dicta Agnes sibi placeret inquisitus etiam dictam Agnetem sibi placere respondit, quominus Nicolaus ut verius creditur plus sollicitus fuerat ad habendum bona Agnetis quam ipsam Agnetem in ux., quominus ipse tandem nec bannis neque aliquibus cerimoniis et nec carn. copula subsecuta statim ab ipsa Agnete recessit; deinde cum Agnes post tres annos et medium postquam predicta facta fuere ad maiorem cognitionem devenisset, cum quodam nob. viro Laurentio de Wangrow laic. Luceorien. dioc. matrim. per verba de pres. bannis solitis et cerimoniis adhibitis arrisque hincinde datis contraxit; [...] supplicatur de decl exp. dicto Nicolao vinculo matrim. per verbum >placet< minime astrictum seu obligatum esse, sed in matrim. cum dicto Laurentio remanere posse cum legit. prol."

[24] RPG V:2186.

[25] RPG V:2128.

[26] RPG VIII:3384.

[27] RPG VIII:3402.

avoid scandal or control lovers. For instance, the horrifying conditions in prison forced Wernherus de Sultzbach to marry his concubine, Count Ervino of Glichen's servant. The count made Wernherus reunite with her after revealing their long-lasting sexual relationship in his house and even a child (or children) born from it.[28]

Aside from fraud and ecclesiastical and secular power, there were more prosaic means of coercion. Victims could be harshly beaten,[29] or the coercer would suddenly come to their house and extort the marital vow when no help was around.[30] Small children could be left in their spouse's house to grow and consummate the marriage, as it happened with Arkonus and Meysta. They came together to the Apostolic Penitentiary in 1486 from the Münster diocese. The children lived in one house during the seven years after their betrothal at the ages of seven and nine but never consummated the union. Both asked to marry another man and woman and were granted permission.[31]

Victims did not keep silent during coercion and revealed specific patterns of protest. The refusal to consummate was an essential instrument of protest in the registers. In 41% of the cases of marital coercion (34 out of 82), the petitioners confirmed that there was no consummation between them and their spouses, even if they had slept together before. In another 20% (16 out of 82), the lack of consummation is evident, though not expressed, for instance, when the spouses never lived together, or one of them immediately escaped to another country. The sexual relationships in the narratives of the victims appear only when the marriage is obviously null; for instance, when the consummated forced marriage followed a legal one (so the first vow was valid and nullified all following vows)[32] or an unwanted spouse was already dead.[33] This suggests that consummation was not as substantial as consent, but with proven consummation marriage was more difficult to dissolve, and people understood that.[34] Sometimes, victims protested and escaped the forced marriage by entering a monastery; for example, Ludmilla de Melicini, a noblewoman from the Olomouc diocese (1483), took the veil among Augustines because a nobleman, Przibislaus, publicly proclaimed his marriage to

[28] RPG VI:3037.

[29] RPG VIII:3273; VI:3740; Ludwig Schmugge, *Marriage on Trial*, trans. Atria A. Larson (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 135–136.

[30] RPG VI:3592; VII:2598.

[31] RPG VII:2502.

[32] RPG I:943; VI:3750.

[33] RPG I:202.

[34] Butler, "I Will Never Consent to Be Wedded with You!," 254–269.

her against her will.[35] Ludmilla did not merely pretend to be a nun, like some women from *Liber Extra*,[36] but moved to a monastery and changed into a habit. She was granted permission to remain a nun as she wished to.

Still, not all victims had a chance or will to escape to another land or monastic walls. In this case, the protest should be evident to any marriage witnesses; otherwise, the victim's silence during the arranged marriage was commonly seen as an agreement in medieval scholastic literature.[37] When appealing to the Penitentiary, the victims made sure that their emphatic protest was a significant part of their petitions.[38] In most cases they did not write the petitions themselves but hired proctors, who used common descriptions of coercion (*per vim et metum*, *metus qui potest cadere in constantem virum*).[39] These formulas referenced the precedents in Canon Law in which the decision was acceptable for the proctor and his client.[40] For instance, in the case of Dominica Gaspareti from the Chur diocese (1484), it was said that she was forced to marry at a young age, and when she chose to marry another man, she asked for papal approval because *matrimonia debeant esse libera*. The phrase she or her jurist used was taken from the *Liber Extra*.[41]

In some cases, the proctors and petitioners went further than copying Canon Law phrases. The *narratio* became not a mere account of events but a story with

[35] RPG VI:3789: "Ludmilla de Melicini mul. nob Olomuc. dioc.; [exponitur pro parte] quod olim quidam nob. Przibislaus Maladaneli Olomuc. dioc. asserens matrim. cum illa per verba de pres. publ. in facie eccl. carn. copula minime subsecuta contraxisse, econtra ipsa tunc in quodam mon. o.s.Aug. b. Marie Virginis op. Brunne Olomuc. dioc. monial. sub cura et regimine o.pred. degentium existente et renitente, in curia causarum curie bone memorie dum viveret ep. Olomuc. propterea movit causam [...]."

[36] X 4.6.5; 4.6.7.

[37] For instance, as Thomas Aquinas wrote, "wherefore in such a case the words of the parents are taken as being the maid's, for the fact that she does not contradict them is a sign that they are her words" (my translation). See *Supplementum*, Q.45, Art. 3 in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1981), 3628.

[38] For the whole process of the preparation of the supplication see more in Kirsi Salonen and Ludwig Schmugge, *A Sip from the Well of Grace : Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary,* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 69–74.

[39] These Roman formulae (Dig.4.2.6) became very popular in classical Canon Law to describe forced marriage, for instance, in X 4.1.15. In some cases, where the petitioners did not specify the type or conditions of coercion, the papal decision was to grant them the declaration they asked for if the fear had been strong enough to "move a stable man," for instance, in RPG VI:3776.

[40] Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip from the "Well of Grace,"* 54–55.

[41] X 4.1.29: "[…] Quum itaque libera matrimonia esse debeant, et ideo talis stipulatio propter poenae interpositionem sit merito improbanda […]."

an exposition, rising action, climax, and resolution,[42] as, for instance, in the case of Elizabeth Michaelis Finagher from the Krakow diocese (1491). Her mother decided to give her as a wife to Johannes from the same diocese. Elizabeth protested in vain: her relatives and friends took her mother's side. Out of fear, the girl got married *in facie ecclesiae*. One day, when Johannes visited them, the mother told the girl to dress up because her husband would see her; desperate, Elizabeth went to the *camera* in the house and tried to hang herself with a towel. When the mother found Elizabeth, she cut the towel with a sword and resuscitated her. The girl asked the pope to dissolve the marriage because she was afraid of *futurum omnia mala* in this marriage.[43]

To conclude, there are specific patterns among Central European cases of coercion into marriage in the registers, which could be a starting point for further research or comparison with other regions. They showed the striking tendency that most petitioners were adults and men. Paradoxically, men outnumbered women among the victims in the registers because of their dominant position in society. Women, being subordinated or restricted in their choices and actions, could not often oppose the coercion; also, they lacked the physical possibility or financial means to make a petition. We should not forget that the petitions often opposed hostile relatives or communities and could bring new violence. Even if theoretical Canon Law was a well-developed instrument to do so, the individual situation of a woman or even of a subordinated male member of a family determined whether they could use this instrument or not.

Both male and female victims vividly described how they were forced into the marriage: from mere threats (but enough to move a "stable" man or woman) to physical abuse, incarceration, and the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts. All

[42] This methodology for narrative strategies analysis was described in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

[43] RPG VII:2634: "Elizabeth Michaelis Finagher mul. Cracov. dioc. [exponit,] quod cum olim mater sua carn. cuperet ipsam exp. cuidam Johanni Mercatorts laic. Cracov. dioc. in matrim. tradere […], ex certis legit. causis animum suum moveri recusasset et videns mater sua predicta, quod ad matrim. contrahendum inclinari non posset, quadam die quosdam consanguineos et amicos ipsius exp. accersivit et insimul vocavit, ut ipsam inducerent ut in dictum Johannem ut maritum consentiret; ipsa vero exp. reverentia et metu parentum et contra suam voluntatem in facie eccl. matrim. cum dicto Johanne contraxit […]; et dum quadam die prefatus Johannes ad domum accessisset visitandi causa, mater sua eidem dixit, […] quoniam Johannes maritus suus veniret ad videndum ipsam; ipsa vero exp. […] quandam cameram domus sue predicte tamquam desperata intravit et quodam manutergio se suspendit; et cum mater rediret sua predicta cameram eandem intravit et filiam suam suspensam repperit et confestim cum quodam gladio manutergium, quo suspensa erat, incidit et adhibitis confestim opportunis remediis cum non expirasset vires et sanitatem resumpsit […]."

petitioners were convinced that *matrimonium libera debere esse*, so their contracted unions were void. Families were the primary sources of coercion. The short narratives of the cases do not always talk about the reasons for this, but many cases refer to extramarital sexual relationships, which needed to be ended or covered up, or the wish to marry for the spouse's money. The coercers used frauds, ecclesiastical courts, and local secular authorities alongside mere beatings or threats. But the victims refused to remain silent (at least as they claimed): they publicly protested, avoided consummation, sometimes fled to a monastery or other lands, and, in the end, applied to the Penitentiary with a carefully shaped narrative about their misfortunes.

This does not mean that all victims were saved from coercion using ecclesiastical institutions such as the courts or the Apostolic Penitentiary. The register's cases are only a tiny part of the medieval reality of arranged and forced marriages and abductions. Parental choice often remained as a condition even for willing unions. Many victims, forced by relatives or "aggressive suitors," succumbed or escaped without the help of institutions, so we do not know anything about them.[44] Still, the cases of marital coercion shed some light on forced marital stories and show the patterns that did exist in medieval society. The creation of a vivid narrative and the petition to the Apostolic Penitentiary were the ultimate instruments of protest that the victims could use, and because all the petitions from the registers were approved, we may consider these methods of protest successful.

[44] Butler, "I Will Never Consent to Be Wedded with You!," 249–252.

EMPIRE IN SIGHT: ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS AFTER THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF RHODES (1522)

Fabian Riesinger

This paper serves to investigate the architectural makeup of Rhodes and the makeover of the eponymous city after the Ottoman conquest in 1522. I focus on two kinds of structures and reasonings for their construction. On the one hand, the changing population of Rhodes necessitated a change in religious facilities. Muslims, newly migrated and/or displaced to Rhodes, needed mosques for their spiritual needs, and the Porte needed them to assert imperial dominance in a region formerly ruled by non-Muslims. On the other hand, the reconstruction of military structures such as walls were logistically necessary but ultimately projected power too. When exploring the historical architecture, I relied on contemporary written sources[1] and projected back from twentieth-century material. Notably, Zeki *Çelikkol* provides an overview of the Ottoman architecture on Rhodes in a thematic volume.[2]

When the Ottomans captured Rhodes, they immediately established a mosque. Named after the conquering sultan himself, the island's main mosque, the Süleymaniye, is traditionally dated to 1541.[3] But as the provision of religious infrastructure was a top priority of the new occupants, an Islamic house of worship must have been set up in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. In fact, Ṭabib

[1] These are amongst others, one of Necati Avcı's editions of the *fetiḥ-nāme*, conquest diary, by Tabib Ramazan, Ottoman letters from the newly conquered island published by Nicolas Vatin, and the Italian-language observations of the year 1522 by Venetian chronicler Marino Sanuto. Necati Avcı, "Tabib Ramazan: Er-Risale el-Fethiyye er-Radosiyye es-Süleymaniyye [Report of Süleyman's Conquest of Rhodes]" (PhD diss., Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1993); Nicolas Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*, Collection Turcica VII (Paris: Peeters, 1994); Marino Sanuto, *Diarii: I Marzo MDXXII – XXVIII Febbraio MDXXIII*, ed. Federico Stefani, Guglielmo Berchet, and Nicolò Barozzi, vol. 33 (Venice: Fratelli Visentini Tipografi Editori, 1892). More source texts are discussed in detail in my thesis at Central European University. Fabian Riesinger, "Making an Island: The Transformation(s) of Rhodes under Early Ottoman Rule (1522–1560)" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2021).

[2] Together with Ammar İbrahimgil's thesis on the Murat Reʾis social complex, Çelikkol's album was essential for this study of the Ottoman sacral architecture on Rhodes. Ammar İbrahimgil, "Rodos, Murat Reis Külliyesi Belgelemesi ve Restorasyon Önerisi" (MA thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2012); Zeki Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri ve Tarihçe*, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 6, 25 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986).

[3] Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, 51.

Ramażan's contemporary *fetiḥ-name* recounts the establishment of a mosque virtually at the same time as the Ottoman victory. Analogously to Meḥmed II's first prayer in Hagia Sophia after the conquest of Constantinople,[4] Süleyman performs the Friday prayer in the new mosque as soon as possible.[5]

The expression of power through the site of prayer is intrinsically linked to the history of the mosque itself. Drawing on a rich pre-Islamic tradition of sacral architecture, the earliest mosques were established to honor the Quranic stipulation to pray in a space that is distinct from its surroundings and ritually pure. At the same time, a mosque is not necessarily a separate building and can belong to larger structures such as a fort or the ruler's residence. The early eighth-century Umayyad Mosque, for instance, was part of an architectural ensemble with the caliph's palace. It was thus incorporated into the physical power center of the early Muslim realm. This way, the caliph could exhibit grandeur and his claim to sovereignty in the same space as humbleness and religious piety.[6]

Being relative latecomers amongst the great Muslim empires, the Ottomans soon developed their own style of sacral architecture. With the tradition of the Islamic Golden Age and Anatolian Turkish examples at their disposal, they also incorporated aspects of Byzantine architecture. Architectural historian Doğan Kuban emphasizes how spatial organization under a central dome was a structural principle of Ottoman mosque-building. Representative imperial mosques were outfitted with grand domes, often supported by smaller ones to the sides. Here too, a tendency to build multi-purpose ensembles emerges. Mosques were paired with religious schools (*medrese*) and other buildings according to the local necessities, such as Sufi sanctuaries (*tekke*), to form social complexes (*külliye*). Depending on the location and the scale, they benefited the public while bringing the sultan's authority into view.[7]

Within the first decade of Rhodes' incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, at least sixteen mosques and smaller *mescid*s are attested in the city. This is evident from a fiscal survey prepared around 1528, which has been analyzed by Elias Kolovos. Assessing the numbers of taxable households, the Ottoman authorities recorded eighteen Muslim *maḥalle*s, neighborhoods, mostly associated with

[4] Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 52–53.

[5] "Aziz Jan Kilisesi'ni de bir cami ve ilahi ibadetgah yaparak; […] Cuma namazını orada yani Aziz Jan'da kıldı." Avcı, "Tabib Ramazan: Report of Süleyman's Conquest of Rhodes," 194.

[6] Lorenz Korn, *Die Moschee: Architektur und religiöses Leben* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012), 8–11.

[7] Doğan Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture: Part II. Development of Religious Architecture in Later Periods*, Iconography of Religions, Section XXII: Islam, Fascicle Three (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 18–21.

a smaller *mescid* while two places of worship lay in the inner fortress. Notably, Kolovos identifies the "Illustrious Mosque" (*Câmi'-i* Şerîf) as likely the first sultanic mosque of Rhodes. This would make it the direct predecessor of the Süleymaniye Mosque and a successor to one of the Catholic churches inside the fortress of the Knights Hospitaller.[8]

Süleymaniye Camii: An early necessity

The exact circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Süleymaniye Mosque of Rhodes are unclear. Both Zeki Çelikkol, in his monumental catalogue of the Ottoman architectural heritage of Rhodes, and Neval Konuk, in an article for the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, provide a variety of possible dates and origin stories. According to Çelikkol, the Süleymaniye could in fact have been the youngest "Turkish" addition to the architecture of Rhodes, potentially only built in 1808. The same year is referenced by Konuk as the date of a major restoration campaign of the structure in preparation for a visit by Sultan Abdülaziz. Both authors, however, agree that a mosque must have been established in its place in the early days of the Ottoman possession of the island. Çelikkol recounts a popular legend that Sultan Süleyman himself was the original founder of the mosque, basically inaugurating it with the first Friday prayer in the city. Ultimately, Konuk considers 1530 to 1541 the most likely period of establishment for the Süleymaniye Mosque, and Çelikkol agrees on its completion in 1541. They both connect it with the legacy of Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa, who at this point had already earned the unfortunate epithet *maḳtūl*, the executed.[9]

As the exact dating of the Süleymaniye is virtually impossible, the accounts of its preceding architectural environment vary too. If it was established immediately, according to Çelikkol and Konuk, the site of the so-called Holy Apostle(s) Church (*Saint Apostoli Kilisesi*) could have been repurposed.[10] Kolovos, by contrast, does not record a church named in reference to the apostles amongst the Christian *maḥalle*s in the earlier fiscal survey. This might suggest that any building of that

[8] The author has graciously shared a forthcoming book chapter on the topic with me. The page numbers given here are relative to the manuscript I have received. In addition, I am thankful for his valuable comments and corrections during the defense of my thesis on which this article is based. Elias Kolovos, "The Fortress and the Town of Rhodes According to the Ottoman Survey After the Siege of 1522," in *The 1522 Siege of Rhodes: Causes, Course and Consequences*, ed. Simon Phillips (London: Routledge, forthcoming), 2–5.

[9] Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, 51–52; Neval Konuk, "Süleymaniye Camii ve Külliyesi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 38 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010), 113–14.

[10] Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, 51; Konuk, "Süleymaniye Camii," 113.

name had already been repurposed by 1528. The author identifies the first sultanic mosque of Rhodes as a likely successor to the central knights' church of Saint John of the Collachium.[11] This corresponds to the name given for the first converted church in Tabib Ramażan's *fetiḥ-name*.

> Making the church of Saint John (Aziz Jan) a mosque and a place of worship, he [sultan Süleyman] cleansed it from being a place of idols and the devil. He performed the Friday prayer there, that is at Saint John. Then, having achieved his goal, he headed towards Constantinople with blissful inspiration.[12]

Regardless of the difficulty to determine its pre-history, there is a mosque today that represents the early Ottoman incorporation of Rhodes. After the significant reconstruction in 1808, the Süleymaniye Mosque received renovations in the 1890s as well as from 1988 to 2005. According to Konuk, the latter works were carried out "using the building techniques and materials of the period," so the "the mosque stayed true to its historical features.[13] Unfortunately, the article does not disclose to which historical period this assessment refers. It remains unclear to me whether the restorations emphasized the 1808 incarnation of the mosque or its potential sixteenth-century guise. Ultimately, the architectural analysis is not contingent on this information, as I worked with a ground plan and sections from Çelikkol's catalogue. Published in 1986, it does not include any changes made from 1988 on.[14]

A first glance reveals a variation of Kuban's main principal of Ottoman mosque architecture: the central dome organizes the entire structure, but it is not as dominant as in the imperial mosques on the continent, such as Sinan's Selimiye Mosque in Edirne.[15] Relative to the overall structure, the central dome is raised and rests on its own support walls rather than being buttressed by the side domes. The main prayer room is taller than the lateral bays allowing for more light to enter the space. It contains the *miḥrāb*, the prayer niche, with the *minber*, the pulpit-like

[11] Kolovos, "Rhodes According to the Ottoman Survey," 3, 5–7.

[12] "Aziz Jan Kilisesi'ni de bir cami ve ilahi ibadetgah yaparak; putların ve Şeytan'ın yeri olmaktan temizledi […] Cuma namazını orada yani Aziz Jan'da kıldı. Daha sonra saadetli devleti ile hedefini elde ederek Kostantiniyye'ye yöneldi," Avcı, "Tabib Ramazan: Report of Süleyman's Conquest of Rhodes," 194.

[13] "Caminin tarihî özelliklerine sadık kalınıp dönemin yapı teknikleriyle malzemesi kullanılarak," Konuk, "Süleymaniye Camii," 113.

[14] See the ground plan and sections of the Süleymaniye Mosque with the domed portico and the fountain in Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, non-paginated appendix, plans 8–10.

[15] Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture: Later Periods*, 20–21, 25.

structure, to the right. The staircase to the minaret is found on the right-hand side of the entrance to the central hall. The portico at the front of the building helps to harmonize the overall space with seven smaller equidistant, identical domes. The ablution fountain is located vis-à-vis the main building in what I can only assume to be a courtyard.

Regarding the architecture, it is plausible that the Süleymaniye Mosque of Rhodes served to project Ottoman imperial power without the grandeur (and frankly, the investment) of the continental mosques. The main prayer room appears to lack a dedicated space for the sultan to participate without mixing with the crowd. In the Ottoman context, the so-called "hünkâr mahfili"[16] (sultan's space) typically took the form of an elevated enclosure, a lodge, above the prayer room of imperial mosques. In the sections published by Çelikkol, I cannot identify such an architectural feature. This might suggest that actual visits by the ruler had been rare enough to not warrant the construction (or the continued upkeep) of a *maḥfil*.

The present mosque drew its representative potential from its appearance and symbolic value. The structure itself, with three sizable domes and a single minaret reaching much higher than the surrounding buildings, was accompanied by a very powerful name. Both the architectural features and the dedication to Sultan Süleyman surely made an impression on the local populace and stationed troops. Born out of the necessity to establish a dedicated space to pray, Ottoman (and likely any imperial) mosques projected power by reminding the populace of the sultan's rule even in his absence. As he had prayed on the first Friday after the conquest of Rhodes, he maintained a presence in every prayer thereafter.

Murad Reʾis Külliyesi: A necessary addition

The Murad Reʾis complex is a multi-purpose ensemble of religio-social structures to the north of the oldtown of Rhodes. It comprises a mosque, an ablution fountain and a well, eight tomb monuments (*türbe*), a graveyard, and a social center with a sanctuary or dervish lodge (*tekke*), a library, and administrative buildings. Çelikkol calls the mosque Murad Reʾis Mosque and dates it to 1636, while the Turkish architect Ammar İbrahimgil prefers the name Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque and the date 1622. Çelikkol acknowledges the involvement of Ebu Bekir Paşa as the one who endowed the pious foundation (*vaḳıf*). The *türbe* I am focusing on is the eponymous tomb of Murad Reʾis, a sixteenth-century Ottoman corsair and navy

[16] M. Baha Tanman, "Mahfil," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 27 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 331.

captain.[17] Both authors mention his death around 1609, with a burial shortly afterwards in the already existing Muslim graveyard of Rhodes City. The site's oldest structures comprise some parts of the graveyard as well as the lodge, both of which İbrahimgil dates to the sixteenth century, that is, the first Ottoman century of Rhodes.[18]

According to İbrahimgil, the location of many of the monuments that form the Murad Re'is complex has changed over the past century. With the Italian conquest of Rhodes in 1912, as elaborated below, extensive archaeological digs and restoration works were conducted to emphasize the "Italian" aspects of the local architecture. In the process, the Muslim graveyard was relocated to outside the city walls adding to the Murad Re'is complex and the *tekke* in its present-day place.[19]

The thesis by İbrahimgil is not meant as a historical exploration of the Murad Re'is complex but as a proposal for an intensive renovation of the site. He explores "the changes the buildings have undergone until now, to find out their original form according to scientific data and to prepare the ground for restoration works."[20] The architect admits his unhappiness with contemporary Greek and EU-sponsored restoration projects, going as far as putting "restorasyon" in quotes. Instead, he proposes his plan to restore the site's "architectural identity" (*mimari kimliğini*) both in form and in function.[21] İbrahimgil provides sections of the current state of the Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque and the *türbe* of Murad Re'is as well as potential ones after the proposed restoration. I focused on the latter as they appear to be idealized Ottoman versions of the two buildings I wanted to analyze.[22]

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[17] Note that the timeline of Murad's life is confusing and often contradictory. Seeing that İbrahimgil refers to Çelikkol, their accounts somewhat match but do not line up entirely either. Portrayals in other languages add to the confusion. Just compare the English-language Wikipedia entry "Murat Reis the Elder" in which the dates are so conflicting that Murad appears to have taken responsibilities in naval warfare at the age of four. An index of Mediterranean corsairs in Italian, seemingly inspired by Salvatore Bono's eponymous volume, lists various contemporary captains named Murad, in multiple spellings, with the most likely candidate under "Murad Rais/Morat Aga," Corsari del Mediterraneo, last modified September 1, 2012, https://corsaridelmediterraneo.it/mourad-murad-rais2/. For this paper, I prefer not to focus on the actual life of Murad but on his resting place – his afterlife if you will.

[18] Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, 28–34; İbrahimgil, "Murat Reis Külliyesi," 15, 20–31.

[19] İbrahimgil, "Murat Reis Külliyesi," 16–17.

[20] "Caminin tarihî özelliklerine sadık kalınıp dönemin yapı teknikleriyle malzemesi kullanılarak," İbrahimgil, "Murat Reis Külliyesi," 177.

[21] İbrahimgil, "Murat Reis Külliyesi," 177–78.

[22] See the sections of the Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque and the tomb (türbe) of Murad Re'is in the eponymous complex. The author's renderings are idealized Ottoman versions of the buildings according to his restoration plans in İbrahimgil, "*Murat Reis Külliyesi*," 447, 454.

The Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque is a moderately sized domed mosque on a square ground plan. The prayer hall contains the *miḥrāb* and the *minber* as well as what appears to be a balcony. I presume it is not supposed to hold a lodge for the sultan (*maḥfil*) but rather serve as a space for the women participating in the prayer. The minaret is on the right-hand side of the entrance. It is not apparent to me whether the staircase is accessed from the inside or the outside of the building. A stone porch invites the visitor to enter and observe the interior. While the overall structure is modest in size and form, the interior appears quite ornate with detailed trims and elaborate decorations.

The *türbe* of Murad Reʾis is a small octagonal building with a dome. It appears to be designed for function, that is, as a resting place for the body of Murad. While the interior is rather plain, the sarcophagus in the center is typically draped with colored cloth. It is likely a cenotaph with the body being buried beneath the *türbe* building. In the section, I can see a structure reminiscent of a pole standing perpendicular to the sarcophagus. It might hold a turban symbolizing a figure of (religious) importance.

In fact, Murad Reʾis had become somewhat of a local saint. According to Çelikkol, both Muslims, particularly women, and Orthodox Greeks ("Ortodoks rumlar") would visit the tomb, to make offerings and pray for good health. Even the last king of Italy, Victor Emanuel III, is said to have visited the site, tying his handkerchief to the sarcophagus.[23] If this happened in 1910, as Çelikkol states, his offering must have been very effective, as the Italians acquired Rhodes only two years later. But Murad was not only revered in recent history. In Çelikkol's transcription, an inscription above one window of the building reads:

> Face the door to Murad, give your praying soul
> See what grace this king shows to the heart
> In one thousand eighteen he died in battle
> He became known as a Gazi in history[24]

[23] Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, 31–32.

[24] Yüz sür der'i Murad'a ferş et ruhu niyazı
Seyret ne zî keremdir ol şahı dilnûvazı
Kıldı gazada rihlet bin on sekizde nâfi
Tarih i tam'ı oldu ol demde lâfz ı Gâzi.
In the non-paginated appendix, Çelikkol provides a photograph of the inscription (Resim 26). The quality is not quite good enough for me to read in full, but what I can glean corroborates his transcription. Çelikkol, *Rodos'taki Türk Eserleri*, 33. The year 1018 H corresponds to 1609/10. If we take Çelikkol and İbrahimgil by their word, the *türbe* was established shortly thereafter.

Taken together, the Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque and the tomb of Murad Reʾis project a different kind of power than the Süleymaniye Mosque in Rhodes City. While the Süleymaniye served to firmly establish the Ottomans on the island, the Murad Reʾis complex appears to have grown out of communal relations and spiritual need. Conceptually, the *tekke*, the dervish lodge, represents this best, but it is visible also in the architecture of the mosque and the *türbe*. The Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque is unimposing but functional and inviting. It gives the impression of a house of worship that could be realized with a modest endowment and many helping hands. While the Süleymaniye of Rhodes is not grandiose but clearly imperial, the Ebu Bekir Paşa Mosque seems neighborly and personal. And Murad Reʾis' tomb functions accordingly. It is essentially a shrine, built to be accessible. Its architectural simplicity is inviting to both pilgrims and passersby of the distant and the recent past – even across religions. This way both the mosque and the main *türbe* of the Murad Reʾis complex epitomize the normality of the Ottoman possession of Rhodes. If the Süleymaniye symbolizes the sultan, Murad Reʾis is simply one of his men. Abstracting from this to the sphere of sacrality, the Süleymaniye Mosque projects the divine while the Murad Reʾis complex stands for the familiar, the folk belief. As this was not provided by the imperial claims of the early Ottoman possession of Rhodes, the establishment of the Murad Reʾis complex was a necessary addition to the Muslim religious infrastructure of Rhodes.

Calm after the Siege: Repairing one's own damage

After the 1522 Ottoman conquest, the island of Rhodes did not change hands again until the twentieth century. The space gradually evolved from the Knights Hospitaller's stronghold to a local center embedded in a wider empire. Besides the mentioned religious architecture, the Ottomans also engaged with military structures in the cityscape they had encountered.

Left in charge after the conquest, Haʾin Aḥmed Paşa[25] reported back to the Sublime Porte that the security around the city had been increased by placing *bekçi*s,[26] that is, watchmen, and closely guarding the city and the surrounding villages.[27] There must have been some fears around Rhodes City that the Knights

[25] Ahmed Paşa earned the byname *ḫāʾin*, the traitor, after his short stint as the self-proclaimed sultan of Egypt in early 1524. Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean et l'Empire ottoman*, 343–45; Abdülkadir Özcan, "Ahmed Paşa, Hain," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1989), 113.

[26] "[B]ekciler ḳonıldı," Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean et l'Empire ottoman*, 503.

[27] "[Ş]ehr ve ḳurâʾ-ı eṭrâf daḥi ihtimâm üzre ḥıfz olınur," Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean et l'Empire ottoman*, 503.

would not stay away. So, the new occupants set out to restore the damaged structures of military importance. They started filling the trenches utilized during the siege, commissioned a new iron chain to secure the harbor, and planned to replace the thus far wooden elements with structures made of stone.[28]

To further secure the city, the Ottomans started restoring the walls themselves. Long before their arrival, the city-stronghold had been infamously well-fortified. Essentially the entire town was closed off. It constituted one crescent-shaped fortress delimited by walls on three sides and the harbor on the fourth. According to the Mediterranean historian Ann Williams, the Ottomans could make use of the defensive capabilities of the stronghold almost immediately. In her assessment, the incorporation of Rhodes added a valuable position to their military network while providing them with a fortress that did not need great repairs.[29]

When in 1480 Mehmed II had attempted to capture the island, he could not break through the walls of Rhodes City. And at least in 1505 and 1516, the stronghold was fortified again. To pierce such a fortification, one would need powerful cannons. As lamented by the Knights' contemporary Grand Master Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, the Ottomans possessed this technology.[30] According to Palmira Brummet, their siege strategy involved transferring their artillery from their ships onto the land surrounding their targets instead of shooting from the sea. Before using this tactic against Rhodes, the Ottomans employed it on the island of Leros in 1506 and throughout other Aegean islands.[31]

To their own detriment such an approach was quite effective. So, when the Ottomans took over Rhodes, their fortress walls had been pierced by their own cannon fire. Ettore Rossi provides us with snippets from an order by Sultan Süleyman to repair the damages done to the fortress. It is notable for the brief, but detailed description of the different hands and methods needed to undertake such

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[28] Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean et l'Empire ottoman*, 503, 507–8.

[29] Ann Williams, "Mediterranean Conflict," in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 40–42.

[30] "They give me fear with unlimited and large artillery, […] and with fires created beyond measure bombarding in the evening and in the morning that it resembled hellfire itself," l'Isle-Adam writes. "[M]e metton paura con infinita e grande arteglieria [...] [e] con fuoichi lauorati oltra misura bombardando la sera e damattina che parea proprio l'infernal fucina." P[hilippe] de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *El lagirmoso lamento che fa el gran mastro de Rodi, con li suoi cauallieri a tutti li Principi de Christianitade nella sua partita. Con la presa di Rodi* [The Tearful Appeal of the Grand Master of Rhodes, with his Knights Towards all the Christian Princes in Their Lot. With the Capture of Rhodes.], n.d., [2].

[31] Palmira Brummett, "The Overrated Adversary: Rhodes and Ottoman Naval Power," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 3 (1993): 517–18, 527–30, 539.

restoration works. The *beylerbey* of Anatolia, Ḳasim Paşa, was assigned to oversee the restoration works.[32]

Ṭabib Ramażan's *fetiḥ-nāme* offers an extensive passage about the state of the fortress and its (former) citizens in the direct aftermath of the Knights' surrender. Süleyman's establishment of a mosque and the first Friday prayer has already been introduced above.

> The sultan forgave their crimes, he never demanded their goods, their children, and their wives, and was content with receiving the castle. The sultan did not deny the requests of those who did not want to settle in his realm and wanted to leave Rhodes without serving him, so they went where they wanted to go from Rhodes. Those who wanted to settle in Rhodes and wanted to pay the tribute (*haraç*) every year, were absolved of the tribute for three years by the sultan. Later, the sultan sent decrees (*ferman*) to three castles, that is Bodrum, İstanköy and Tahtalı. […] When these decrees (*hüküm*) reached the kings of the aforementioned castles, they declared their complete obedience to the kingship and surrendered their castles, doing what the infidels of Rhodes had always done. Since the castle was demolished and had to be repaired, the sultan ordered four of the *sancak beys* to repair it. Making the church of Saint John (Aziz Jan) a mosque and a place of worship, he cleansed it from being a place of idols and the devil. He performed the Friday prayer there, that is at Saint John. Then, having achieved his goal, he headed towards Constantinople with blissful inspiration.[33]

According to Tabib Ramażan, Süleyman charged four *sancāḳ beys* with the restoration of the fortress instead of the *beylerbey* Ḳasim Paşa. This passage,

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[32] Ettore Rossi, "Nuove ricerche sulle fonti turche relative all'assedio di Rodi nel 1522," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 15, no. 1 (1934): 99–100.

[33] "Hünkar onların suçlarını bağışlayarak; malları, evlatları ve eşlerine asla tamah etmedi ve kalenin teslim alınmasıyla yetinde [*sic*]. Hünkara, memleketinde yerleşmeyerek ona kulluk etmek istemeyerek Rodos'tan ayrılmak isteyenler bu isteklerinden alıkonmadılar ve Rodos'tan, istedikleri yerlere gittiler. Rodos'tan ayrılmayarak orada yerleşmek isteyip her yıl haraç ödemek isteyenlerın de, hünkar haraçlarını üç yıl bağışladı. Daha sonra hünkar Bodrum, İstanköy ve Tahtalı gibi üç kaleye de fermanlar gönderdi. [...] Bu hükümler, zikredilen kale krallarına ulaşınca, hünkara tam itaatlerini bildirdiler ve kalelerini teslim ederek Rodos keferesinin her zaman yaptığı şeyleri yaptılar. Kale yıkıldığı ve tamir edilmesi gerektiği için, hünkar sancak beylerinden dördüne orasını tamir etmelerini emretti, Aziz Jan Kilisesi'ni de bir cami ve ilahi ibadetgah yaparak; putların ve Şeytan'ın yeri olmaktan temizledi [...] ve Cuma namazını orada yani Aziz Jan'da kıldı. Daha sonra saadetli devleti ile hedefini elde ederek Kostantiniyye'ye yöneldi," Avcı, "Tabib Ramazan: Report of Süleyman's Conquest of Rhodes," 193–94.

however, is especially notable for the focus it puts on the walled city of Rhodes as a castle (*ḳal'a*). Sultan Süleyman receives the city with the surrender of the Knights and immediately makes use of its fortified nature – not militarily but by regulating the population. Whoever wanted to leave, could do so. Whoever wished to stay, received a three-year tax exemption.[34] This way, the former elite could leave with their dignity somewhat intact while the populace was incentivized to remain and actually populate the city. Additionally, the Ottomans used *sürgün*, forcible resettlement from one region of the empire to another, to form a sizeable Muslim community in the city within the first decade of their rule. Kolovos points out that this is apparent in some of the *maḥalle* designations in the survey of 1528. This happened, for instance, when the *mescid* recorded as the namesake for its surrounding neighborhood was named after the region the newcomers were moved from.[35]

Population regulation too is a way to "repair one's own damage." With the siege, the number of inhabitants of the inner city of Rhodes had diminished, and the customary leniency, allowing the foe to leave, depopulated it even more. Plus, a significant Muslim community had to be recruited from other sources in any case. So, with tax incentives, *sürgün*, and an influx of Jewish people from other parts of the empire,[36] Rhodes City filled up again. The damage had been done both in material and in human resources, so to say, but the new Ottoman stronghold in the Eastern Mediterranean recovered rapidly.

Conclusion

It is 2022 – the 500-year anniversary of the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes. Through the grapevine, I have heard of publications being prepared for the occasion, which is most welcome. This paper as well as the corresponding thesis can be considered inputs into the discussion on how early Ottoman rule transformed the island of Rhodes.

On the one hand, the sudden influx of Muslims made the establishment of Islamic sacral architecture necessary. On the other hand, the military nature of the conquest meant that the (infra)structure had to be restored. The sacral architecture had two specific additions in the Süleymaniye Mosque and the Murad

[34] According to Kolovos, the taxation of the population of Rhodes was even suspended for a period of five years. Kolovos, "Rhodes According to the Ottoman Survey," 2–3.

[35] Kolovos, "Rhodes According to the Ottoman Survey," 5; Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean et l'Empire ottoman*, 366–67.

[36] Kolovos, "Rhodes According to the Ottoman Survey," 9–10.

Figure 1. Map of Rhodes in the book on navigation by Piri Reʾis, originally composed in 932 H/1525. The map is oriented to the south. This depiction of Rhodes City clearly shows two mosques with minarets in Piri Reʾis, "Kitāb-i Baḥriye" [Book of Seafaring] (Late 17th century), Digitized Walters Manuscripts, Ms. W.658, fol. 103a, https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/300/W658_000215_300.tif, © 2013 Walters Art Museum, used under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 license: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/.

Reʾis funerary and social complex. While the former served to express Ottoman imperial authority as part of the townscape, the latter lay metaphorically and literally more outside of the center. Individual worshippers and visitors who had heard about the shrine of Murad, the seafarer, could retreat there.

The overall importance of certain architectural elements for Rhodes is unveiled when examining a contemporary map. The infamous captain and cartographer Piri Reʾis is said to have taken part in the conquest of Rhodes in 1522, before he dedicated his "Book of Seafaring" (*Kitāb-i Baḥriye*), a veritable world atlas, to Sultan Süleyman in 1525. The map of Rhodes reproduced here is derived from a late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century manuscript preserved and digitized by the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.[37] The manuscript is detailed and beautifully illustrated making use of different colored inks and gold foil, and, as far as I can tell, fully functional as a collection of portolan charts. The map of Rhodes is oriented to the south. So, Rhodes City in the northern bay of the island is unfamiliarly found on the bottom of the page. Surrounded by settlements seemingly for food supply, the city appears in a familiar guise: completely walled in. The depiction also features two mosques with minarets inside the encircling city walls.

What remains unclear so far is whether this map portrays the world as it had been during its original compilation by Piri Reʾis, that is, in 1525, or whether it shows the world of the late seventeenth century, the manuscript's era. Regardless, the overall impression is that the map depicts Rhodes as a visibly Muslim city. By contrast, the two settlements to the east (the left) are walled cities too but exhibit high steeples or castle towers instead of minarets. The northern one is labelled "Ḳalʿa-i Taḥtalı," the fortress of Tahtalı, and the southern one is "Ḳalʿa-i Lindoz," the fortress of Lindos. While these two strongholds retain their visible features from the pre-Ottoman period, the image of Rhodes City has clearly been Ottomanized. And this stands to reason. The combination of fortress walls and a mosque constitutes the hallmark of Ottoman imperial power over Rhodes City and by extension the entire island of Rhodes. The map even continues into our time to bring the Ottoman Empire into sight. While the city-stronghold lies to the north of Rhodes, it is not shown at the top of the page. The present-day-observer must reorient themselves and realize how the map – and the island – exists in an Ottoman imperial context contingent on both military and spiritual hegemony.

[37] Piri Reʾis, "Kitāb-i Baḥriye" [Book of Seafaring] (Late 17th century), Digitized Walters Manuscripts, Ms. W.658, http://purl.thewalters.org/art/W.658/description, © 2013 Walters Art Museum, used under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 license: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/.

PART 2

Medievalism and Computer Games

ABSTRACTS FROM THE WORKSHOP *MEDIEVALISMS ON THE SCREEN*

The following are the abstracts to the paper presented at the conference *Medievalisms on the Screen: The Representation of the Middle-Ages in 21st Century Audiovisual Media*, which took place from April 29th to May 1st, 2021. The abstracts are listed in the order they were presented according to the conference's program. After the abstracts we publish seven papers of the conference which illustrate well our agenda. The conference covered a broad range of topics related to the contemporary use of medieval history and heritage in multiple forms, from video games to fashion. The organizing committee wants to extend its thanks to all the panelists who participated in our conference since it was their valuable contributions what led to the success of the conference.

Panel 1: Procedural Rhetoric in Medieval-Themed Games

Olga Kalashnikova (CEU): "Constructing the Middle Ages on the Screen: Procedural Rhetoric in *Civilization V, Kingdom Come: Deliverance* and *Medieval Dynasty*"

Over the last decades, video games have become a dominant mass medium in popular culture. Historical video games on the Middle Ages have received considerable scholarly attention as a useful educational tool about the past. Yet, the nature of the procedural rhetoric – a set of persuasive rules and mechanics medieval video games use – is not fully investigated. This paper moves the scholarly debate forward by considering game structure's potential to represent the Middle Ages not only in strategies but also in other genres of digital games. Relying on Bogost's methodology of the procedural rhetoric, I aim to explore how the concept of 'medievalism' is built in strategy, RPG, and simulation games. Three popular titles of different genres chosen as comparative case studies – *Civilization V* (2010, strategy), *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* (2018, action RPG), and *Medieval Dynasty* (2020, survival simulation) – will be analysed in terms of their representational

constructions and theoretical implications of the Middle Ages in simulated societies. The analysis of the games' procedural capacity to articulate the Middle Ages will be combined with a critical close reading of their narratives. The paper argues that while the strategy game's mechanics shapes the player's perception of 'medievalism' through the rise and fall of great political powers, the more gamer-oriented *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* and *Medieval Dynasty* engage with the Middle Ages by presenting models of social and political hierarchy.

Robert Houghton (University of Winchester):
"The Digital 'Dark Ages' and the Trouble with Tech Trees"

Digital games, like almost all popular media, have a problem with the Middle Ages. The period is almost invariably portrayed as violent, dark, and culturally and technologically backwards. From *Peasant's Quest* to *Dark Souls* games often echo the Humanist and Burckhardtian reframe of an age of mud and mundanity sandwiched between the glorious classical past and the bright modern future. In doing so these games cement this image of the period in the minds of their substantial and growing audience and hence provide fertile ground for the misuse of the period for modern political and social ends by actors from ISIS to the Alt-Right.

This paper addresses the main exception within this media: strategy games. Games of this genre such as the *Civilization*, *Total War* and *Age of Empire* series present human history – including the Middle Ages – as a Whiggish progression of cultural and scientific achievement, most blatantly through their complex and branching technological trees through which the player must pass over the course of the game. These mechanics typically contribute to a Eurocentric, colonialist and imperialist vision of history and the Middle Ages built around the axiom of constant and irreversible technological progress: troublesome and outdated, but nevertheless fundamentally at odds with the more traditional and typical depictions of the 'Dark Ages'.

This paper considers the interaction and tension between these two narratives within strategy games. I will argue that their representation of technological progress throughout the medieval period is driven by the constraints of game mechanics, the digital and physical heritage of the genre, and by the expectations of the player base. I will contend that this portrayal is nevertheless tempered by the more common 'Dark Age' model of the Middle Ages and highlight several of the oddities created by this combination. Ultimately I will highlight a number of novel approaches to the representation of medieval technology within the games industry and amongst gaming communities.

Daniel Wigmore (University of Southampton):
"National Identities and the Imposition of Authenticity in Strategy Games"

Modern understanding of the medieval world often highlights the patchwork of regional loyalties, familial ties and fractured identities that are thought to culminate in the earliest rumblings of national identity and the foundations of the first European nation-states. Few historians would argue that medieval identities can be understood in the same way that modern nationalisms and state loyalties can be, yet popular depictions of pre-modern societies often categorise various cultural groupings as such. It is patently useful for historians to group similar cultures or administrative structures together for ease of understanding, however the potential oversimplification in depicting these for gaming mechanics or narratives risks perpetuating myths of the period.

Videogames, particularly strategy games that focus on or even include the Middle Ages, often drawn their own conclusion as to what culture or 'civilisation' is suitable to depiction. *Age of Empires II* for example depicts the medieval English and Welsh as one unified 'Britons/British', while the Scottish and Irish are similarly thought of as 'Celts'. While *Age of Empires II*, *Rise of Nations* and *Empire Earth* all provide unique bonuses based on a historical perspective of that culture, other games, such as *Medieval II Total War* delegate or elaborate unit rosters to match the idea of what that nation 'should' specialise in. Sometimes this can be done effectively to show differences that appeared in various cultures, for example *Age of Empires II's* 'Britons' having a bonus to shepherding. Yet others, such as *Medieval II Total War*'s 'Noble Highland Archers' can impose a constructed sense of historical truth, regardless of accuracy or authenticity, for the sake of a difference in playstyle or to maintain a ludological consistency.

This submission aims to explore what role contemporary strategy games depict current national identities onto past societies, or what myths are fabricated through the imposition of a coherent national identity onto communities in which such broad loyalties were not yet formed. It ultimately intends to evaluate both the positive and negative implications of portraying the medieval world in this way, and whether constructing a game with this focus is helpful to public understanding of the past.

Panel 2: Medieval Ideas, Practices and Attitudes On-Screen

Petar Parvanov (CEU): "'All Death is Certain: Representations of Mortuary Behaviour in *Kingdom of Heaven*"

The critical reviews of Ridley Scot's Crusading Hollywood epic *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), and especially the Director's Cut on which I will also rely, have stressed on its allegorical treatment of contemporary Western interventions in the Near East. The story is set against the tense Christian-Muslim relations at the end of the twelfth century directly leading to Saladin's capture of Jerusalem and the subsequent Third Crusade. While the allusions to the recent conflicts in the region are a solid foundation for the movie plot, the academic discussion, if any, tends to focus on its reinvention of certain historical facts, most notably the biography of its protagonist Balian of Ibelin.

While authenticity of representation is a concern here as well, the form of medievalism examined in the presentation avoids the historicizing around the grand narrative of events and puts forward a number of scenes re-enacting attitudes towards death in medieval context. Unquestionably death and afterlife are a major theme in the movie and a strong motivation for its characters and actual historical people alike. Scholarship has long recognized the performative aspects of funerary behaviour and tried to reconstruct social roles and status through the treatment of the dead.

As even the title suggest, *Kingdom of Heaven* offers a variety of encounters with death as it begins with a suicide and fratricide, often depicts executions, post-battle treatment of casualties, macabre iconography, royal burial and so on. While the cast and crew became experimental historians (after Rosenstone 2006) in the process, they enabled the creative application of theoretically-informed models in medieval milieu. More importantly, the death representations demonstrate how funerary practices and monuments could convey powerful messages to the audiences and mobilize their potential to promote a certain image of both familiar or unnamed historical individuals

Kathleen Eck (Saint Louis University): "Modern Medieval Disability: Culture and Identity in *Game of Thrones*"

The television adaptation of George R. R. Martin's *A Song of Ice and Fire* series presents a plethora of opportunities for medieval studies and cultural analysis. *Game of Thrones*, though no longer in production, had a wide ranging viewership. This viewership regarded the societies represented in the show as medieval, or a

reflection of medieval culture mixed with fantasy. The HBO show covers many aspects of societal construction and function, including religion, gender relations, wartime actions, power struggles, and more. However, one area of medieval study in conjunction with the show rarely discussed from an academic perspective is the portrayal of disabilities in the show. There are multiple characters with ranging disabilities, both physical and cognitive, often overlooked in terms of a medieval analysis of the show.

Martin has been recognized for his portrayal of characters with disabilities and his inclusion of major disabled characters in his book series. The inclusion of these characters contributes to the breadth of representation in literature and television that the disability rights and justice community pursues, while also presenting a historical view of disability. Although there is little documentation on physical disabilities in the medieval period, the documentation in art and literature available is reflected in *Game of Thrones*. This representation is seen particularly in the characters of Tyrion Lannister, who is a dwarf, and Hodor, who is cognitively impaired.

This paper provides a close analysis of these two characters as they are portrayed in *Game of Thrones* in conjunction with evidence on disability in the medieval period. The combination of the historical social views and representations of disability and the television portrayal of the characters in their medieval society provide evidence for *Game of Thrones* as an accurate portrayal of disability in the middle ages

Tatiana Konrad (UniWien):
"The Dread of Aging: A Feminist Reading of *The Countess*"

This essay focuses on Julie Delpy's film *The Countess* (2009) that offers a fictional interpretation of the life of the Hungarian countess Elizabeth Bathory. Elizabeth Bathory is known as a sadistic and one of the most prolific female murderers. There is also a myth that she bathed in blood of virgin girls to preserve her young age and beautiful appearance. It is this myth that *The Countess* explores. In the film, the 39-year-old countess falls in love with a 21-year-old Istvan. The man confesses to the woman that he loves her, yet soon disappears (as revealed later in the film, Istvan's father, Count Thurzo, locks him in the house to make sure that his young son does not visit the countess anymore). Elizabeth is convinced that her young lover does not want to see her because she is old. The woman soon starts to use blood of virgin girls as a sort of remedy against aging, believing that blood of virgins makes her skin look younger, brighter, and smoother. This chapter examines age from a feminist studies perspective. In the film, Elizabeth is made to think of her

age as a drawback because of the existing patriarchal norms: a woman is an object that brings visual and sexual pleasure to a man. This thinking reclassifies aging (among other categories) as a deadly process for a woman: once "old," she is no longer a woman because her body cannot be figuratively and literally consumed by a man. The chapter will engage with these problematic categorizations of aging and womanhood. In addition, it will argue that Elizabeth's transformation into a sadistic murderer and deterioration of her mental health are direct outcomes of patriarchal oppression. The chapter will thus explicate how the past, as portrayed in *The Countess*, can help us better understand the present and the future and fight for gender equality.

Panel 3: Imagining Non-western Medieval Worlds

Claudia Bonillo (University of Zaragoza/University of Kyoto): "At a Gallop Through the Age of the Warring States: The History of the Takeda Clan According to *Nobunaga's Ambition: Sphere of Influence*"

As is well known, Japan is a powerhouse in the production of video games, many of which are set in its past and feature its great figures, especially from the turbulent Sengoku period (1467/1477–1603). The aim of this presentation is to analyze the representation of the Takeda clan, rulers of the Kai province (Yamanashi prefecture today) considered one of the most important and influential clans in the early years of this period, in the video game Nobunaga's Ambition: Sphere of Influence, developed by the Japanese company Koei in 2013 on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the *Nobunaga no Yabō* saga, a game that has been praised for its historical accuracy, in the international market but especially in Japan. Following an iconographic–iconological methodology, we will examine its historical events, scenes that can be unlocked by the player when they meet certain requirements during the game, which includes content that is considered "historical" by the game's developers. Specifically, we will study between the sixty-fourth and ninety-fourth scenes, as well as a few isolated ones of special relevance, which reflect the vision of the video game of the exploits of the Takeda clan during the socio-political landscape of the sixteenth century Japan. To do so, we will start with a perspective of the Takeda clan to contextualize it and highlight its importance throughout history. We will then delve into the selected historical events of the video game, contrasting the information they offer with primary and secondary historical sources, such as the chronicle Kōyō Gunkan, located mainly in Japan. We will finish with some conclusions about how this case study publicizes an

idealized, if not completely fictitious, view of medieval Japan inherited from the Edo Period (1615–1868).

Andre Magpantay (University of the Philippines): "Medieval Representation in Korean Dramas of the Silla, Goryeo and Jonseon Periods"

The rise of Korean historical dramas, or more locally known as Sageuks, have continuously influenced people's conception of medievalism in East Asia. These dramas are characterized by accurate representation of the past from the props, costumes, plot, and settings, achieved through meticulous production and computer-generated imagery. The productions are often supported by the government's cultural offices but at the same time accompanied by strict evaluations. Three dramas set in three of Korea's historical periods during the middle ages are analyzed in the aspects of (1) political condition, (2) state of the arts and culture, and (3) historical developments. The dramas chosen include Hwarang: *The Poet Warrior Youth*, *Moon Lovers: Scarlet Heart Ryeo*, and *Love in the Moonlight*, set in the periods of Silla, Goryeo, and Joseon, respectively. The analysis reveals the prominent mixture of fictional and non-fictional elements as seen in each of the dramas which include the rise of the beautifully dressed men-warriors in the Silla kingdom, while it struggles with political challenges brought upon by the "bone-rank system"; the political rivalry between the various-ranking princes as they fight for the throne of the Goryeo dynasty; and the Crown Prince of Joseon's struggle with an impending ouster plot from the palace accompanied by a growing threat of peasant revolts. These elements together with the political, social, and cultural conditions are historicized and compared with history texts and literatures with a focus on testing its accuracy and determining its limitations. The effects of these representations of Korea's middle ages are contextualized in the present and its influence on people's perception are studied using different theories in popular culture. The intended accuracy combined with the fictionalized plot is determined to be successful in creating a positive representation of Korea's history which is attributed to the careful research and tedious evaluation set by the country's cultural institutions. It is reasoned that the meaning-making process of the audiences based on their receptions of the drama plot can differentiate between the fictional and the non-fictional elements of the productions. The medieval representation in Korea's popular culture is determined to be significant in the wide dissemination of historical content and narrative in the country's mass media during the present time.

Lubna Irfan (Aligahr Muslim University): "Re-reading the 'Jodha-Akbar' in the Times of Love-Jihad in India"

The popular narrative of medieval Indian History has been divorced from its academic pursuits. This gap is the reason why modern day communalism against Muslim minorities in India fuel on the narrative of the past where 'muslim invaders' enslaved the 'hindu inhabitants'. The fact that there has been a long history of intercultural exchange and harmony between various groups is conveniently ignored by majority communalists. Amongst a plethora of issues that exist in this domain of communal tension in India between Hindus and Muslims there is one that is raging havoc in current times, that of *Love Jihad*, which is essentially a notion that Muslim men marry Hindu women and convert them to Islam.
The paper looks at the couple of Emperor Akbar and Queen Jodha (the Rajput wife of the Akbar) which has been idealised in Indian popular cinema. Even though historical researches have pointed out that it was Harkha bai and not Jodha bai who was the Rajput wife of Akbar, yet the name Jodha lives on in popular memory. This couple which has been depicted in *Mughal-i Azam* (1960), *Jodha Akbar* (2008) and the television series of the same name is considered a power couple in many ways. There is an underlying narrative in most of the popular depictions that Muslims who came to India in twelfth century AD were savages (for example the depiction of Alauddin Khilji in *Padmaavat*) and it was only the 'Hindus' who civilized (read Indianised) them. In the case of Akbar there is a clear depiction in these popular depictions that it was Jodha who made him human, it was Jodha who roused his interested in Hindu religion, it was Jodha who was responsible for his greatness. Historical research has highlighted that Akbar had keen interest in multicultural dialogue much before he married Jodha yet the popular narrative goes that it was Jodha who was the reason behind everything good that was there in Akbar. No matter how faulty this narrative is, in the light of Love Jihad issue the paper would reread, redefine and revive the fact that Jodha Akbar is essentially a popular love story in India which celebrated inter faith marriage.

Panel 4: On-screen Uses of the Middle Ages

Nuria Corral Sánchez (University of Salamanca): "(Re)thinking the Middle Ages: Didactic Proposals Around Audiovisual Culture"

In the twenty first century, our society usually approaches to History from audiovisual culture, moving further away from written sources. The results of this trend are shown in two ways: on the one hand, the opportunity to offer

the historical knowledge to a mass public and, on the other, the threat that such knowledge will be biased and misleading. This turn could reproduce anachronistic topics instead of pursuing its eradication. Bearing this in mind, we have carried out a teaching project that allows us to tackle these issues in the subject "History I", which belongs to the first year of the degrees in Art History and Geography at the University of Salamanca (Spain). Our main goal was to make a reflexive and active approach to these matters. These activities began as a part of a Teaching Innovation Project in the year 2017–2018, but its success encouraged us to continue it the following years.

As an introduction to this exposition, we will elaborate a theoretical review on the relations between the audiovisual medium and History. Then, we will present the development and methodology of the teaching proposal that was implemented. This proposal had two ways of application. First, we prepared some lessons using selected scenes from films and series and referring to the representation of the medieval period in cinema and television. Then, this practice led to a debate, thus combining a lecture and a practical session. The second aspect of our proposal was based on the voluntary elaboration of a graphic project – a poster – about a subject of their choice that linked this historical age and the audiovisual culture. In the seminar some examples of the activities carried out will be shown. Finally, the results will be analyzed, which have been valued by both the teaching staff – through the usual evaluation of tasks – and the students, through a survey on the project itself.

Marija Blaskovic (UniWien): "Benefit and Limitations of Multifaceted Self-referentiality in *Galavant*"

During the recent and ongoing explosion of medievalism, its aspects have been used for political, cultural and educational purposes. How powerful the modern-day film and TV can be as a tool for shaping perceptions is evident when suspension of belief and other notions of fiction need to be reiterated when dealing with historically important characters (just like the recent example of Netflix refusing to add the disclaimer to *The Crown* has shown). When teaching the Middle Ages, historians tend to point out and discuss cinematic inaccuracies and anachronisms, concluding that the medieval image is wrong in some way. While this conclusion is inevitable, what happens when an audiovisual representation is openly not interested in an accurate reconstruction of historical reality?

After award-winning screenwriters and composers teamed up to create the musical phantasy TV comedy *Galavant*, it received positive reviews and it was described as "owing a strong debt to Monty Python" (B. Lowry, *Variety*). The

2-seasoned TV series (2015–2016, ABC Studios, USA), set out in a thierteenth century unnamed kingdom, has a slow-pace plot development, enriched with songs and dance numbers and characters initially depicted as stereotypical "valiant knight", "fair lady", "evil king", etc.

Although historians tend to underline the limitations of medieval representations due to the commercial nature of the medium, Panofsky (1934) famously stated that medieval cathedrals and movies are both inherently commercial enterprises. The aim of this paper is not, therefore, to look for a-historicity in *Galavant*, but to engage with it from the perspective of Cultural Studies. How can it be effectively used as a tool for teaching? Its playful and satiric ways are regularly employed to expose the fallacies and challenges of not only audiovisual and performative storytelling, but also of medieval concepts, constructs and values.

Galavant is a multilayered world that actively engages with the Middle Ages as well as with other 'products' of medievalism. By reaching a level of self-referentiality that is rarely found, the show offers a new way to look at and deal with (our own representations of) the past. Moreover, by incorporating the twenty first century discourse on gender, psychology, nutrition, and other global trends, the TV series further allows us to reflect and question our own culture as well as identify phenomena of long durée.

Pablo Crovetto (University of Buenos Aires):
"The Use of Old-English in Twenty First Century Entertainment Media"

Anglo-Saxon culture has been a major source of inspiration for the creation of different types of audiovisual material. In particular, the last decades have witnessed how productions of motion pictures and series constantly resort to a variety of Anglo-Saxon elements to represent the worlds portrayed in these narratives.

One interesting element in the depiction of these worlds is the language they use. Although the language most commonly used is Modern English, there appear to be a number of productions that include instances of Old English. This can be seen, for instance, in the second movie of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy: *The Two Towers* (2002), *Beowulf* (2007), BBC's *Merlin* (2008), *Vikings* (2013) and *The Last Kingdom* (2015).

As can be seen, the above list is not homogenous. While some of these productions explicitly aspire to recreate medieval times, others depart from the realm of history into their own fantasy creations. The present paper aims at exploring the possible motivations and intentions in these productions behind the choice of Old English for specific moments. To answer this question, it is of utmost importance to understand the nature of the different worlds composed

in which Old English is used. At a first glance, the choice of Old English seems logical when authenticity is at stake. However, this does not always seem to be the case. There also appears to be an implicit connection between Old English and supernatural beliefs.

On-screen Abuses of the Middle Ages

Alexandra Gutiérrez Hernández, Carmen Sáez González
(University of Salamanca):
"The 'Evil' Architecture in Twenty First Century Disney Factory Productions"

Architecture is one of the essential elements in the construction of cinematographic spaces. Not only does it serve creators as a tool to set the narrative, but it can also function as a symbol or metaphor for a concept or emotion that you want to convey. To make these ideas go beyond the screen, the directors take inspiration from the different pre-existing architectural styles based on the feelings they intend to evoke in the viewer.

Throughout the history of cinema, some of these styles have frequently been linked to specific ideas, thus becoming the architectural image of a specific concept. Thus, the viewer, only through the contemplation of a construction of a specific style, can understand and foresee what is about to happen. The architectural styles of medieval times are some of the most used to carry out this task of association. For example, after decades of being associated with the great villains, the Goth has become a true trope of the evil. In this sense, as we will show in this communication, the Disney factory constantly uses these symbols to represent in a simple, but direct way, the idea of evil. The same logo of the production company is inspired by Alcázar de Segovia (Spain) built in the tweelfth century.

Focusing on productions made by the American dream factory of the last 20 years, we will analyze the different constructions made to house the perverse using the architecture of the Middle Ages. This clearly happens in productions such as *Beauty and the Beast* (2017 [1991]) where, despite the mixture of styles used for the total configuration of the castle, elements typical of Gothic architecture are used when referring to the cursed character of the construction. Something similar happens in other films such as *The Haunted Mansion* (2003), *Alice in Wonderland* (2010), *Maleficent* (2014/2019), etc. We will use all of them to carry out a first study of the presence of medieval architectural styles in the cinematographic works of the Disney factory under the premise of the use of the medieval as a symbol of the infamous.

Tess Waterson (University of Adelaide): "'Your Judgement Must be your Guide': Persecuting Witches in Medievalist Fantasy Role-Playing Games"

The figure of the witch has had a complicated history. This paper will focus on particular narratives of witchcraft persecution that operate in medievalist computer role-play games (CRPGs) purely in service of the main narrative of a heroic player-character, often subverting historicity in order to produce an effective RPG. In examining the way these narratives are presented to the player, it is clear that many of these witch characters do not exist on their own terms but as background to the player-character – a difficult positioning to reconcile with other elements of witchcraft historiography that has been propelled by the reclamation and re-centring of women's voices.

Video games represent a divergence from other historical representations of witchcraft due to the mechanics and cultural positioning of the medium. The witch occupies a consistent place in fantasy medievalist video games, which may seem problematic given that the narratives represented are often actually Early Modern, but can shed light on the creators who envision the witch as so firmly relegated to a medieval past. The witch as a victim of persecution in these games fits in to a longer set of conventions around crime and justice in video games, which position a heroic player-character as the arbiter of justice.

The case studies in this paper will explore the seeming desire for a "modern" thinking hero to resolve the problem of witchcraft in a medieval past. Examining the role of the character Abigail in *The Witcher* (2007) and the positioning of the player-party in relation to witchcraft in *Darklands* (1992), this paper is interested in understanding the historical contexts of game designers that seem determined to use witches in order to create morally interesting medievalist narratives. In both games, the witch characters are a prop to aid the development of the player-character/s' narrative, and a test against which to clarify their own moral positioning. Given the turbulent historiography of witchcraft in the last half-century, it is not surprising that different popular historical representations reproduce varying versions of this past, but exactly which witches reflects more on the present than past. This paper is an element of a broader PhD thesis on how and why these gendered representations of witches in medievalist RPGs align or diverge from broader cultural traditions of representation.

Mateusz Ferens (University of Wisconsin-Madison): "1453 in 2020: The Mythistorical Rhetoric in Netflix's Latest Docudrama"

A number of representations of Constantinople's fall in 1453 have appeared in film in recent years. These include productions such as the Turkish comedy *Kahpe Bizans* (2000) which presents the Byzantine past as a decadent backwater while poking fun at modern Turkish pop-culture. Another Turkish film, the state-sponsored drama *Fetih 1453* (2012), provides a glorified version of the conquest of Constantinople from the Ottoman perspective. And in 2008, the Russian documentary *Gibel Imperii* (The Death of Empire: Lesson from Byzantium) stirred political sensitivities when it drew parallels between Byzantium's collapse and the outsourcing of current Russian culture to the West. Judging by this selection of films, the historical event of 1453 appears to be ripe territory for today's national and socio-cultural politics. Byzantine history thus serves as a stage for comedic satire, it plays the part of the downtrodden victim of (righteous) conquest, and it provides Russians with a lesson on how not to outsource one's culture to the West.

Netflix's new docudrama *Rise of Empires: Ottoman* (2020) is different – or, at least, it pretends to be different. In my analysis of this series, I find that the producers chose to present a mythistorical account of Constantinople's fall – a kind of presentation that changes the perceived historicity of the event. The mythistorical approach incorporates myth as a primary source, and it presents history as a self-aware narrative rather than as a series of objective facts. The historians interviewed in the series and the footage work together to blur myth and history into a single amalgamated narrative. So, how does this approach effect the way a historical event is interpreted?

In my paper, I analyze the advantages of a mythistorical approach and how it differs from the empirical approach. In taking a closer look at Netflix's docudrama, I find that mythistory introduces a very different kind of authenticity for the documentary genre. At the same time, I find that Netflix's series is not free of politicization. On the contrary, the series fits quite well in the unfolding appropriations of Byzantine history that is being played out in film. But what Netflix has done so effectively and so differently from previous films is the way it uses mythistory to amplify the authority of its message.

Panel 6: Medievalism and National Symbolism

Francis Mickus (Sorbonne University): "From CNN to YouTube: Henry V in the Digital Age"

Seventy-five years after its initial release, Olivier's 1944 *Henry V* remains the template for filming Shakespeare's play. Subsequent adaptations follow its basic structure, with the Battle of Agincourt at its core. What has changed are attitudes towards war and heroism. More ill at ease with *warlike Harry*, Branagh's 1989 version, presents a darker Henry and the play becomes grittier: after Vietnam and the Falklands, war had become politically more questionable. Western Europe had not seen war on its soil since Olivier's day. The following twenty years only confirmed that trend, and when Peter Babakitis made his version of the film in 2007, wedged between the two Gulf Wars, the play again served as a metaphor for media manipulation.

The two first decades of the century have witnessed the explosion of the internet with access to images and information so immediate that they become difficult to actually verify. Next to highly researched and documented catalogues from sites like the British Library, there are a number of webpages that say virtually anything. Between these extremes we run the entire gamut of sources and interpretations: newspapers, personal blogs, television downloads, MOOC's and YouTube free-form videos. All this information is placed on the same level. Alongside the great advances in conventional history, we have the internet's viral and highly emotional user-responses, one post is followed by hundreds of comments leading to another post.

This practice in turn influences the very historians who should know better: is Henry V a war criminal as Desmond Seward paints him, or a model king, following Malcolm Vale's presentation? What did his face look like: is the profile portrait hiding the scar? Internet crowding makes the Middle Ages seem darker, and in many ways more mysterious and complex today than they did seventy years ago, and that is reflected in the later versions of Henry V, such as the *Hollow Crown* series or Netflix' recent *The King* (a film that is only nominally linked to Henry V).

How to come to terms with such a mess? Perhaps by taking our time, logging off and rereading Shakespeare. Like its historical namesake, *King Henry V* is known for its ambivalence. It is a play that demands the audience's sustained attention, with various levels of information: Agincourt itself is reduced to a joke.

Anne Tastad (University of British Columbia): "HERESY: A Folklore-inspired Streetwear Brand Refashions British Heritage"

Within Britain, interest in the country's ancient rural landscapes, folklore, and vernacular traditions has been long-standing. These subjects have fascinated academics for centuries but also, more recently, the general public, with folkloric themes and imagery frequently reflected in mass media. Though scholars have analyzed these themes in popular film, literature, and music, the use of folkloric material in fashion design has received little attention. Contributing to the limited scholarship on this subject, this paper focuses on HERESY, a London-based streetwear brand that exemplifies the creative repurposing of Britain's pre-modern heritage and folk culture in contemporary fashion. In its clothing design and merchandising, HERESY utilizes obscure or esoteric imagery drawn from British folk culture, such as green men, prehistoric hill figures, and agrarian motifs. Without referencing a specific historical period, these images serve as ghostly allusions to Britain's pre-modern, vernacular heritage. These visual references are then paired with more modern design elements to create garments that integrate tradition and modernity. Drawing on critical discussions of nostalgia and hauntology, I argue that HERESY uses the medium of fashion to center peripheral traces of Britain's past. In doing so, the brand creates an "alternative heritage" (Powrie 2000, 325) that emphasizes the hybridity and pluralism which underlies British history and national identity. By deconstructing the idea of Britishness as an exclusive, monolithic category, HERESY's designs function as progressive sociopolitical counter-narratives to the insular, conservative rhetoric that characterizes British political discourse in the era of Brexit.

Nicola Carotenuto (Oxford University): "*Barbarossa* (2009), Between History, Fiction and Propaganda"

In 2009 the movie Barbarossa premiered in Italy. Albeit widely regarded as a very unsuccessful product, the movie has been a prominent attempt by the Italian Northern League party (Lega Nord) to assert its identity through history, and this paper will deal with the significance of this film in the construction of the identity of a far right party, examining the role played by the Middle Ages in its mythopoeia.

In the first part of the paper the movie will be analyzed. As Tommaso di Carpegna Falconierai has highlighted in an article on the movie, the emperor is not the protagonist of the movie, but rather a figure obscured by the fame of the fictional Alberto da Giussano, whose love for Eleonora plays a crucial role in the

film. Thanks to a thorough analysis of the film, it will be possible to highlight the role played by the ideology of the Italian *comune* and their strenuous fight against the German emperor as the founding myth of the northern league.

In a second part of the paper the role played by history in crafting the Northern League party will be assessed. Unlike other far right parties, which usually make reference to national history alone, the myth of this party was founded on a bizarre mélange of Celtic legends and medieval history. In short, in both cases a fight between the original settlers of northern Italy and the invaders is portrayed, a clear reference to the nationalist nature of the party and to its vision of a dichotomy between Rome and the northern regions of Italy.

Finally, other historical manipulations of the history of Frederick I will be examined, in order to understand how the same period could serve as the historical justification for the assertion of independence. Reference will be made in particular to the peace of Venice and to how the historical facts were used, on that occasion as well, to assert the identity of the city against the tyrannical nature of the emperor.

In conclusion, the Middle Ages has proven a fertile ground for the far right, and this paper will try to understand how the historical past of the Northern Italian regions has been encapsulated within the ideological narrative of a far right party which traced its origins back to Celtic roots.

Panel 7: Medievalisms, Politics and Identity

Annika Christensen (University of Leeds): "Whiteness as an Indicator of Nordic Authenticity: Exploring the Images of Whiteness in Video Games"

Abstract: The inclusion of Medieval Scandinavia and Norse mythology has been prevalent in the gaming industry for several years. This paper will explore how these games use skin-color as markers of belonging and cultural origin and produce white essentialism as markers of Scandinavian and Norse authenticity.

Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen write that whiteness is an intrinsic part of Nordic Exceptionalism and Nordic self-representation. Using Edward Said's concept of *Orientalism* (1978) and Kristinn Schram's reworking of Said's ideas in her concept of *Borealism* (2011), this paper seeks to draw together the issues videogames have in using essential whiteness as markers for Nordic/Scandinavian authenticity. I will argue that other discussions of race and representations are either excluded, or veiled in stereotypical displays of blatant exoticism. I will also argue by drawing on Loftsdóttir and Jensen that this cannot be isolated in the industry of popular culture but is a socio-cultural issue systematic exclusion of a Scandinavian/Nordic identity that is not white.

This paper furthermore critiques the fact that when issues of authenticity are presented in relation to depiction of Medieval Scandinavia and Norse mythology, these are often related to racial representation in particular. There are indications that representation of characters that are not white is problematic when it comes to creating an 'authentic' representation in a fictive reproduction of Medieval Scandinavia and Norse mythology. I therefore argue that the issues of representation are not based on a desire for an accurate representation of the past, but is informed by contemporary perceptions of Nordic Exceptionalism and whiteness as a marker of Scandinavian/Nordic identity.

Steffen Hope (Linnaeus University): "Dreams of a Norse Origin Story: Fantasy, Pseudo-history, and Fiction in the Reception of the Vinland Sagas"

Many photos went viral following the attempted coup in Washington D.C., January 06. Those of one insurrectionist, dressed in a Native American headdress, his torso covered in tattoos of white supremacist symbolism based on Nordic runes, have become the most emblematic of the thought-world that fueled a significant number of the terrorists. This blend of Native American and Norse symbols can be understood in a range of different ways, and this specific combination is the product of the insurrectionist's imagination. Consequently, the combination itself should not necessarily be considered representative of how the American white supremacist milieu employs historical reference points.

However, this combination of Native American and Norse symbols must be understood against a long-standing cultural backdrop in which the historical contact between Norse seafarers and Native Americans has left a significant mark in modern popular culture. By imagining a deeper, more impactful, long-lasting contact between the Norse and the Native Americans, several authors, film-makers and computer game designers have employed this historical starting point as a way to develop narratives that exaggerate and amplify the Norse presence in pre-Columbian America.

While most of the cultural products do not purport this exaggerated contact to be anything but fictional, one consequence of this continuous, ubiquitous and multi-faceted engagement with the idea of a widespread Norse presence in pre-Columbian America might be that it has helped the formation of ideas among white Americans that the Vikings are as much a part of America's history as the Native Americans, that the mixing of Native American and Norse symbolism point to a Norse origin story for USA.

This paper does not aim to identify the possible sources of this white supremacy fantasy origin story. Rather, the purpose is to explore some of the ways

the historical contact between the Norse and the Native American cultures have been developed in films and computer games. Through a handful of examples, such as *Pathfinder* (2007) and *Age of Empires II* (2000) I aim to demonstrate some of the flexibility of this fantasy, and how it might have opened up for a repurposing of the topoi for white supremacist fantasies of an origin story centered on Norse culture. I thereby hope to provide a better understanding of how these cultures can be misappropriated and abused by modern white supremacists.

Jordan Voltz (CEU): "The Devil Wears a Wizard's Robe: Medievalism in the Religious Right's Discourse Surrounding *Dungeons & Dragons* in 1980's America"

The discourse in the United States surrounding Dungeons and Dragons revealed a deep moral and religious concern about contemporary Christianity, in which anti-Christian agents were cast in medievalist settings and aesthetics in order to present their evil as an existential threat to the present in which the gothic return of an age-old and suppressed antagonism of Christianity attempted to corrupt the youth and righteous adults must stop them through the architecture of politics and organized religion. While similar phenomena were common throughout the satanic panics of the 80s, the medievalist aesthetics of dungeons and dragons was suitably adapted to the imaginations of entrepreneurs of the religious right's moral panic. Unlike contemporary right-wing medievalism, their foes in the culture war of the 1980s did not occupy the same temporal (medieval) space. The religious right were not besieged Christians at the Battle of Vienna or righteous knights combatting their evil foe on a coeval plain. Their enemies were depicted as evil and barbaric in their medievalism, while the religious right occupied a present in which Christianity was a critical facet of public and political life. From the comics of Jack Chick to the film adaptation of Mazes and Monsters, these crusaders against the satanic influence of Dungeons and Dragons creatively utilized latent medievalisms rooted in their gothic tradition (which they shared with Dungeons and Dragons) in order to express the evil of their ancient antagonist. From labyrinthine sewage systems which provide shelter for the unhoused to the basements of college fraternities, these subterranean spaces and the monsters within them demonstrate a re-imagination of the medieval to include pernicious aspects of the present which threatens to corrupt and destroy it

PAPERS FROM THE WORKSHOP *MEDIEVALISMS ON THE SCREEN*

BARBAROSSA (2009): A MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY FROM PARCHMENT TO SCREEN

Nicola Carotenuto, Oxford University

The fascination of far-right movements for a mythological past, supposedly heralded as the forerunner of Western civilization, is a well-established field of inquiry. The case study of the Northern League for the Independence of Padania in Italy (Lega nord per l'indipendenza della Padania; hereafter, the Northern League), with particular reference to the figure of Federico Barbarossa, is indeed a powerful reminder of the ubiquitousness of the recourse to the past to justify the present. In this paper, I will try to explain how the Northern League has repurposed the past of the Italian communes and the (hi)story of Barbarossa, and the similarities between this use and past politicizations of the conflict between the emperor and Italian communes, with particular reference to medieval Venice. In this article, I will contend that there is significant overlapping between the weaponization of the same historical episode by the Northern League and medieval Venice. Centuries apart, both used Barbarossa as a tool to assert identity, whereas in medieval Venice this was part of a broader discourse surrounding the *libertas* of the city, whilst in the case of the League it was conducive to the idea of being an 'original' party, linked to centuries-old traditions of Northern Italy. I will analyze both to showcase similarities and differences in the political use of the Middle Ages.

On the first of December 1990 a group of followers of what was then a mostly local party met in Legnano, a village in the countryside of Milan, where in 1176 the imperial troops and the Italian communes clashed. The 'Lumbard' (the Lombards, i.e. the League affiliates) declared Legnano their symbol. As a local councilor admitted "in truth, we had thought of Pontida as well as the capital of the League, but then we considered our town and our monument dedicated to the warrior, which has always been our symbol".[1] The ceremony was attended by the party leader and by an MEP, who also delivered a speech. The choice of the location rested on the presence of the statue of the warrior, a living symbol of the fight against

[1] F.S., "Da Domani será la citta simbolo dei Lumbard", *Corrriele della Sera,* Dece,ber 1, 1990, 44.

Roman oppression. However, the choice of the statue presented several drawbacks. The "soldier" is in fact a generic warrior meant to symbolize a weary yet victorious fighter after the battle, not the mythological Alberto da Giussano, the alleged twelfth-century forerunner of the secessionist fight against Rome spearheaded by the Northern League. As the journalist who penned the article on the 1990 episode noted, the statement carved on the base of the statue reads "Legnano and Rome are united throughout the centuries to ensure the destiny of Italy", a phrase befitting a statue unveiled in 1900, when the fight of the communes against the emperor was heralded as a remote example of the fight against foreign invaders, laying the ground for Italian reunification. However, this was hardly resonating with the anti-Rome message of the League at the time. It is perhaps surprising that the party chose Legnano over Pontida as the "symbol city", yet this choice gives us a glimpse into the role of the mythological past vis-à-vis the narrative of the party. The other city mentioned here, Pontida, has served for decades as the background for the annual meeting of the party. It was selected as here the oath of Pontida would have been sworn; it is the city where the Italian communes vowed to fight against the emperor. In truth, Pontida was identified already in the nineteenth century as the starting point of the reunification process of Italian states, culminating in 1861. As a 1867 memorial stone inspired by the Historic-Archaeological Society of Pontida states, 'on the 7th of April 1167, the delegates of the cities that would have constituted the Lombard League swore in Pontida to rebuild Milan', an 'act symbolic of national harmony.' In short, the Lombard (Northern) League party chose several symbols linked to nineteenth century nationalism reversing their symbolical power as national unifiers, repurposing them as the forerunners of the fight against centralism. The mythological narrative of the fight against the emperor proved particularly useful in this process of identity-building.

It is thus no surprise that on July 27th, 2008, Umberto Bossi, the then leader of the Northern League declared "Barbarossa today is not a person, but rather a state: centralized Italy. And, I am the new Alberto da Giussano". He then affirmed that the true value of the story had to be found in the appeal to freedom, which according to him "must be seized by force, if necessary. It is better to die than to live as slaves".[2] The reason why Umberto Bossi felt the need to mention Barbarossa, alongside Alberto da Giussano, was the ongoing production of a movie endorsed by the Northern League titled 'Barbarossa' (2009), inspired by the political ideals

[2] Elsa Muschella, "Bossi: Io il nuovo Alberto da Giussano. L'Italia centralista e Barbarossa", *Corriere della Sera*, July 28, 2008, 9.

of the party.[3] From the onset, the viewer, after a vision of flames, is presented with the setting of the scene "Italy. 12th century. The northern lands are ruled by a German emperor, Frederick Hohenstaufen, called Barbarossa. His dream is to conquer the lands of central and southern Italy, so as to revive Charlemagne's empire. In the lands of the North, there is a young boy from Milan, Alberto da Giussano. His dream is to defeat the emperor and give freedom back to his people".

The alleged Alberto da Giussano would have saved the life of the emperor, only to be subsequently ashamed by the extortions and injustices of his officials. After the episode, the entire set of standard debasements of the Middle Ages is presented: arbitrary punishments, superstition, mistreatment of women, sorcery, knights storming the countryside alongside details such as a music sheet written in an implausible twelfth century script, perfectly polished and shining brick-houses, a baroque throne, and an even dialogue in modern French, with the inevitable love story. The key word of the series is undoubtedly "Il milanesi vogliono l'indipendenza" (the Milanese people aspire to independence) as opposed to "the glory of Frederick's universal empire". The emperor marches steadily across the Alps, like a new Hannibal, or more likely Napoleon, while the communes scramble to defend themselves. The consuls of Milan disdain any compromise with the German ruler, and Milan is protected by the holy influence of the new-found bodies of the Three Wise Men. The armies of the emperor are sabotaged while crossing a river on a flooding bridge of ships, and knights in full armor appear to be perfectly able to swim. Alberto da Giussano, just like William of Ibelin in the film *Kingdom of Heaven*, is portrayed as working as a blacksmith, and is abruptly informed that the city of Brescia has been destroyed and 1,000 casualties left on the ground; he replies "we will no longer be slaves."

Desperate and unprepared is the city of Milan at the sight of Barbarossa, hardly difficult to miss given the orographic details of the area surrounding the place. The siege of the city is clearly reminiscent of the besieging of Jerusalem in *Kingdom of Heaven*, albeit with far less spectacular special effects. While the emperor is marching southwards, the plague crashes his ambition, while the *compagnia della morte*, a squad of soldiers bound to vindicate the oppressed liberty, is formed by the inhabitants of the beleaguered northern cities, a sort of reenacting of Robin Hood's adventures against the perfidious king John. They are indeed driven by the pursuit of freedom, a slogan iteratively repeated by the feasting soldier while acclaiming their leader Alberto da Giussano, happily engaged and then married. The epopee ends with the final annihilation of the imperial troops and the standing ovation of

[3] See Tomasso di Carpegna Falconieri, "Barbarossa e la lega nord: a proposito de un film, delle storie e della storia", *Quaderni Storici,* vol. 44, no. 132, no. 3 (December 2009), 859–878.

the troops of the Italian communes surrounding a *carroccio*, the carriage representing the league of the communes.

Reactions to the movie were manifold. A large number of scholars have pointed out the numerous anachronisms of the movie. The historian Franco Cardini, for one, has described the historical research behind the film as "a ridiculous heap of lies and falsities, in the best scenario a recycling of pseudo-historical Risorgimento clichés, associated with a trivial propaganda".[4] Others have condemned the Ministry for Cultural Activities, and the Italian National Broadcaster (RAI) for having sponsored this work. Yet, the main criticism has been the weakness of the plot itself (and the heavy reliance on previous similar movies) and the weaponization of the past for modern political purposes.

The Italian film critiques was unanimous in presenting it as one of the greatest fiascos of recent times, and the box office confirmed this impression. *Il Mattino* spoke of a movie "adopted as a cultural, political and ideological manifesto of the Padania". Even the more sympathetic newspaper *Il Giornal*e labelled it as "Lombard-Northern League megalomania", while the mainstream *Corriere della sera* underscored the absence of Italian actors, the lack of pathos, epopee, and tensions, as well as logical leaps and oversimplification. *Liberazione* titled "is it a film or a parody?", mocking the cameo by Bossi himself, whereas the Catholic newspaper *L'osservatore romano* brand it "an indigestible and emphatic meat loaf".[5]

The then undersecretary for Infrastructure, Roberto Castelli (Northern League) vehemently protested against the Italian Association of Film Producers for having advanced Baaria by Tornatore over Barbarossa for the Oscars. As he declared in 2009, Barbarossa "is poised to be one of the greatest blockbusters to be ever produced in Italy, and would certainly be worthy of being proposed amongst the movies that will represent Italy at the Oscar ceremony". The movie was unabashedly embraced by the Northern League. A trailer was presented in 2009 at the official meeting of the party in Pontida. In the original video of the event, the official flag of the party was ostensibly displayed in the background, centered on the image of Alberto da Giussano. From the podium the speaker screamed at the end of the trailer "these were our ancestors, who fought for our freedom". A clear link between the fight of the Italian communes and the secession of Northern Italy, spearheaded by the party, was presented to the audience that cheerfully rallied to the cry of "freedom" and "independence". To complete the spectacular presentation of

[4] F. Cardini, "Barbarossa e le bugie di Martinelli", *Il Tempo,* October 17, 2009. http://www.ariannaeditrice.it/articolo.php?id_articolo=28369

[5] For a collection of reviews, see *Cineblog,* http://www.cineblog.it/post/19138/barbarossa-di-renzo-martinelli-i-commenti-della-crititca (Accessed on February 8, 2021).

the movie, the film had a bombastic premiere at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, and was gleefully and duly applauded by Bossi, who celebrated "the history of our people, which has regained freedom". The official newspaper of the party devoted five entire pages to the event that gathered all the leaders of the center-right. The appeal to this mythological past was quite unique within the landscape of Italian politics. All other parties had their roots in more mainstream European political families. The party could then stand out from the others thanks to this rich imaginary in sharp contrast with all other political formations. The quest for origin was indeed celebrated each year at Pontida, where affiliates gathered and celebrated the struggle for freedom from the Italian yoke. Indeed, the event also vividly visualized the vast array of cultural underscoring to the movement: Braveheart-style clad politicians, Viking shields, Celtic symbols, and generally medieval armored aficionados. As a popular song ("Giro di vite", crackdown) by the band Modena City Ramblers put it in 1996 in Pontida you could find "engineers with a long swear, and dentists in full armor".

Pontida was the main event of the Lega political calendar, the other being a smaller scale meeting in Venice, called "the feast of the people of Padania" (Northern Italy). The recourse to the past served to reassert the original nature of the Lega, to create a connection with past struggles for freedom, and to forge a specific identity of the party. Bereft of Christian values and of a liberalist ideology, there was little space for traditional right-wing imaginary in the Lega. As happened with the Front National in France, and its obsession for Jeanne d'Arc, the party had to find a founding character, and ironically it relied on Alberto da Giussano, the alleged leader of the revolt against the emperor. In fact, such a figure never existed, and was rather forged by Galvano Fiamma, a fourteenth century Milanese chronicler.

However, the most striking aspect is probably the unconscious use of nineteenth century ideology. Truth to be told, most of the ideological underpinnings to this epic struggle between the communes and the emperors derive from the *Risorgimento* tradition, where ironically they served as the justification of the anti-Austrian campaign. In the first half of the nineteenth century a poem specifically celebrated the event. Giovanni Berchet, an Italian patriot, composed in 1829 an ode titled "The Oath of Pontida", which reads "the Lombards are unanimous, bound together by a league. The invader will dye with its blood the hoisted flag", much like the famous passage from the Marseillaise. The oath is a potent imaginary construct that underpins classic poems such as "March 1821", and was translated into visual representation by Giuseppe Diotti in 1837 in Cremona. Ironically, no contemporary document mentions Pontida, first recalled by a sixteenth century

local historian named Bernardino Corio. However, this cultural appropriation by the Northern League, a party that purported to promote the independence from Italy, of a quintessential nationalist tradition that longed for the reunification of Lombardy and Veneto to Italy, is noteworthy. Much like the official anthem of the party, the *Va' Pensiero*, by Verdi.

There is no need to stress here the endless stream of historical inaccuracies that taints these reconstructions, as they are self-evident. There was certainly not a national or ethnical struggle against the emperor. There were few joint political goals beyond the fight against him, and no clear-cut dichotomy between the emperor and the Italians (at the end, the doctrine of the *regalia* was elaborated by jurists from Bologna). The alleged unity of Italian communes was nothing but a myth, and once the fight with the emperor was over, quarrels amongst cities erupted again. But, since my area of expertise is medieval Venice, I would like to highlight a similar weaponization of Barbarossa for political ends in the Middle Ages, using visual medias. The leap from a 2009 movie to a fourteenth century manuscript may seem incongruous, but there is a purpose in examining possible comparisons between the use of the past in the Middle Ages and in the twenty-first century, especially since in both cases it is conducive to circulating a narrative regarding the myth of the origin. The Correr Museum in Venice preserves a lavishly illustrated manuscript dated between 1370 and 1425 (Ms Correr 1497).[6] This manuscript is a collection of three texts, including a Venetian rendition of the Latin "History of the Discord and Persecution that Opposed the Church to Frederick 'Barbarossa', at the time of the Supreme Pontiff Alexander III and of the ensuing peace agreed in Venice", compiled by the Venetian notary Bonincontro de Bovis, a text whose main purpose was depicting Venice as the hinge of twelfth century geopolitics, and to lay the ground for the image of Venice as a well- ordered and peaceful republic. In fact, the episode of the Peace of Venice (1177) enjoyed a sizeable number of representations both in Venice and beyond, witnessing for the use of visual media as potent conveyors of political messages in the Middle Ages as well. It was represented by Spinello Aretino in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena in 1408, in the Lateran Palace of Rome, and in the Venetian doge's palace.

Venice had a negligible significance within the uprising of the communes and their leagues. It acted as the ultimate lender to the communes, and did not wish to be dragged beyond repairs into a conflict with a ruler who was able to control its commercial arteries. The choice of the city for the signing of the truce amongst

[6] See the record of the codex on *Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta* http://www.nuovabibliotecamanoscritta.it/Generale/ricerca/AnteprimaManoscritto.html?codiceMan=8605&tipoRicerca=AN&urlSearch=pagCorrente%3D610.3%26totElementi%3D16736 (Accessed on February 8, 2021).

the communes, the empire, and the papacy was largely random, and rested on the necessity to find a sufficiently neutral setting. The city of Venice was easier to reach, and conveniently close to both the imperial territories and northern Italy. Yet, recasting the episode of the Peace of Venice served two purposes: to credit Venice as the mastermind behind the treaty, and to extol the city as a truly free city, befitting such a pivotal event. As for the first aspect, Bonincontro masterfully inserts a dialogue between the emperor and the pope to substantiate his claims and to corroborate the Doge's power aspirations. Two parasols are set for the emperor and the Pope, yet the Pope insists that a third be made ready for the Doge "and the Lord Emperor said: there are but two lords on earth who are entitled to use these umbrellas, namely you and me. And you would like the Doge to be the third of us? This bemused me. And the lord Pope answered: the reason being that the Doge and I are but the same thing".[7] In fact, Bonincontro's insistence on Venice as a free city was part of a wider myth surrounding the city of Venice. As even an external observer notes in the same century, Venice "is only subject to God".[8] In the inscriptions paired with the lost frescoes of the Peace in the Doge's palace, the city is described as "the free city of Venice",[9] a term echoed by the contemporary Obone from Ravenna.[10] Even more interestingly, the peace of Venice serves to reassert the identity of Venice as a maritime city, entrusted with the dominion of the entire Adriatic by the Pope, who allegedly would have proclaimed the Doge "the lord of the salty sea", bestowing upon him the political and symbolical dominion over the waters through the ceremony of the marriage of the sea, "telling him to marry the sea as a man marries a woman to become the lord thereof".[11] The masterful use of several episodes, such as the generous welcome to the Pope coming to Venice in disguise, the marriage of the sea, the gift of *insignia*, the centrality of the Doge, are elements of a rich tapestry used to justify the dominion of Venice and to convey an image befitting a powerful city free as the sea, and so peaceful that it could be selected as the location for the most important event of twelfth century history of Italy. The use of this episodes serves the purpose of circulating a narrative of identity, but unlike the case of the Northern League it is not just a confrontational identity, negotiated through battle, but rather based on diplomacy and on the

[7] Marin Sanudo, *Le vite dei Dogi*, ed. Giovanni Monticolo, in *R.I.S.*, II, 22, no. 4 (Vatican City, 1900–1911), 407.

[8] *De Pace Veneta relatio,* MGH, *Scriptores,* vol. 19 (Sttutgart, 1866), 462, line 13.

[9] Sanudo, *Le vite dei Dogi*, 347.

[10] Sanudo, *Le vite dei Dogi,* 464.

[11] C. Campana, "S. Ubaldo Salvatore, San Marco", in *Historiae,* ed. Claudio Azzara (Venice, 2013). The ceremony is described in E. Muir, *Civic ritual* (Princeton, 1981), 199–134.

subtle art of peace. However, the anti-hero, the German emperor against whom the Venetian galleys are dispatched at the invented battle of S. Salvore – such a potent image that it was represented even in Siena – is also evoked as the enemy against whom Venice stands to defend the entire Christian world. The *historia ducum* explicitly states, regarding the earlier military enterprises against the emperor, that "the emperor Frederick strived to bring the Doge and Venice under his imperial yoke". The identity of Venice thus emerges as both the inspirer of the fight against the emperor, and the generous host of the truce between the papacy and the empire.

In truth, the historical event was quite an organizational nightmare for the city. Venice had to be sure about the safe arrival of all the guests, and to provide an adequate setting for all the ceremonial acts that would have subsequently taken place. It was not an easy task, especially since Venice itself had papal and imperial factions, but the Venetian themselves were certainly not the masterminds behind the Peace of 1177. All contemporary accounts focus on the emperor prostrated in front of the Pope, and the ensuing absolution from the excommunication. On 18 September 1177, in the church of Saint Mark, a synod was summoned, to ratify the peace amongst the empire, the communes, the papacy and the kingdom of Sicily. The only text to mention the Venetians were *De pace veneta relatio*, written by an English witness, which recalls the presence of two great ships with the flag of Saint Mark and of a seat for the Patriarch of Venice (in truth, the Patriarch of Grado). The only proactive function of the Venetian is hinted by the text of the *Chronicon* by Romualdo of Salerno, according to whom a faction of the Venetian plotted with the emperor to expedite his arrival in the city, but as soon as the news spread, the Sicilians protested and stupefied Venetian merchants floated to the palace of the doge begging him to stop those rumors, which he duly did.

Given this historical background, it is all the more surprising that Venetians were able to present a narrative according to which endless honors would have been bestowed upon the city of Saint Mark by the Pope and the emperor. In fact, the only known privileges are some concessions to the monasteries of Saint Zachary and Saint George by the pope, a reiteration of the traditional commercial agreement with the empire and the exemption from the payment of custom fees in the territories of the empire. Greatness of imagination from such small historical beginnings, one would say. Venetians brazenly affirmed that the ceremony of the wedding of the sea would directly stem from such a prestigious meeting, and was attended by the Pope and the emperor. According to this legend, the Pope would have granted Venice a general indulgence. In fact, when the Venetian pope Paul II did grant a general indulgence to the city, he specified that, despite lengthy research, he could not find a single papal or authentic document to support the claim of the

concession of his predecessor. According to the now-lost medieval frescoes of the Duke's palace, the Doge Sebastiano Ziani would have been offered to sit alongside the Pope and the Emperor, and the *pontifex* would have given to the Doge the *insignia,* the symbol of his power. The Venetian repurposed their historical past to political ends to assert their independence and to justify their political claims. To achieve this goal, they invented papal indulgences, imperial concessions, and even the arrival of the Pope in the city in disguise. As a finishing touch, they even claimed that the Venetian would have fought against the emperor in a naval battle, known as the fight of Capo Salvore (Savudrija).

Of course, between the fourteenth century Venetian retelling of this episode and the 1990 political rally lies a long sequence of recasting of the history of Frederick for political aims. The story of the fight against the emperor serves as a white canvas, enriched and shaped by the goals of each generation. In the case of Venice, it was meant to celebrate the city and its regiment, in the nineteenth century it served as the lynchpin for the fight against foreign armies invading Italy, while in more recent times it was weaponized to celebrate the original freedom of northern Italy when it was not under 'the centralist yoke of Rome.' Given the ample debate on the use and purposes of statues in our society, it is noteworthy that a political party has based its identity on the image of a twelfth century warrior, epitomized even on the then official symbol of the party, and on medieval-inspired founding myths, rather than on a corpus of texts or a political tradition. This is by no means a coincidence, as the political collocation of the party hindered a reference to previous political traditions, and forced the party to be creative in its mythopoeia, using the ready-to-use clichés offered by nineteenth century nationalism. At the same time, the use of traditional legends, and the curious mix of historical periods and traits that characterized the Northern League is part of a wider discourse aimed at connecting the party with its base through the use of history as the basis for identity. The claim to be an 'original party' could be substantiated employing the past to justify the strife for independence from the yoke of a foreign power, and to assert his nature of a 'traditional' party defending true northern identity, ironically employing the same sources used in the nineteenth century as the forerunners of the fight for a unified Italy.

The last aspect that I would like to stress is the importance of visual media in the circulation of those narratives. The 2009 film is part of a wider reflection of the rebellion against the emperor. The Northern League was a very visual party: fully-armored individuals used to roam on the plain of Pontida during the annual meeting, the ostensibly displayed symbol of the party was a warrior brandishing a sword, and the party had an official color (green). It is a carefully planned imaginary

aimed at reassuring electors that the party embodies tradition, unlike the corrupted parties idling in Rome. The anti-Emperor narrative fits within this framework of ancestral struggles to claim suzerainty over the territories of Northern Italy. The past serves both to circulate a certain narrative, *e.g.* the protection of traditional duties and martial valor, and to counter other parallel narratives, such as the nation-building process in Italy. Barbarossa thus serves as both the lynchpin of a medieval tyrant (a reference to Rome) and as the unlikely catalyst of a 'federation' of Northern Italy, united by the hatred against him. The silence on the Central-Italian towns that historically joined the league is conducive to this narrative of original federation and of 1167 as the forerunner of the secession of 'Padania,' the part of Italy north of the Po River. While other alt-right parties have resorted to the same means, the case of the northern league is unique in its blending of different references, from Kelts to Barbarossa, from the holy water of the Po to Braveheart.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN TWENTY FIRST CENTURY MEDIA

Louise D'Arcens

The Middle Ages have had a strong come-back in the twenty-first century. Be it in multi-million cultural productions like video games and films, or in political rallies like the events that transpired in January 6th 2021, stories, symbols and images about the medieval past have become increasingly recurrent in public speech. It is difficult to pinpoint one exact cause for this phenomenon, but the rhetoric of the War on Terror seems to have been a key component. As Bruce Holsinger already noted in 2007, the use of the Middle Ages to characterize the opponents of the United States and its allies in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks were part of a larger media strategy to justify military interventions in the Middle East. The strategic use of these tropes made this form of medievalism different from previous traditions. The Taliban and the Middle East were now a symbol of a present "barbaric medieval" threat that was portrayed as an oddity inconsistent with the modern world.[1] Suddenly, the new international enemy was not only the embodiment of a different social system, as the Soviet Union had been during the Cold War, but also a remnant of a past that refused to disappear. Of course, the many mistakes behind the association of the Taliban and other Islamists with the Middle Ages have been noted by academics; however, the image remained both in public speech and popular media.[2]

This new form of medievalism was distinct not only in its strategic political use, but also due to the nature of its representation of the period. Different from the romantic and nationalist traditions of the nineteenth century, characterized by a distortion of the medieval past, contemporary uses of the Middle Ages in politics and media do not refer to the historical period but directly to these previous medievalists tropes. In the words of Amy Kauffman, in what has become an important definition: "Neomedievalism is thus not a dream of the Middle Ages, but a dream of someone else's medievalism. It is medievalism doubled upon itself".[3] There is much merit in what Kauffman and others have said about

[1] Holsinger, *Neomedievalism, Neoconservatism and the War on Terror (*Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, LLC, 2007), 40–41.

[2] Andrew B. R. Elliot, *Medievalism, Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017).

[3] Amy S. Kaufman, "Medieval Unmoored," in *Defining Neomedievalism(s),* Karl Fugelso, Studies in Medievalism, XIX (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 4.

this new form of Medievalism, the all-white medieval Europe that the alt-right imagines, for example, has more in common with productions like *The Lord of the Rings* (both novels and films) or *Vikings* (2013–2020) than with the historical Middle Ages. Although these cultural productions introduce problematic ideas and stereotypes about the medieval past, their economic success has also served to open the discussion about the role of non-hegemonic communities (such as people of color and non-conforming gender identities) in medieval societies and their depiction in contemporary media; with some being praised for the racial themes they explore, such as *The Green Knight* (2021)[4], while others, like the video game *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* (2018), found themselves caught in controversies due to them claims of accuracy made by the developers.[5]

These reactions from audiences to the use of history in popular media exemplifies the role that technology is playing in this new forms of medievalism. The coming of Web 2.0 and mass social media platforms has decentralized and expanded the production and consumption of historical content. Audiences today not only consume, but they also comment, post and tweet online; they are both spectators and creators of content. Our understanding of the Middle Ages today is no longer just in the hands of the historian or the film producer, but also of the youtuber and the influencer. A Elliot argues, this mediation and re-mediation of the Middle Ages leads to a form of *banal medievalism* which is flattened out of any historical reference and readying them for deployment by multiple, and often contradictory, ideologies.[6] The Middle Ages are used at the same time to describe an idealized "racially-pure" past, and a cruel, brutal and ignorant place that allows for the flourishing of all of humanity's worst impulses, with neither corresponding to the historical understanding of the period. This ambiguity is often present in popular media. Drifting away from Tolkien's idealized medieval fantasy, *Game of Thrones* with its gritty and brutal setting became a media phenomenon, being highly praised by its narrative and production value, despite its controversial ending.[7] The show's success opened the gates for a series of high- budget films,

[4] Angeline Rodriguez, "The Green Knight Doesn't Have to Discuss Race to Be about Race," *Polygon* (blog), August 20, 2021, https://www.polygon.com/22632726/green-knight-color-decoding-race.

[5] Martin Bostal, "Medieval Video Games as Reenactment of the Past: A Look at Kingdom Come: Deliverance and Its Historical Claim," in *Del Siglo XIX al XXI: Tendencias y Debates (Alicante, 20–22 de Septiembre de 2018),* Rafael Fernández Sirvent y Rosa Ana Gutiérrez Llorets, Asociación de Historia Contemporánea: Actas Del XIV Congreso (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2019), 380–94.

[6] Elliot, *Medievalism, Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the Twenty-First Century,* chaps. 1–2.

[7] "'Game of Thrones': Inside the World's Most Popular Show," *TIME.Com* (blog), accessed April 26, 2022, https://time.com/game-of-thrones-2017/.

games and Tv-series across multiple media which highlights the ugly side of the Middle Ages. Productions such as *The Witcher* (games: 2007-ongoing, series: 2019- ongoing), *Vikings* (2013–2020), *The Last Kingdom* (2015-ongoing), *Assassin's Creed* (game: 2006, film 2016), *God of War* (2018), among others, depict a cruel and brutal world, while starring protagonists and stories that are often idealized by racist and sexist groups.

The popularity of such productions and the ideas that they might communicate brings forth the question of teaching and learning about the medieval past, particularly in the case of video games. The Middle Ages are, together with World War II, probably the most popular historical period simulated in gaming. The way in which history interacts with games is different from other forms of media because games' simulations carry with them powerful epistemological claims about the past due to their interactivity and their growing complexity and realism, made possible by modern technology.[8] Various authors have noted that video games manage to communicate and describe historical arguments and settings in a way that is difficult to reproduce through the written word. Triple A games, such as *Assassin's Creed*, manage to re-construct historical spaces in a way that books and papers could hardly dream of, and the use of gameplay mechanics allows for a fun and engaging way to interact with historical arguments. Indeed, some early research seems to point to an actual impact of video games in the way in which younger generations understand the past.[9] However, video games are generally motivated by the economic incentive of producing a fun product that will generate profit. As such, concerns have also been raised about the way in which games help to reproduce misguided, problematic, and sometimes dangerous ideas about the past in their effort to appeal to a broad audience;[10] and how they can play a role in

[8] Adam Chapman, *Digital Games as History: How Videogames Represent the Historical Past and Offer Access to Historical Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2016), chap. 3.

[9] See, among others: Robert Houghton, "Where Did You Learn That? The Self-Perceived Educational Impact of Historical Computer Games on Undergraduates," *Gamevironments,* no. 5 (2016): 8–45; Angela Jane Weisl and Kevin J. Stevens, "The Middle Ages in the Depths of Hell: Pedagogical Possibility and the Past in Dante's Inferno," in *Digital Gaming Re-Imagines the Middle Ages,* Daniel T. Kline (New York: Routledge, 2014), 175–86; Katherine J. Lewis, "Grand Theft Longboat: Using Video Games and Medievalism to Teach Medieval History," in *Historia Ludens: The Playing Historian,* Alexander von Lünen, Katherine J. Lewis, Benjamin Litherland and Pat Cullum, Routledge Approaches to History (New York: Routledge, 2020), 54–70; Jeremiah McCall, "Navigating the Problem Space: The Medium of Simulation Games in the Teaching of History," *The History Teacher* 46, no. 1 (2012): 9–28; Daniel T. Kline, "Participatory Medievalism, Role- Playing, and Digital Gaming," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism,* Louise D'Arcens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 75–88.

[10] See, among others: Kacper Poblocki, "Becoming-State: The Bio-Cultural Imperialism of Sid Meier's Civilization," *Focaal – European Journal of Anthropology,* no. 39 (2002): 163–77; Jörg Friedrich, "You

online political radicalization.[11] This does not mean that popular historical media is responsible for the contemporary raise of dangerous racist, sexist and xenophobic ideas, but it definitely plays a part in the larger system that allows for it.

Medievalisms on the Screen is a PhD-student-led project which aims to the creation and consolidation of a wing of research at the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU for the study of the use of the Middle Ages and cultural heritage in contemporary public speech. The purpose of this project is born out of the Department's and CEU's commitment to the values of open society, stressing the importance of inclusion, tolerance, critical thinking and respect for human rights, all key for a democratic society. We believe that it is imperative that as scholars we engage not only with our research topics in particular, but also on the way in which the history of the Middle Ages is used in public speech. Our first conference, *Medievalisms on the Screen: The Representation of the Middle Ages in 21st century Audiovisual Media*, which took place from April 29–May 1st 2021, aimed to offer a space in which the issues here described could be discussed from a multi-disciplinary perspective. The conference featured twenty-one papers from scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds, plus the keynote lectures by Professors Louise D'Arcens from MacQuarie University, and Andrew B.R. Elliot from the University of Lincoln. In this present volume the reader will find the abstracts to every paper featured in the conference in the order they were presented, together with a sample of papers by some of the panelists. We hope that this volume serves as a platform for some of the exciting research being done by early-career researchers, and for it to contribute to the growing concern of the use of the Middle Ages in contemporary media and politics.

To finalize, I would like to thank the other members of the *Medievalisms on the Screen* team and co-editors in this volume: Juan Bautista Juan-López, Karolina Kotus, Vania Buso, and Evren Sunnetcioglu for their tireless work, which made the success of the conference possible. I would also like to thank our panelists for their contributions which made of the conference a truly exciting and enriching event. Lastly, I also wish to thank the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU for their constant support in carrying out this project.

Do Have Responsibility! How Games Trivialize Fascism, Why It Should Concern Us and How Can We Change It," in *History in Games: Contingencies of an Authentic Past.,* Martin Lorber&Felix Zimmermann, vol. 12, Studies of Digital Media Culture (Transcript, 2020), 259–76; Eugene Pfister, Tobias Winnerling, and Felix Zimmerman, "Democracy Dies Playfully. Three Questions - Introductory Thoughts on the Papers Assembled and Beyond," *Gamevironments,* no. 13 (2020): 1–34.

[11] Emil Ludendal Hammar, "Imperialism and Fascism Intertwined. A Materialist Analysis of the Games Industry and Reactionary Gamers," *Gamevironments,* no. 13 (2020): 317–57; Jacob Euteneuer and Josiah Meints, "It Was Just a Joke. Demadoduery, Humor, and Video Game Straming," *Gamevironments,* no. 13 (2020): 358–81.

RE-READING THE LOVE OF 'JODHA-AKBAR' IN THE TIMES OF LOVE-JIHAD IN INDIA

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Indian history, like all history, is always in the process of being recreated, remade and revised in context of the present. Following the gruesome display of hatred that was witnessed in the Indian subcontinent during its Partition into two separate independent countries in 1947, the image of an enemy in the Indian popular narrative has been fixed on 'the ruthless, invading, barbaric Muslim man'. Time and again, whenever communal tensions or violence flare up, majoritarian communalists bring forth the medieval Indian past. They highlight the idea of 'Muslim invaders' who terrorized the Hindu indigenous population, took away their land and women and left the oppressed Hindu men helpless and subjugated. This notion then becomes the *de facto* justification of hatred and violence to be levelled against the present day Muslims. There have been multiple communal riots in India since the partition, but the most gruesome and widespread amongst these was the one that followed the demolition of Babri Masjid at Ayodhya in 1992. This communal flare up engulfed within itself not just the urban centres which usually were the sites of such violence, but it also affected Indian people at the rural level.[1] The demolition of Babri Masjid, a mosque constructed under the orders of the first Mughal Emperor Babur (1526–1530 AD) at Ayodhya, seems to have been an act of great retribution that was achieved by the Hindus against the Muslims. The 'sons of Babur' as Muslims are derogatorily called by the majoritarian communalists were 'shown their place' in the larger political setup of an independent free India which upholds secular ideals. Thus it is understood that in order to maintain the fear and hatred against Muslims amongst the majority Hindu population history becomes an important tool. This is the case because at present, the Muslims belong to the lowest level of social and economic status. To keep the majority threatened by the Muslims, their vicious activities of the past need to be kept alive and relived. In this reliving of the aggression of the Muslims in the past, cinema and popular movies play a major role. As has been pointed out

[1] Paul R. Brass, *The Production Of Hindu-Muslim Violence In Contemporary India,* University of Washington Press, 2015, pp. 62.

by Justin Smith, "Films never exist in isolation, and are always related to the wider cultural output of any era."[2]

In recent years, especially the past 7-10 years there have been several historical movies which use as their protagonist a historical figure and then weave the stories and myths around them. The most recent case in point can be of the movie *Padmavat* (2018), which is based on a fictional event, the story itself being written three centuries after the event of Chittor invasion by Alauddin Khilji. The story of *Padmavat* was composed by Malik Muhammad Jaysi as a Sufi treatis using the incident of capture of Chittor Fort by Delhi Sultan of thirteenth century, Alauddin Khilji (1296–1316 AD). The movie basing itself on the book builds up on the myth that Alauddin Khilji attacked Chittor in order to gain its beautiful queen even though in reality the campaign was simple an expansionist endeavour. The character of Alauddin Khiliji in this movie helps in crystallizing the image of a barbaric despotic Muslim monarch. The representation is displaced from the reality of the time when Alauddin Khillji lived and ruled. Historically, Alauddin Khilji is credited with protecting the Indian subcontinent from the rage of the Mongols who had come knocking on the north western borders. He is also said to have consolidated the power of the Delhi Sultanate in the region of Deccan. In addition, a number of economic reforms are also credited to Alauddin Khilji.[3] Despite these historical facts, *Padmavat* showed an obsessed, megalomaniac, ruthless and savage Sultan who burned half the world down to gain a woman that he desired. There are many more similar representations of Muslims in movies of recent times, like *Panipat* (2019) and *Tanhaji* (2020) which bring to fore the might and glory of the Maratha power against the 'Muslim' Afghans and Mughals.

Paper will give a brief overview of the representation of Muslims in historical movies made in Bollywood and contextualize it with the notion of 'Love-Jihad'. The 2008 film *Jodha Akbar* seems to be the last breath of a secular representation of a major 'Muslim' historical figure. Before going into the details it needs to be pointed out here that the modern religious categories of Hindus and Muslims were not present in the early-modern time represented in *Jodha Akbar*, yet the present time in which it was showcased was loaded with such consciousness.

Jodha Akbar came out before the revival of the notion of 'Love Jihad' in 2009. The narrative around this notion is that 'Love Jihad' or 'Romeo Jihad' is an organisation launched by Muslim communalists which uses young Muslim men

[2] Justin Smith, 'Film History', *Making History,* https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/film_history.html, (Accessed on 21 March, 2021).

[3] A.R.Fuller & A Khallaque, *The Reign of Alauddin Khilji (Translated from Zia-ud-din Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi),* Pilgrim Publishers, Calcutta, 1960.

to convert 'docile' Hindu and Christian women to Islamic faith using means of false expression of love. The popular appeal to this began to arise in 2009 when Kerala Catholic Bishops Council, asserted that 4,500 girls in Kerala had been targeted, whereas Hindu Janajagruti Samiti claimed that 30,000 girls had been converted in Karnataka. An article entitled "Beware of 'love jihad'" was published in *Mathrubhumi*, a Malayalam newspaper in Kerala, India on 15 October 2009.[4] From then on, there have been multiple articles and agitations to oppose this form of Muslim aggression against the Hindus and Christians. The most recent act of agitation was one made against an advertisement of jewellery brand Tanishq, which showed a Hindu-Muslim marriage in a positive light. The advertisement that came out in 2020 showed a Muslim household with a happy Hindu daughter-in law. This was immediately taken up by the 'Love Jihad' brigade who started to ask for removal of the advertisement and BoycottTanishq started trending on social media platforms and eventually that advertisement was brought down by the brand.[5]

It is important to contrast the movies which aim at demonizing Muslims in order to further communal ends and the ones which try to project a picture of communal harmony. The following sections will comment on the nature of historical films and representation of Muslims in Indian cinema. Following this the question of Love Jihad would be addressed with examples of interreligious love being a reality throughout Indian history. It is important to remember and revive the stories of inter-religious and inter-caste love in times when public and private aspects have both come under the threat of communalisation.

Problems with making historical movies in India:

The historical inaccuracies and discrepancies are one of the problematic aspects of making historical movies. The lack of detailed research and study on the time period being depicted is a feature visible in most of the historical movies made in Bollywood. The film makers fall short of capturing the entirety of the world they are depicting. The social, cultural and architectural discrepancies along with lopsided political narrative are observed in most of the historical films. In addition

[4] Gupta, Charu, 'Hindu Women, Muslim Men: Love Jihad and Conversions,' *Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. xliv, no 51*, December 2009, p. 14.

[5] 'Tanishq: Jewellery ad on interfaith couple withdrawn after outrage', *BBC News*, 13 October, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-54520390 (Accessed on 20 March, 2021) ; 'What's the controversial Tanishq ad and why is #BoycottTanishq trending on social media?' *Mumbai Mirror,* 15 October, 2020. https://mumbaimirror.indiatimes.com/news/india/whats-the-controversial-tanishq-ad-and-why-is-boycotttanishq-trending-on-social-media/articleshow/78636691.cms (Accessed on 15 March, 2021).

to that, historical movies also suffer because of the reading of the present into the past to serve present political ends. This damages history known to the masses. When such historical inaccuracies and mistakes seem to fuel propaganda against a particular community, then it becomes further damaging.

In order to understand the significance of historical movies in India it needs to be understood that the present political scenario makes a huge impact on the perspective from which films are made. The most popular Indian historical drama was that of *Mughal-e Azam* (1960). The movie mixed fiction with facts and presented Indians with a drama loaded with emotions. At the heart of this movie was the love story of Prince Salim (Fourth Mughal Emperor Jahangir: 1605–1627 AD) and dancing girl Anarkali. The movie was directed and produced by K.Asif who had learned from the mistakes of earlier filmmakers and wanted to present a drama film in historical garb.

Historically authentic movies made before *Mughal-e Azam*, like *Sikandar* (1941) and *Rani of Jhansi* (1953) had failed miserably at the box office.[6] This was one of the reasons why K.Asif, despite knowing that there was no historical evidence to support the story of Anarkali, still made the movie. From the sources of medieval Indian history it can be established that there was no Anarkali.[7] Akbar had Hindu wives, and Salim's mother was a Rajput, but her name was not Jodhabai. The Hindu mother of Salim was the daughter of Raja Bhara Mal of Amber in Rajasthan. The movie interweaves reality and fiction. In the sequence of Salim's rebellion depicted in the movie there was a touch of historical reality. It is known from sources that in the latter part of Akbar's reign, his son Prince Salim did rebel against his father, but it was not over matters of the heart as shown in the movie. Salim simply wanted to get hold of power and authority.[8]

The intention behind the movie *Mughal-e Azam* was to present audiences with a drama which they could relate to. The notion of communal harmony and religious consonance was a sub-theme running throughout the film. Be it the depiction of India in the beginning and mentioning of Akbar as the son of India or the involvement of Akbar in Hindu religious festivities, the communal harmony was evident. The goal appears to be to show India in its former glory of communal brotherhood in comparison to the communal violence and destruction that India

6 Mihir Bose, *Bollywood: A History*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 213–214.

7 Moosvi, Shireen, 'The invention and persistence of a legend – The *Anārkalī* story', *Studies in People's History,* 2014;1(1), pp. 63–68.

8 Faruqui, Munis, 'Disobedience and Rebellion', in *The Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504–1719,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 181–234.

witnessed following partition in 1947.[9] The consciousness of religious difference was not pronounced in the movie which seems in sync with the time period which the movie represents. Mughal India was not conscious of religious demarcations in the present sense.

While the movie *Mughal-e Azam* has been analysed from various perspectives, in context of this paper it would be looked at to understand the relationship of Jodha-Akbar. The love story of a Rajput princess and a Mughal Emperor acquired a legendary status following the depiction of a closely bonded and supportive marriage between the parents of Prince Salim. The same love is then further explored in detail in the 2008 film *Jodha Akbar*. More detailed analysis of the nature and expression of love of the interreligious couple would be given in the next section.

In the case of *Jodha Akbar* (2008), the director, Ashutosh Gowariker, was conscious of the need for historical accuracy and held elaborate discussions and debates with historians before going into the making of the film. The meeting was attended by prominent medieval historians like Prof. Shireen Moosvi from Aligarh who gave in their inputs.[10] Even though the scholars were not satisfied with the final version of the movie yet, the movie makers had tried their best to inculcate historical facts along with fictional drama to provide an entertaining watch for the audience.[11] The movie makers showed Akbar concerned for his citizens irrespective of faith, they highlighted the abolition of pilgrim tax, Akbar's keen interest in Hindu rituals etc.

Before going into the details it needs to be stated that Bollywood movies, apart from historical ones have also been scrutinized on the aspect of Muslim representation. The representation of Indian Muslims as anti-nationals and unpatriotic has been a common trope of Bollywood movies.[12] Bollywood productions like *Roja* (1992), *Mission Kashmir* (2000), *Gadar-Ek Prem Katha* (2001), *Kurbaan* (2009) etc. have all shown Muslims in questionable roles.[13] The

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[9] Sumita S. Chakravarty, *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema 1947–1987*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1993, p. 169.

[10] As ascertained from an interview with Prof. Moosvi on the concerned issue.

[11] Ashley D'Mello, 'Fact, myth blend in re-look at Akbar-Jodhabai', *The Times of India*, Published on Dec, 10, 2005, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/1326242.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst, (Accessed on March, 20, 2021).

[12] Kattarwala, Nafisa, 'The portrayal of Islam in the Indian mass media', *SVKM's NMIMS University paper*, Mumbai, 2009.

[13] Shafaat Hussain Bhat, 'Muslim Characters in Bollywood Cinema: Representation and Reality?', *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, Volume 24, Issue 12, Series. 1, December, 2019, pp. 06–16.

situation has worsened following 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre and 26/11 attacks in Mumbai, as the idea of a Muslim enemy became strengthened in the popular understanding.[14] In this scenario the historical movies on the theme of India's Islamic heritage can play an important role to showcase the constructive and productive contributions made by Muslims in India in the past. At the same time historically distorted productions can cause serious damage to the communal fabric of present India.

Love or Jihad?

The idea of 'Love-Jihad' originated in an attempt to showcase the evil intentions of Muslims against other communities. The literal meaning of the term *jihad* means tireless efforts or great effort. The word in its original context thus does not relate to war or violence.[15] Over time, the meaning of violence and war became associated with the term. In the present scenario a section of Indian political bodies utilises the narrative of fear and hatred against the Muslims to further their own agenda. In this identity politics, the depiction of Muslims as solely guided by the need to increase the Muslim population utilising any means necessary becomes a powerful tool. This notion gives fuel to the concept of a *jihad* or struggle to increase the Muslims by converting women to Islam using love as a tool. Even though the idea of Love-jihad appears to be a conspiracy theory, still the narrative of hatred and otherness, in which the concept of Love Jihad operates, honest emotions of love and dedication have no place. The Muslims in this narrative of 'Love-Jihad' cannot be honest lovers but they can only be invaders, attackers and manipulators who seek to further their own agenda of spreading Islam through any means available. The loyalty of a Muslim according to such ideals can only be to their faith and not to the country or women they love.

Scholars like Charu Gupta, Uma Chakravarti, Sneha Annavarapu, Jyoti Punwani, Maithreyi Krishnaraj and others have looked at the issue of 'Love-Jihad' from the perspective of gender. These scholars have utilised different arguments to show that the concept of 'Love-jihad' is not only Islamophobic but it is also sexist. The idea of relating honour of a community to the women of the community limits the women's bodies, minds and opportunities. Jyoti Punwani interviewed a number of Hindu women married to Muslims in 2014. She came to the conclusion

[14] Yaqin, Amina and Morey, Peter, *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation after 9/11*, Harvard, 2011.

[15] Mostfa, Ali, ' Violence and Jihad in Islam: From the War of Words to the Clashes of Definitions', *Religions*, 12: 966, https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12110966, p. 2.

that these women were not "the love-struck, helpless with desire, giddy-headed girl who elopes with her irresistible Muslim lover" as people who further the notion of 'Love Jihad' would assert.[16]

Going into further details about the issue of controlling Hindu women through the use of tools like Love Jihad, Charu Gupta wrote, "the Hindu woman is regarded as an exclusive preserve of the Hindu man, and safeguarding her virtue is identified as his exclusive prerogative. One of the arguments grounded by the Hindu communal organisations is that to protect 'our' women, any steps are justified."[17]

This attempt at controlling the bodies and lives of Hindu women along with procuring a justification to demonise Muslim men compromises the secular spirit of India as a nation and leaves no space for honest emotions.

These honest emotions of a truly dedicated lover of India are showcased in movies like *Mughal-e Azam* and *Jodha Akbar*. In the said movies, not only is Akbar depicted as a dedicated husband to his Rajput wife but he also is shown as a true son of Indian soil. It is in this context that K.Asif's and Ashutosh Gowariker's movies need to be read for the purpose of this paper. In the movies, even though they propagate the myth of the love story of Akbar and a Rajput princess by the name of Jodha, this historical discrepancy can be overlooked in light of honest love shown between the interreligious couple. As stated above, Akbar did marry a princess of Amber, but her name was not Jodha. The name Jodha bai seems to have started circulating within the popular narrative of local Fathpur Sikri guides and tourists in the late eighteenth century. It was associated with the structure of *harem* in the palatial complex of Fathpur Sikri and from these popular narratives it was then taken up by the English antiquarians of the time. These antiquarians recorded the popular oral traditions in works on architecture of Fathpur Sikri.[18]

Having clarified the issue of the identity of Akbar's Rajput queen, it needs to be stated that the historical sources are silent about the love between the two. This, however, does not mean the absence of inter-religious love in the medieval Indian era. Sources of information of medieval Indian history give ample evidence of the presence of interfaith love and marriage.

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[16] "Love Jihad' is an Islamophobic Campaign: Why Honour is about Controlling Women's Bodies', *EPW Engage*, https://www.epw.in/engage/article/love-jihad-islamophobic-campaign-whose-honour-is-it-anyway (Accessed on March, 15, 2021).

[17] Gupta, Charu, 'Hindu Women, Muslim Men: Love Jihad and Conversions,' *Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. xliv, no 51*, December 2009, p. 14.

[18] E. B. Havell, *A Handbook of Agra and the Taj: Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri*, and the Neighbourhood, Longmans, Green and Co., Bombay, 1904, pp. 105–136.

A series of stories are narrated in *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui*, a source composed during the time of Emperor Akbar and informing about the pre-Mughal and Mughal times. These stories seem fictitious and supernatural in content, yet they comment on the realities of love and social boundaries of the time. There are many instances of interfaith love in these stories. Most of these stories give glory and currency to the idea of forbidden love and bonds. For instance, one anecdote talks about a traveller that while passing by Bhogaon in modern day UP, he falls in love with a woman drawing water at the well. The reference suggests that there were a number of women who were at the well drawing water.[19] In the story, the woman who was drawing water at the well was a Hindu and the lover a Muslim. After the death of both man and woman due to certain reasons, the relatives of the woman wanted to cremate her body, but because she had died for a Muslim, she was allowed to be buried.[20] This act of burial instead of cremation reflects that even though the love was forbidden, it received a certain legitimacy. There is also recorded information about the marriage of Shaikh Abdur Rahim Lakhnavi, a noble of Akbar's court who had married a Brahmin woman named Bibi Kisna. This marriage seems to have been consensual and, in it, the woman was not supposed to change her name or religion. It is also said that the lady was lion hearted and kept the name and fame of her husband alive after his death. She laid out gardens, populated villages, built *sarais*, shops, reservoirs, tanks, mausoleum and a palatial mansion.[21]

These are token examples of inter-religious love that flourished in the medieval Indian time amongst the non-elites. Amongst the elites, including Emperors like Akbar and nobles, instances of inter-religious love and marriages were common.[22] Inter-faith marriage was such a common thing that if a particular group of Rajputs didn't marry with the ruling Mughal elites it was seen as an exception. This is clarified from the comment of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, a biographical dictionary writer in the time of Akbar's grandson Shahjahan (1627–1658 AD). Bhakkari wrote, "All Rajputs forged matrimonial alliance with their highnesses and the princes except Rai Bhoj and Rai Ratan."[23] Thus the medieval Indian period seems to have upheld inter-religious love and marriages amongst elites as well as non-elites.

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[19] Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqui, *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui*, tr. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, ICHR, New Delhi, 1993, p.52.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, 1970, ed. Moinul Haque, Karachi, 3 Volumes; (trans. Ziauddin Desai in two parts as *The Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin* of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari (Vol I), Delhi, 1993 and *Nobility Under the Great Mughals*, Delhi, 2003., Vol. I, (tr.) p. 175.

[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Persian p. 104–105, (tr.) p. 75.

[23] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, Persian p. 295; (tr.) p. 104.

Filmmakers like K. Asif and Ashutosh Gowariker utilise their artistic liberty in order to create a narrative of love of a Rajput Princess and a Mughal Emperor. The movies acted as important tools in the political scenario where inter-religious love could be popularly depicted. Jodha in these movies doesn't only emerge as an independent strong Rajput but also as an equal partner of Emperor Akbar. She maintains her own religious identity, loves Akbar deeply and stands as a strong pillar of the Mughal Empire. (Plate: 1, 2). Emperor Akbar also is shown as a ruler who supports and upholds the religious practices of his wife. (Plate: 3). This depiction of an interfaith couple can be contrasted with the depiction of Muslims in movies like *Tanhaji* and *Panipat.* The Muslims or Mughal officers in these movies are shown as savages. (Plate: 4, 5, 6) A sub-theme in the movie *Tanhaji* goes to the extent of depicting the abduction of a Rajput princess by a Mughal general to satisfy his desires. (Plate: 7) This clearly furthers the notion of Mughal men forcing themselves on Rajput/Hindu women.

The movie *Mughal-e Azam* and *Jodha Akbar* had the ideals of furthering the secular spirit. The maker of the first movie, K.Asif, was making a movie in the recently independent India. The movie showcased an Emperor who was one India's greatest sons. The Indian film industry at that time was dominated by the progressive ideals. In contrast to that, in recent times, instead of promoting the unity of the Hindu-Muslim past, there have been organized attempts in the Hindi cinema to accentuate the otherness of the Muslims.

In reaction to these ideals of 'Love-Jihad', there have come to fore many modern endeavours like inter-caste love, inter religious love, etc. which try to counter the narrative of hatred by projecting and popularizing stories of interfaith and inter-caste couples. Journalist couple Samar Halarnkar and Priya Ramani and their journalist-writer friend Niloufer Venkatraman launched the *India Love Project* on Instagram. The founders described it as "a celebration of interfaith/inter-caste love and togetherness in these divisive, hate-filled times." Mr Halarnkar told the BBC they had been "thinking about the project for a year, even more" and that the controversy over the Tanishq advert gave it immediacy. He added that "We've felt very strongly about – and been disturbed by – the fake narrative around love and interfaith marriage…There is a narrative that there are other, more insidious, motives for marriage, that love is being weaponized. But we didn't know anyone who was thinking like that, who had any other motive than love for getting married." Through India Love Project, he says, "we are just providing a platform where people can share their stories."[24]

[24] 'India Love Project: The Instagram account telling tales of 'forbidden' love', 2020, (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-54869565) Accessed on 15, March, 2021.

Figure 1: Emperor Akbar and Queen Jodha in a still from Jodha Akbar (2008)

Conclusion:

In the present time, when love is not the domain of the private anymore, the need to highlight the ideals of inter-religious and inter-caste love gains primary importance. Popular culture impresses upon minds and popular representations of peoples and communities get embedded in the minds of the audience. In this context the movies like *Tanhaji* and *Padmavat* which depict a one sided view of the Muslim rulers and community, furthers the goals of majoritarian communalists by demonizing Muslims. These popular productions can be contrasted with movies like *Mughal-i-Azam* and *Jodha Akbar* which showcased a more balanced and historically accurate perspective of the Muslim rulers of Medieval India.

In addition to rereading the love story of Jodha – Akbar as an inter-religious successful love and marriage, there is also a need of telling and retelling the stories of love which do not fit the communalists' ideals. The kind of love stories we see are the kind of love stories we create, and that is why it is very important to revive the love saga of a Mughal Emperor and Rajput Princess and celebrate it.

Figure 2:
Emperor Akbar and Queen Jodha in a still from Mughal-e Azam (1960)

Figure 3:
Emperor Akbar and Queen Jodha celebrating Janmashtami in a still from Mughal-e Azam (1960)

Figure 4:
Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khilji as depicted in Padmaavat (2018)

Figure 5: Afghan invader Ahmad Shah Abdali as depicted in Panipat (2019).

Figure 6: Mughal general as depicted in Tanhaji (2020

Figure 7: Mughal general and abducted Rajput princess in a still from Tanhaji (2020)

PROCEDURAL RHETORIC IN *CIVILIZATION V*, *KINGDOM COME: DELIVERANCE,* AND *MEDIEVAL DYNASTY*

Olga Kalashnikova, CEU

Introduction and Some Notes on Methodology

With the advancement of 'game studies', recent research has been gradually removing the stigma attached to video games as transmitters of negative physiological or psychological effects. Instead, scholarly circles have proposed to perceive computer games as consequential 'cultural artifacts' that can mirror certain social, cultural, and political practices. Therefore, they may serve – willingly or unwillingly – as a modern-day powerful educational and polemical tool.[1] 'Medieval video games', where a player is situated in the simulated atmosphere of the Middle Ages, have remained at the forefront of the global entertainment market because of their aesthetic appearance and romanticized content. Hence, for many players otherwise not willing to immerse themselves into voluminous monographs, video games form basic beliefs about the period (known as medievalisms in the scholarly literature[2]) and mark the perception – sometimes distorted – of the medieval past.

How can we study medievalisms in video games, an omni-present phenomenon that practically defines a modern-day popular understanding of the Middle Ages? Generally, there are two basic approaches being adopted in research into video games from the 1990s on: narratology and ludology. Equating computer games with movies and literary works, the first 'school of thought' has exploited some elements of formal approach – mainly, textual and dramatic criticism – to assess the content and narrative of computer simulations as new media.[3] As game theorist Gonzalo Frasca and others have shown, whereas this approach is useful

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[1] Ian Bogost, "The Rhetoric of Video Games," in *The Ecology of Games: Connecting Youth, Games, and Learning*, edited by Katie Salen (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008), 117; Jens Seiffert, Howard Nothhaft, "The Missing Media: The Procedural Rhetoric of Computer Games," *Public Relations Review* 41, no. 2 (2015): 254–63.

[2] In this article, I adopt Louise D'Arcens's popular definition of the term "medievalism" as "reception, interpretation, and recreation of the Middle Ages". Louise D'Arcens, *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1.

[3] Literature on narratology is vast, and I will mention only seminal studies for understanding the formal approach in connection with studying video games. On literary and dramatic criticism of video games, see: Brenda Laurel,. *Computers as Theatre* (Reading: Addison-Wesley Professional, 2013); Janet Murray, *Hamlet on the holodeck: the future of narrative in cyberspace* (Cambridge,

to understand video games as the aforementioned cultural artifacts, it remains incomplete mainly because of an ambiguous definition of the term "narrative".[4] Opposing this confusion, the second approach (also known as ludology) takes a pragmatic stance and addresses game, play activities, and game mechanics as means of introducing and presenting certain concepts.[5] Despite the undeniable effectiveness of both methods, adopting only one of them in studying subsets of medieval reality in computer games would almost totally ignore either game mechanics or content and thus proves limited. Hence, I will deliberately take a middle ground and combine elements of both ludology and non-verbal rhetorical analysis in my current examination of digital medievalisms. To do so, I will focus on games' procedurality.

Marshall McLuhan, one of the founding fathers of media theory, ardently opposed Johan Huizinga's understanding of games as "magic circles"[6] detached from reality. Instead, the scholar argued that all sorts of games are a product of contemporary values. Not only can they transmit certain ideas about existing culture but also shape people's beliefs about various concepts with different tools.[7] It is also applicable to modern-day video games and their re-evaluation of the past. Procedurality – also called "procedural/simulation rhetoric" – is a key instrument to understand how digital simulations shape our understanding of the Middle Ages. This theory, introduced by Ian Bogost in 2007, was later gradually adopted by many researchers and game theorists. It studies the processes or *non-verbal game rules*, programming how a simulated world interacts with a player.[8] Procedurality

MA: The MIT Press, 2017); Espen J. Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature* (Baltimore, MD: J. Hopkins, 1997).

[4] For the definition of the concept and debates between narratologists and ludologists, see: Gonzalo Frasca, "Simulation versus Narrative: Introduction to Ludology," in *The Video Game Theory Reader,* edited by. Mark J. P. Wolf and Bernard Perron (New York: Routledge, 2003), 221–237.

[5] To better understand ludology, see: Marku Eskelinen, "The Gaming Situation," *Game Studies* 1, no. 1 (2001), accessed on January 21, 2022, http://gamestudies.org/0101/eskelinen/; Juul, J. (2001). Jesper Juul, "Games telling stories? A brief note on games and narratives," *Game Studies* 1, no. 1 (2001): 1–12. At later stages of his scientific career, Espen Aarseth has also addressed the importance of the gaming process in studying computer simulations, see: Espen Aarseth, "Genre trouble: Narrativism and the art of simulation," in *First person: New media as story, performance, and game,* edited by N. Wardrip-Fruin and P. Harrigan (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 45–55.

[6] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 10.

[7] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding media: The extensions of man* (New York: The New American Library, 1964), 208–212.

[8] Ian Bogost, *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Videogames* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007), ix.

is a central element for defining what a game is because game developers always design video games with a series of predetermined rules and processes that one must follow in order to win or simply continue playing (except if a game has no winning objective at all, as in a life simulator *The Sims*[9]). Interacting with the virtual world, a player must learn these rules and deduce what is possible and impossible to reach the ultimate goal of winning. Expanding McLuhan's thesis, Bogost and Frasca believe that constant contact with these rules makes strong ties between a player, simulation model and transmitted set of selected values.[10] To put it simply, one can study certain concepts about the past and present through playing a video game and interacting with a simulated digital world even if they do not follow the game's narrative. Therefore, a game's 'message', hidden in its rules and mechanics, has a persuasive and educational value and should not be disregarded.

The same logic applies to video games placed in a medieval setting. Surprisingly, although the number of medieval-oriented computer games keeps rocketing each year, scholars who studied simulation rhetoric, concerning the Middle Ages, have considered only turn-based or real-time historical strategies in their analysis.[11] Hence, our scholarly understanding of how game rules and procedures shape digital medievalisms and popular opinion about the Middle Ages is predominantly one-sided and represented by the selective analysis of quasi-realistic strategies such as the turn-based *Medieval Total War* or the well-known real-time *Crusader Kings*. Meanwhile, for some reason, role-playing games (I will further refer to them as RPGs) or realistic survival action games, where a player controls a character with their own backstory and motivations, have received almost no attention in the scholarly debates about

[9] In various versions of this widely-known game, a player should literally imitate a human's life from childhood up to death. The game revolves around *playing* as a process with no final goal. It engages players with meeting the bodily needs of their characters, advancing their careers and building relationships with others.

[10] Frasca, "Simulation versus Narrative", 223; Bogost, *Persuasive Games*, 233.

[11] For instance, a stimulating case-study by Bertrand Lucat and Mads Haahr demonstrates how procedurality can depict the High and Late Middle Ages through the lenses of dystopian feudal politics. See Bertrand Lucat and Mads Haahr, "Ideological Narratives of Play in *Tropico 4* and *Crusader Kings II*," in *DiGRA Conference Proceedings 12* (May 2015), accessed on January 30, 2022, http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.853.9418&rep=rep1&type=pdf. Although not completely focused on procedurality but rather on the artificial features of history in digital media, a brilliant essay by Tobias Winnerling briefly deals with procedural rhetoric in historical game series. Tobias Winnerling, "The eternal recurrence of all bits: How historicizing video game series transform factual history into affective historicity," *Eludamos. Journal for Computer Game Culture*, 8, no.1 (2014): 151–170 .

the Middle Ages and procedurality.[12] In my opinion, studying more than one genre of historical video games would provide a broader answer to the question of *what one can learn about the Middle Ages from video games' predetermined rules.* This issue will guide my current analysis of historical digital games.

Hence, to demonstrate key dissimilarities in modeling the Middle Ages in computer simulations, I suggest comparing games, which belong to various genres and different release periods. In this article, I deliberately propose to investigate models of the Middle Ages in video game best-sellers (appraised or claimed-to-be) that might have reached and impacted the majority of modern-day gamers over the last decade (2010–2020 circa). Confined by the format of the article and the plethora of existing video games about the Middle Ages, I do not aspire to present an all-embracing analysis of the game industry. Instead, I concentrate on three well-known computer games, namely: a turn-based strategy *Civilization V* (2010), an action RPG *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* (2018), and a survival simulator *Medieval Dynasty* (2020).[13]

I will argue in this article that although video games' rules have a high epistemological potential to communicate diversified portrayals of the Middle Ages, their non-verbal rhetoric is heavily-dependent on a game's genre and thus may seem limited. Strategy games that are similar to the *Civilization* series may be educational in many respects and should not be disregarded. However, since they are impersonal, their rules may inaccurately present the Middle Ages as a stereotypical chronological table as these strategies imitate the period's development at a macro-level of a nation. Digital simulations with the elements of action or role-playing games, where a player has to impersonate a hero with a story and engage with verbal or commercial interactions with non-playable characters, present more complex and historically valid models of the Middle Ages in terms of 'feudal' hierarchy, as represented in *Kingdom Come: Deliverance*. Some games, like *Medieval Dynasty*, barely put on the 'medieval skin' to attract players, but do not transmit any educative or historically valuable messages about the period.

[12] Ashley Wright's Master thesis is a rare exception from this notion. See Ashley Wright, "Honour, Deliverance, Legacy: Representations of the Middle Ages in Digital Gaming" (MA thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2020).

[13] For my selection, I used two charts of the most relevant games with the "medieval" and "historical" hashtags on the *Steam* gaming platform. It should be noted that the lists were initially consulted in March–April, 2021. By January 2022, they slightly changed: *Civilization V* became less popular because the sixth part of the game series was released; *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* and *Medieval Dynasty* still remained in the "Top-20" of the medieval category. https://store.steampowered.com/search/?term=medieval&tags=4172 (Accessed on January 30, 2022).

Considering failures and successes that I and other gamers experienced while playing three diversified games, I will now showcase how sometimes contradictory must-to-follow rules, which either impede or encourage advancement through these games, shape three distinctive non-verbal messages about the Middle Ages, depending on a game's genre.

1. The 'dark' Middle Ages and Deceptiveness of Having "an Interesting Choice" in *Civilization V*

An influential culturologist Henry Jenkins once stated that "[video] games are about player control, and the best experiences arise when players perceive that their intervention has a spectacular influence on the game".[14] This direct correlation between player control and shaping experience about the past can be seen in the case of *Civilization V*, released by the "Firaxis Games" studio in 2010. *Civilization* is a genre-defining game series that has heavily influenced turn-based strategy games from the eve of the new millennium. Its ambitious goal is to simulate a global interplay among almost all human civilizations. In the beginning of the game, a player is placed in control of a prehistoric tribe and must guide it through centuries to an ancient empire, medieval kingdom, and eventually a modern-day polity. Dominance over the world is the game's ultimate goal, which one may achieve through military, cultural, religious, economic, or scientific progress.

Sid Meier, the founding father of *Civilization*, has argued that the series' gameplay is "a series of interesting choices".[15] Indeed, in *Civilization V*, every turn a decision should be made whether to invest resources into research, army, or international politics. More importantly, as the game rules require, a player is not allowed to move to the next turn without assigning a task for every entity under their control and choosing upgrades from the development trees[16] (i.e., to design technologies, erect buildings, or create new social institutions). In theory, the game offers to the player a wide number of decision paths. It is possible to

[14] Cited by Simon Egenfeldt-Nielsen, Jonas Heide Smith, and Susana Pajares Tosca, *Understanding Video Games* (New York, London: Routledge, 2015), 43.

[15] Cited by Andrew Rollings, David Morris, *Game Architecture and Design* (Indianapolis, The Coriolis Group, 2000), 61.

[16] This term is also referred to as "research/technology tree". It is characteristic for strategy games. Usually, it schematically illustrates a hierarchical sequence of upgrades a player can take throughout a game. Development trees were first introduced in the *Civilization* game series and gradually were implemented in other strategic video games. More on technology trees in historical video games, see Tuur Ghys, "Technology Trees: Freedom and Determinism in Historical Strategy Games," *Game Studies* 12, no. 1 (2012): 143–52.

choose where and when to found cities, which resources to extract, what units and buildings to construct, when to wage war, and when to make allies. Interestingly, the developers' urge to give a wide range of decisions to players reached such extremes that practically every civilization can erect whatever world wonders – special architectural masterpieces – regardless of their origin. Thus, if all the prerequisites are met, one may set up the Great Pyramids, Notre Dame, or Hagia Sophia playing, for instance, as China or the Republic of Venice.

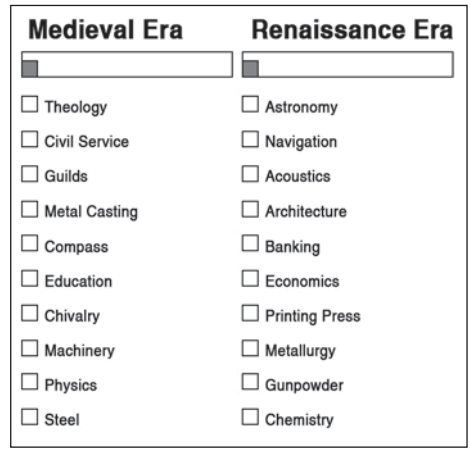
Consequently, as the developers state, the player is teased with the possibility of governing their nation any way they want. However, the real gaming process appears to contradict this idea. Due to the restrictive predetermined rules, there is a very narrow range of options from the development tree that are actually available to players. This procedural interplay of prohibitions and requirements defines the linear and hierarchical (even structuralist) way, in which the game depicts the chronology of the Middle Ages. As I will demonstrate below, such representation may seem distorted and debatable from the scholarly point of view.

To observe this paradox in detail, let us consider how the game procedures limit players' understanding of Humanism and its dating. Humanism in *Civilization V* is a special bonus, significantly boosting a player's scientific dominance over other nations. Humanism can be activated only in the Renaissance era once the player has previously unlocked such medieval 'technologies' as Theology, Guilds, University education, Chivalry, and several others. Under no circumstances, a player is able to launch Humanism while playing in the Middle Ages. The list of other 'technologies' chronologically associated with the Medieval Era and the Renaissance Era is illustrated in the following table:

As a result, the game's limited selection of co-dependent choices from the development tree portrays a stereotypical and skewed image of the 'dark' and underdeveloped Middle Ages.[17] As the Humanism case shows, the development tree mechanics of *Civilization V* oversimplifies the chronology of the period and hence ignores the existence of the so-called eight-century Carolingian and twelfth-century early Renaissances and humanisms.[18] I must admit, however, that these concepts are quite specific and are almost exclusively discussed among

[17] Sixteenth-century humanist Giorgio Vasari was the first to coin the medieval period as an interim and dark era. Martin McLaughlin, "Humanist Concepts of Renaissance and Middle Ages in the Tre- and Quattrocento," *Renaissance Studies*, 2, no. 2 (1988):131–142. This pejorative perception became well-rooted and can be easily found even in modern-day mass media and political rhetoric.

[18] It should be noted that the developers fixed this procedural paradox in the sixth part of the game series, released in 2016, thus providing players with a more mature understanding of the Middle Ages.



Medieval and Renaissance development 'technologies' in Civilization V (2010)

medievalists.[19] Nevertheless, appealing to a broader audience on a more general level, the game belittles the medieval period as well. Although the table above demonstrates the existence of several advanced – and historically accurate – social and cultural institutions in the Middle Ages (such as university education, guilds, certain scientific inventions etc.), one can notice a striking absence of the banking system, architecture, and acoustics in the Medieval Era. While for some reason these 'innovations' appear in *Civilization V* only in the Renaissance period, there is no evidence in the research proving this chronology. For instance, musicologists Barbara Haggh-Huglo and Dorothea Baumann scrupulously examined medieval understanding of acoustics, showcasing that the first music treatises on the subject appeared in the early Middle Ages and were heavily based on Boethius's *De institutione musica* coming from the late antiquity.[20] Umberto Berardi and others' architectural investigation into Italian late-medieval experiments with music in various locations also presents the undeniable evidence that acoustics was perfectly known to the medieval people.[21]

Representing the procedures surrounding the Middle Ages and Renaissance in such a straightforward immutable manner makes the clear argument to players that this is how the medieval period should evolve. Practically, the game

[19] Historians have been actively engaged in ardent debates about the chronological and geographical origins of the Renaissance and humanism since the last century. Providing a comprehensive bibliography on this discussion is not the task of this article. However, several crucial works should be mentioned here, see: Erwin Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *The Kenyon Review* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1944): 201–236; Idem, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism* (Cornell University Press, 1977); Idem, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the idea of kingship* (London, 1969); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1955).

[20] Dorothea Baumann, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Musical acoustics in the Middle Ages," *Early Music*, 18, no. 2 (1990): 199–210.

[21] Berardi, U., Ciaburro, G., D'Orazio, D., and Trematerra, A., "The Evolution of the Acoustics of a Medieval Church," *Canadian Acoustics*, 48, no. 3 (2020): 14–16.

inclines towards a limited structural epistemology as it selectively builds a strict chronological (and confined) development of the Middle Ages based on available social, political, and economic institutions.[22] By doing this, the game downgrades the period and replicates stereotypical and inaccurate superstitions about the 'dark' and 'uncultivated' period between the glorious antiquity and exquisite Renaissance. As a result, *Civilization V* meets the expectations of its general audience and thus presents the medieval epoch as something agreed-upon and understandable.[23] Still, as we could observe, the limited subset of medieval reality portrayed in *Civilization V* excludes other important historical details and alternatives related to the period from the scope of a player.

2. From Rags to Riches: Clothes and Social Modeling of the Middle Ages in *Kingdom Come: Deliverance*

So far this paper has focused on the pejorative representation of the 'dark' Middle Ages in video games. Yet, the question remains: can computer games' procedurality transmit historically valid ideas about the period and fight everlasting stereotypes related to it? In fact, it can. To observe this process in detail, let us consider how a role-playing game *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* (I will call it *KCD* onwards) can disprove a conventional image of the 'dirty' Middle Ages, promote basic ideas of hygiene, and showcase how social status might be demonstrated in medieval society.

Whereas *Civilization V* places a player in charge of an entire polity, *KCD* offers to experience the Middle Ages from a perspective of a single craftsman, Henry, living in the Sazavian part of the Kingdom of Bohemia at the eve of the Hussite wars (approximately the beginning of the fifteenth century). Released in 2018 by the Czech "Warhouse Studios", this action-RPG received an enormous number of reviews, mainly including either positive appraisals for its focus on

[22] In terms of Munslow's seminal classification of historical epistemology, this type of presenting medieval reality would belong to a "constructionist epistemology" as it focuses on the selection, arrangement and abuse of historical facts according to a core concept that the game promotes. The most updated version of this classification is summarized in Alun Munslow, *The Future of History* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 69–70.

[23] Many video games use the same strategy and replicate overt beliefs and practices related to the Middle Ages in order to be more appealing to the audience. David Marshall and Andrew Eliott define these notions as "intentional" or "genealogical medievalisms" respectively. *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture*, edited by David W. Marshall (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2007), 3–5; Elliott, A. B. R. (2017). Andrew B. R. Elliott, *Medievalism, Politics and Mass media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the twenty-first century* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 16.

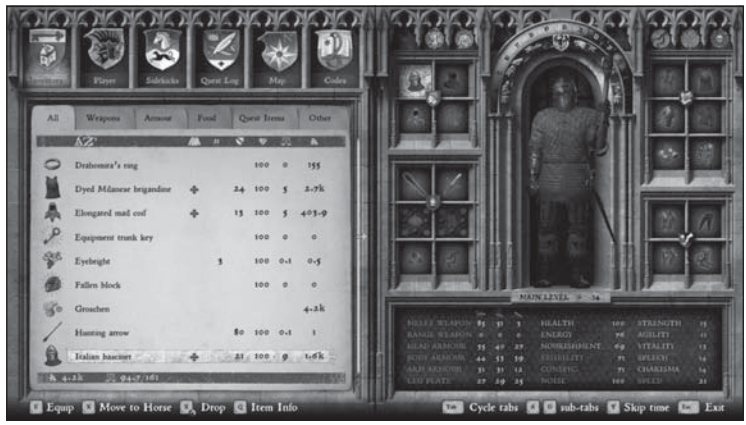


Figure 1: Clothes slots and main character's stats. Kingdom Come: Deliverance (2018)

hyper-realism or harsh critique for its Czech nationalist content.[24] Designed as an open-world environment from a first-person perspective, *KCD* successfully attempts to provide a truly medieval experience to a player through an authentic visual and social representation of the Bohemian milieu at the time.[25] As a typical RPG, the game allows to gradually upgrade Henry's combat, charisma, stealth, and other abilities depending on what a player does and says. Apart from uncommon combat mechanics, the gameplay is heavily based on the system of complex dialogues, which often may help to avoid skirmishes or advance through the game with a bonus. Key variable affecting success in these negotiations with non-playable characters (NPCs) – and consequently, in progress through different quests – is Henry's skill of charisma and reputation in a given area.

[24] Reviewing debates on perverting history or deliberately stressing given historical and political concepts in video games would constitute a separate paper. For main ideological trends in the recent development of the Czech gaming industry, see Jaroslav Švelch, "Promises of the Periphery: Producing Games in the Communist and Transformation-Era Czechoslovakia," in *Game Production Studies*, edited by Olli Sotamaa and Jan Švelch (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 237–56. The specific case of *KCD* and its promotion of Czech nationalism is addressed in: Eugen Pfister, "Why History in Digital Games matters. Historical Authenticity as a Language for Ideological Myths," in *History in Games: Contingencies of an Authentic Past*, edited by Martin Lorber and Felix Zimmermann (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2020), 47–72.

[25] Some researchers and players define *KCD* as an exemplary model of a realistic computer simulation. For a detailed discussion of the genre and its criteria, see Adam Chapman, *Digital Games as History: How Videogames Represent the Past and Offer Access to Historical Practice* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Surprisingly, in *KCD*, clothes have become a crucial factor influencing charisma, success in dialogues, and consequently a comfortable playthrough experience. Just as in many other games of the genre, each of Henry's sixteen available clothing slots not only exhibits medieval fashion but also provides protection against various types of weapons. What makes *KCD*'s game mechanics special is that clothes also boost a player's charisma if the garments are fancy, clean, and appropriately combined. For example, dressed in a Milanese heavy plate cuirass and freshly-washed nobleman's attire, wearing golden spurs and other valuable accessories, the main character will get a substantial bonus to charisma and receive cordial greetings from peasants and mercenaries: "*I am honored that a knight such as you would come to me*". Moreover, taking off combat garb and wearing noble 'civilian' apparel in towns and villages might boost Henry's charisma to its maximum. It seems logical, however, that the 'knightly' charisma can reach a limited cumulative level up to 18 out of 20 at best as any person would probably be afraid to interact with a warrior in a full set of martial heavy gear. Otherwise, if some elements of body wear and armor become worn, dirty, bloody, or simply do not fit each other (i.e., an apron for cooking would absolutely not match burgher's hose), Henry's level of charisma will significantly drop, and other characters will become more suspicious towards him. Such alteration may result in serious difficulties in communication with local traders or key quest-characters and will lead to constant check-ups from the guardsmen. Overall, imposing the complex procedural mechanics of clothes on players (ironically, one has to comply with these rules even if they do not follow the game's main storyline), *KCD* explicitly underlines the direct correlation between appearance and social position in the Middle Ages.

Figure 2: An NPC addresses the main character dressed in the knightly garments. Kingdom Come: Deliverance (2018)

One of the game's main quests – "Mysterious Ways" – explicitly demonstrates the direct dependence of successful social interaction on clothes. Here, visual social decorum plays such a great role in Henry's success that disobedience to the aforementioned game mechanics concerning outfits may result in severe troubles with progressing through the main story. During this quest, Henry steps into the shoes of a preacher. According to the main storyline, he meets a cleric – Father Godwin – in a desperate attempt to find local bandits' lair and put an end to their killings. Previously, one of the criminals confessed to the priest, but Godwin refuses to reveal the bandit's secrets to the main character. Instead, the prelate tells Henry about popular preacher Jan Hus and recounts how to compose and deliver a good sermon. The two men become engaged in a lively conversation and spend the rest of the day in a the local tavern. Finally, Henry awakes at Godwin's house the next morning to find the priest with a terrible hangover and therefore, completely unable to preach to the masses, awaiting in the church. The deal is simple: if a player gives a sermon instead of Father Godwin, the priest in turn will disclose everything about the wanted bandit, and the quest will be completed.

To make the quest both enlightening and engaging, the developers give to the player an opportunity to examine and imitate one of Hus's most popular discourses, *De Ecclesia*. Late-medieval techniques of composing and presenting sermons to the public were extremely sophisticated both on a literary and performative level, as numerous *Artes Praedicandi,* medieval handbooks about preaching, can attest.[26] For the sake of playability and engagement, the game makes the preaching process easily comprehensible and shortens the sermon's duration: to succeed, Henry should merely praise in a confident manner God's governance over the world, ardently blame fallen prelates' hypocrisy, and finally complement Father Godwin as a humble servant of the Lord. Remarkably, sending Henry to preach in dirty clothes or garments with low charisma characteristics, even if it is a penitent's sack cloak resembling St. Francis' gown(!), will result in failing the quest. On the contrary, putting on clean noble attire and knightly armor will give a high charisma level to a player and allow them to make a few mistakes while choosing a correct topic to preach about.

In such a way, the developers' main preoccupation with historical realism, both on visual and procedural level, presents to the player a tangible and informative simulation of the Middle Ages, showing how the period looked like

[26] For general information about medieval preaching and *Artes Praedicandi*, see Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval "Artes Praedicandi": A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (University of Toronto Press, 2015); *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, edited by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

and functioned. When it comes to minor procedural rules such as a choice of clothes, their regular laundry and repair, *KCD* skillfully constructs a stratified social model of the medieval reality and highlights the crucial role of personal hygiene and proper appearance for historical agents and their social interaction, thus opposing the banal stereotype of the unclean Middle Ages.

3. *Medieval Dynasty*: Real-life Experience or Commercial Simulation of the Middle Ages?

The last example of how video games can articulate beliefs about the medieval past through their procedural capacity is a recently published simulator *Medieval Dynasty* ("Toplitz Productions", 2020). Set somewhere in Europe in the early Middle Ages, this open-world city-building simulation embraces some elements of survival action and role-playing games from a first-person perspective. *Medieval Dynasty* is a classic example of the simulation genre. Unlike *KCD*, it is more process-oriented. A priori, it deprives the player of fighting with non-playable characters. As an alternative, one can focus on a meditative development of the main hero's skills in hunting, crafting, and gathering resources, which will help to get through a day and erect utility buildings necessary to attract more villagers to the settlement. Enlarging the settlement, finding a wife and starting your own family is the real end goal of *Medieval Dynasty*.

According to posts on the Steam gaming platform, users expressed high hopes about the mechanics and content of the game. However, over a period of nine months (September 2020–April 2021), when the game was open to players as an unfinished pre-release, it kept receiving more and more negative reviews, mainly criticizing the apparent discrepancy between the game's procedural prohibitions and its main objectives.[27] It is believed among scholars that simulation games seek to reproduce minor details of a real-life experience through focusing on the gaming process even more than action games.[28] At first glance, *Medieval Dynasty* made such an attempt. However, its portrayal of the Middle Ages appears to be superficial, paradoxical, frustrating, and invalid, as I will now demonstrate.

[27] General information and reviews on the game are available at https://store.steampowered.com/app/1129580/Medieval_Dynasty/ (accessed on 30 January, 2022).

[28] Egenfeldt-Nielsen *et al., Understanding video games*, 44.

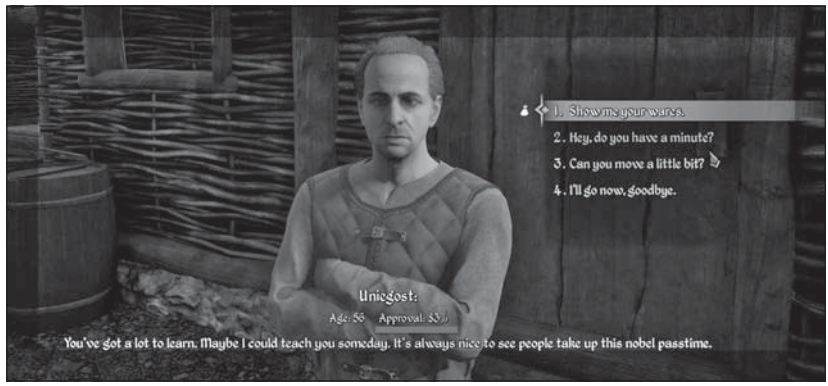


Figure 3: Social approval points in Medieval Dynasty (2020)

Foraging is one of the most vivid examples illustrating the game's procedural paradoxes about the Middle Ages. Focusing primarily on collecting food, coin, and "social approval points"– the resources necessary for surviving seasons and town-building – the early version of *Medieval Dynasty* (as of April, 2021), in fact, subtly impeded a player from hunting wild animals or searching for provisions. Alternatively, its procedural mechanics encouraged players to interact and trade with NPCs in order to sustain the main character more easily and eventually attract more people to the settlement by using the aforementioned social points.[29] For instance, pursuing the 'career' of a hunter, a player would get the same amount of nutrition points from all the available animals: a piece of roasted rabbit would fulfill the main character's hunger for 6 points out of 100 just as a piece of boar or bear. Remarkably, users characterized the hunting process of *Medieval Dynasty* as frustrating. The Steam gaming community collectively agreed (104 people found it helpful) with the following review:

"Your hunger is measured on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 being starving. Hunting a boar will get you maybe 3 pieces of meat. Each piece of meat, when cooked, is worth 6 points of hunger. You'll find yourself eating several boar and deer each day just to stay alive. Conversely, bread is the most nutritious food available. Bread."[30]

[29] As of January 2022, this procedural issue seems to be resolved in a reworked version of the game.

[30] https://steamcommunity.com/id/paulofdoom/recommended/1129580/ (accessed on 30 January, 2022).

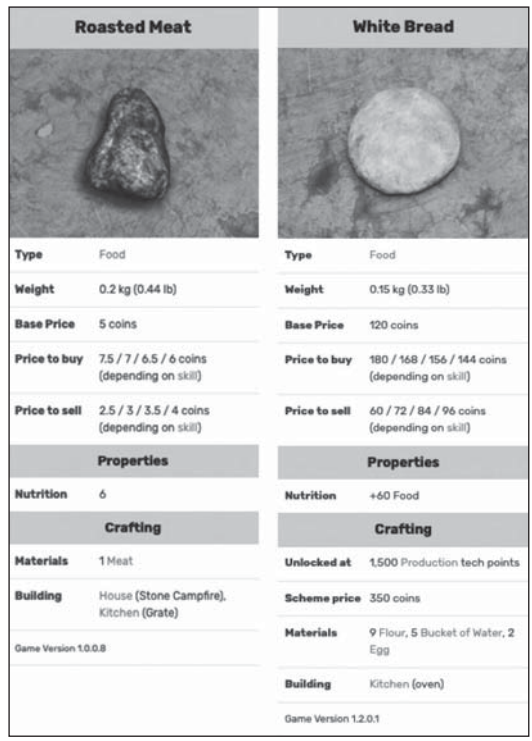


Figure 4: Nutrition points and prices for roasted meat and white bread in Medieval Dynasty (2020). Images are taken from https://medieval-dynasty.fandom.com/

Moreover, while only two pieces of bread were enough to nourish the main character for a gameday, bread also appeared to be one of the most precious trade tokens in the game. Strangely, whereas one might trade collected animal hides at the price of three coins regardless of the animal (boar and rabbit hide would always cost the same), a piece of bread could be sold to a local merchant for a price dozen times higher than any hunting trophy. Generally, communicating with the non-playing characters and helping them with little tasks is the easiest way to earn enough coin and social points for constructing a building, winning over a bride, and attracting new villagers to the settlement.

Based on this procedural observation, it may seem for a moment that, with this intricate system of grinding resources and earning social reputation, the game carefully portrays the Middle Ages as an agrarian epoch that was primarily shaped by commercial and social ties. In fact, however, this procedural model is universal

for many dynasty-simulations published by the same "Toplitz Productions" studio. For instance, *Farmer's Dynasty* (2019) or *Lumberjack's Dynasty* (2021) rely on the same system of collecting resources, earning money, and social points. In the same manner as *Medieval Dynasty*, these simulators ultimately aim at building a dynasty and enlarging a player's trading post. Thus, in *Medieval Dynasty,* the Middle Ages appear to be just a 'visual skin', disguising the universal mechanics of a dynastic simulation game and attracting players interested in the medieval-alike ambience. Perhaps, one may praise the game's distant attempt to replicate historically correct ideas about the period based on social ties. In my opinion, however, such representation is rather a coincidence than a feature. Moreover, the frustrating and controversial procedures surrounding hunting and commerce in *Medieval Dynasty* are a great obstacle for attracting audiences and, consequently, transmitting the educational message about the 'social' Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Although a computer game might make an attempt to model the real world as closely as possible, the fact remains that the procedures available to players are ultimately programmed by the developers' desire to make an enjoyable game. After all, if a game is not fun, it will not have commercial success. Hence, any digital model might transmit a subjective and often limited historical message to a general audience. Still, these procedural messages, games' narratives, and visual content have an educational potential and should be duly evaluated. This idea applies to both commercial best-sellers set in the Middle Ages or independent projects with a small budget.

I argued in this paper that a game's educative message is primarily defined by its procedural rhetoric, its genre, and the developers' commercial interests. As we could see in the three examples that I have demonstrated, a digital image of the Middle Ages can be easily changed depending on these variables. While predetermined rules of *Civilization V* distort our perception of medieval reality in the form of a stereotypical chronology, more gamer-oriented *Kingdom Come: Deliverance*, where a player controls a character with their own backstory and motivations, engages with the Middle Ages more successfully by presenting a complex model of 'feudal' hierarchy. Finally, *Medieval Dynasty* barely portrays certain persuasive procedural messages about the period. Instead, it uses the Middle Ages as a visual or thematical 'skin' to attract players interested in the period.

FROM CNN TO YOUTUBE: HENRY V IN THE DIGITAL AGE

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Seventy five years after its initial release, Olivier's 1944 *Henry V* remains the template for filming Shakespeare's play.[1] So pervasive is Olivier's structure that not only was Orson Welles' 1966 *Falsaff* structured in the same way, making it a *noir* counterpoint to Olivier's technicolor extravaganza, the three subsequent adaptations also followed its basic structure, with the Battle of Agincourt at its core. Even Anne Curry's 2015 MOOC on Agincourt follows Olivier's film.

What has changed over the years are attitudes towards war and heroism. More ill at ease with *warlike Harry*, Branagh's 1989 version presents a darker Henry and the play becomes grittier: after Vietnam and the Falklands, war had become politically more questionable. Western Europe had not seen war on its soil since Olivier's day. The following twenty years only confirmed that trend, and when Peter Babakitis made his version of the film in 2004 wedged between the two Gulf Wars, the play again served as a metaphor for media manipulation. Finally, when the BBC adapted the play as part of the *Hollow Crown* series in 2012, the version explored the personal toll wars take on people.[2] The various films sum up the prevalent attitudes of the times.

Historically, Henry V is the only king not to have been locked in the power struggles that permeated English politics from his father Henry IV's usurpation in 1399 until the death of Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. It is the cornerstone of G.L. Harriss' quasi-panegyric reassessment of Henry's reign, which he soberly sums up by stating that "[t]the simple record of Henry V's achievement is sufficient to establish him as a great king."[3] It can be easily said that one can disagree with Henry's general policy *because he had one*: to claim his right to the

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[1] The film received an entire chapter in the catalogue to the six hundredth anniversary retrospective exhibition on the Battle of Agincourt at the Royal Armouries in 2015. Curiously, the subsequent films were not addressed here. Yet their response both to the original template and to historical knowledge up to that date is equally revealing. Robert C. Woosnam-Savage, "Olivier's Henry V. How a Movie Defined the Image of the Battle of *Agincourt* for Generations" *Agincourt*, edited by Anne Curry and Malcolm Mercer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in association with the Royal Armouries, 2015), 250–262.

[2] Ramona Wray, "*Henry V* after the War on Terror," *Shakespeare Survey Vol 72: Shakespeare and War*, edited by Emma Smith (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2019) 1–15. Online: https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108588072.001

[3] G.L. Harris, "Conclusion," *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. Harris, (Oxford, New York *et al.*: Oxford University Press, 1985), 201–210. 201.

crown of France. The political struggle still informed politics in Shakespeare's day, so it is not so surprising that he would explore that power struggle (not to mention that it made for great theater, just as World War Two still informs our political thinking today and makes for great movies). Shakespeare end the second of two sets of four plays with his production of *King Henry V*. The play is surprisingly original in its own right, as it is not conceived like the other plays in the series as an Elizabethan tragedy, but more as a heroic comedy, complete with a happy ending (wedding and all). Moreover, it is structured as a memorial medieval pageant, with a Chorus serving as narrator[4]. The play becomes an exploration of private memory and public memorialization, one that is fraught with tensions, as seen in the disjunct between the Chorus' memorialization and the reality of the events, but further illustrated by the intrusions in the story of the remainder of Prince Hal's low life cronies led by Ancient Pistol.[5]

Henry V, both as a historical subject and as a stage play, becomes an effective barometer to measure not only attitudes toward currents events, particularly wars, but also for the attitudes towards how media depict these events and the three-way relationship between media, audiences and the basic power structures that use the media for political ends. Shakespeare wrote his play as a warning against media manipulation, but it would seem that the very brilliance of his poetry undercuts that intent. Olivier's film adaptation shows how easily the play can be tailored to fit contemporary propaganda purposes, but the play's production history shows in turn that Olivier was hardly the first in doing so. The play returns – in highly edited form – in the eighteenth century at the height of political tensions between England and France. Even if the rivalry between France and England had subsided, British imperialism would also bolster the play's popularity, with a major production during the Crimea and two virtually concurrent offerings during the Boer Wars. Branagh's film expressed the disillusionment of the Falklands and Vietnam, but the subsequent film and television adaptation were shot under the cloud of both Gulf Wars. Productions of *Henry V* are made to reflect the current political climate.

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[4] Francis Muckis, "'And what art thou, idle ceremony?': Pageantry, Spectacle and Henry V" The University of Edinburg LAMPS page. https://lampsedinburgh.wordpress.com/2021/02/14/and-what-art-thou-thou-idle-ceremonypageantry-spectacle-and-henry-v/

[5] Jonathan Baldo, "Wars of Memory in Henry V," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 47, N°2 (Summer, 1996), 132–159. Rebecca Warren-Heys, "'[R]emember with advantages': Creating Memory in Shakespeare's *Henry V*," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, N°2 – *Memory* (2010). https://northernrenaissance.org/remember-with-advantages-creating-memory-in-shakespeares-henry-v/

Adapting a four-hour Shakespeare play into a two hour-movie requires substantial cutting which implies editorial selection. *Henry V* is inevitably tailored to respond to current attitudes both consciously and unconsciously. Branagh acknowledges this; and even explores some of his editorial selections in the introduction to his published screenplay. "Plot repetitions and excessive flights of rhetorical fancy were ruthlessly excised," he explained.[6] The introduction also stresses the thematic and narrative differences in approach his film had with Olivier's version. But what he obviously does not address is the fact that his film is structured as a remake of the Olivier original and is biased as an adaptation. While never openly acknowledged, the structural parallels between the two films help explain the comparative nature (whether explicit or implicit) that is found in most of the articles discussing Branagh's film.[7]

Any desire to control the media is met with an equal artistic as well as audience reaction. This is as true for the Hayes code as for government censorship. The twentieth century is the last century where informational and entertainment media flow predominantly from providers (the press, film, radio, and later broadcast or cable television) to audiences. With the advent of the internet, that single direction becomes less apparent: content providers are also content users and audience reactions, responses and conversations become an essential aspect of media input. This paper therefore spends as much time considering recent history was presented at the time as it does the way *King Henry V* illustrates the response to those events. The First Gulf War was the only time a single news outlet, CNN, was able to shape public perception of the conflict. The second Gulf War, as it became more protracted and difficult to explain, needed to implicate the journalist in the management of public perception. It is the war of the embedded journalist who was held under the sway of the political and military structures handling the war. The arrival of the internet would subvert that controlled experience, allowing the audience to bring their own interpretation of the events to their very presentation. Olivier's film stood virtually alone for nearly fifty years. Note how often Shakespeare's histories and *Henry V* in general have been filmed since Branagh's production. Since the First Gulf War, the play has been reexamined four times in the light of novel current events as well as these new media. As this paper will attempt to demonstrate, *Henry V* reflects the strengths and weaknesses of any

[6] Kenneth Branagh, *William Shakespeare's Henry V, Screenplay and Introduction,* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), xv.

[7] Sarah Munson Deats even reprises Norman Rabkin's famous title regarding the Henry V paradox with her own article title "Rabbits and Ducks. Olivier, Branagh and 'Henry V'" in *Literature/Film Quarterly*, Vol. 20, N°4 (1992), 284–293.

medium and continues to stand as a metaphor for the role and responsibilities those in power have when the nation is in conflict, as well as how more generally they try to manage popular perception.

From Hollywood to CNN: Government and Media Management of Policy

It can be fairly argued, at least since Caesar wrote his *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*, that wars have been fought on a cultural front, that is to say that a given war was always accompanied by its cultural apparatus to assert its moral and political justification. That apparatus however has expanded over the last few centuries. *Henry V* has been exploited to that effect. The nineteenth century saw elaborate stage productions (that often foreshadow Olivier's film production), as well as a proliferation of images in a variety of media, from stained glass to ceramic figurines. World War One attempted to control information, World War Two marshalled all of Hollywood to its cause, and Vietnam was the first 'television war'. Such management invariably met with opposition. Frank Capra produced the acclaimed *Why We Fight* series for the War office, while Preston Sturges lampooned patriotic attitudes with films like *Hail the Conquering Hero*.[8] The Vietnam War may have dominated the evening news, but in the States, we remember it best through the television series *M*A*S*H**.

The century ended with what could be called the Golden Age of cable television, with a concurrent expansion of available channels, including, most interestingly, specialty channels, and most importantly, the advent of the all-news channel CNN (or Cable News Network). Radio had already undergone its period of specialization over the previous two decades, with a number of local and national news outlets, so the idea of an all-news television station was not that hard to imagine. It would merely follow the basic radio format of a series of rotating news pieces over a specified time frame ("give us 22 minutes and we'll give you the world"[9] – over and over again). What was not expected was the serendipity of CNN's arrival and its impact on audiences. CNN got its major push forward with the events leading up to the first Gulf War, as well as the war itself.

[8] Such irreverence could also be semi-unintentional. Warner Bros.' *Private Snafu* series got into hot water with its last cartoon that depicted a bomb that was able to wipe out an entire island! See Mark David Kaufman, "Ignorant Armies: Private Snafu Goes to War," *The Public Domain Review* (March 25, 2015) https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/ignorant-armies-private-snafu-goes-to-war.

[9] A curious marketing slogan from a Los Angeles radio station, one that still is troubling, according to columnist Steve Harvey, "Radio Station Still Gets Some Static Over Slogan's Math Glitch", *Los Angeles Times* (June 16,2006). http://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-jun-16-me-only-16-story.html

There were the dramatic congressional debates over the authorization to use force, which in turn fueled public debate (the 'no blood for oil' antiwar slogan versus the legitimacy of intervention against international aggression).[10] The subsequent war was shockingly swift, short and decisive. It lasted in essence six weeks, and the whole affair ran about the length of a news cycle – an even greater boost to the news channel's prestige. CNN had both a clear playing field (as there was little or no competition) and an easily identifiable beginning, middle and end to a situation, which it could shape into a clear narrative.[11]

New York Times columnist Richard Bernstein titles his editorial with the question "Will the Gulf War Produce Enduring Art?" For as he explained in the column, "It was a war so carefully scripted for television that it was in a way already a movie. It's hard to imagine what a film maker could do that the war itself, and previous movies, haven't done already."[12]

Since the war was so short, CNN was the *only* source of information, precluding any critical analysis. So, while there was strong debate leading up to the conflict, there was no subsequent critique of its actual existence and meaning. Oliver Stone offers the answer to Bernstein's question by pointing out that "Tom Cruise already did the Persian Gulf war in 'Top Gun.'"[13] Wars seem to become so short that it is impossible to think about them, let alone criticize them. In years to come, we might remember the first Gulf War as well as we remember the action on the Barbary Coast of the early American Republic, of which we retain little more than "the shores of Tripoli" in the Marines' song.[14] If we remember the First Gulf War at all, it will probably be as a prelude to the second Gulf War.

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[10] It is, as one congressman put it at the time, the closest approximation to a declaration of war in recent history. The final tally was a very slim margin: 52 senators approved the authorization: 47 opposed and only 1, Alan Cranston from California, decided not to vote. All opposition was from the Democratic party, but a few broke ranks. United States Senate Roll call vote, 102nd congress, First Session. Decided January 12, 1991: https://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=102&session=1&vote=00002

[11] During a press conference, then Joint Chief of Staff Colin Powell quipped that he got most his information from CNN. As an off-hand remark, that sounded like a good joke, but what does the comment actually mean? On the surface, it would imply that CNN gets its information before the military high command would, and that is preposterous. So instead, it would mean that CNN served as a conduit for official policy, rather than a critically minded journalistic outlet. And it remained the principal source of public information.

[12] Richard Bernstein, "Will the Gulf War Produce Enduring Art?" *New York Times,* (June 9, 1991). https://www.nytimes.com/1991/06/09/arts/will-the-gulf-war-produce-enduring-art.html

[13] *Ibid.* The point is something of the realization of Tom Lehrer's 1965 novelty song *So Long Mom (a song for World War III)*.

[14] The Barbary Coast expedition was the USMC's first overseas mission.

CNN's handling of the Gulf War reached levels of control that media managers had only dreamed of under Woodrow Wilson.[15] Wilson's control remained limited. There was a strong labor-based anti-war movement,[16] and Chaplin would spoof wartime militarism and heroics in his comedy *Soldier Arms* (all the while selling war bonds). Such streamlined media management could only be effective in the short time span that the first Gulf War enjoyed. It turns out however that the Gulf War was something of an exception: a little more than a simple military response and less than a real war. While there was time to be aware of the United States' use of military force to maintain its political dominance (especially in the years following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War), there literally was not the time to mount an effective (or even meaningful) anti-war movement, nor was there any need to justify the war over the long term.

The closest we would come to a critique of the First Gulf War would be the case subsequently, in satires like Barry Levinson's *Wag the Dog* in 1997 or David O. Russell's 2000 *Three Kings,* which are both essentially about media manipulation[17]. But they come after the fact, and do not call into question policy or practice while the crisis is under way, as was the case for Michael Powell's 1943 *Col. Blimp*, a film that Churchill despised so much that his personal involvement in the production of *Henry V* was intended to counter the effect of Powell's film. "Writing in November 1990", muses Ian Aitken, "one wonders whether Branagh's film might not have had more relevance if it had been released against the background of a possible war in the Gulf?"[18] That is precisely what happened: Branagh's 1989 production *is* the *Henry V* for the First Gulf War: this version both illustrates and criticizes the 'finding a war we could win' atmosphere. The Gulf War was given its tidy little

[15] Christopher Daly, "How Woodrow Wilson's Propaganda Machine Changed American Journalism." *The Conversation* (April 28, 2017) The most interesting aspect of the endeavor was its commercial nature. The entire operation was not so much seen as propaganda as it was seen as commercial, the idea of selling the war to America. https://theconversation.com/how-woodrow-wilsons-propaganda-machine-changed-american-journalism-76270

[16] Rutger Ceballos, "Reds, Labor and the Great War: Anti-War Activism in the Northwest" *Anti-War and Radical History Project,* (University of Washington HSTAA, 498, Fall 2013 and 499, Spring 2014). https://depts.washington.edu/antiwar/WW1_reds.shtml

[17] There have been since then a number of films that explore the effects of the Gulf War, including paradoxically the destructive effect of *the lack of action,* as in the case of the film *Jarhead* in 2005 directed by Sam Mendes.

[18] Ian Aitken, Formalism and Realism: Henry V (Laurence Olivier, 1944; Kenneth Branagh, 198 9)" *Critical Survey: Text into Performance* Vol. 3, N°3 (1991), 260–268. 267.

ending with people at home having tied a yellow ribbon (to the music of the 1973 song) and the troops being thanked for their job in the Gulf.[19]

Henry, the Second Gulf War and the Embedded Journalist

Criticism of the Gulf War, then, is essentially criticism of the *second* Gulf War, which began after the attack of the World Trade Center in 2001. Though nobody seems to notice anymore, this war is in fact still grinding on today, and it is as long, messy and unclear as the first war was swift and successful. Most of the criticism of the war was expressed in the first decade of the century. [20] Peter Babatikis' 2004 version of *Henry V* is a direct response to the CNN style of war reporting. Sarah Hatchuel even relays how he felt that the depiction of Agincourt "ought to look like CNN coverage of all the wars that go on today, with all the chaotic, unplanned shocks that appear in real documentary footage of the so-called 'embedded' video journalist."[21]

The notion of an 'embedded journalist' is nothing new. Derek P. Royal explores how the Chorus in Branagh's *Henry V* slips from a Brechtian distance to an admiring observer, the key swing happening during the siege of Harfleur, where we see the Chorus (much like television war correspondents) living the frenzied conditions of battle from the edges. From then on, his tone changes. "The abrupt and jarring nature of Jacobi's performance is replaced by one that more gently intrudes on the scenes upon which he comments."[22] Derek Royal sees this a something of a missed opportunity to use the Chorus as a critique of the events of the play. But another, more troublesome, reading can be derived from this analysis, one that recalls the 'journalist' in Peter Watkins' 1964 *Culloden*. Branagh's

[19] The case of the Yellow Ribbon generated even at the time considerable consternation among social studies scholars, such as Linda Pershing and Margaret R. Yocom, "The Yellow Ribboning of the USA: The Contested Meaning in the Construction of a Political Symbol," *Western Folklore,* Vol. 55, N°1 (Winter, 1996), pp. 41–85. A popular song was repurposed for the war in a manner that is not so different from the integration of pop songs into other films, such as classic musicals like the 1954 *White Christmas.*

[20] As the war continued, it faded into the background. How many people actually realize that it has lasted longer than any other sustained conflict in American history? That of course is another topic…

[21] Originally posted on the film's official website, which has since been taken down. Sarah Hatchuel, "The Battle of Agincourt in Shakespeare's, Laurence Olivier's, Kenneth Branagh's and Peter Babatikis's *Henry V," Shakespeare on Screen: The Henriad,* edited by Sarah Hatchuel and Nathalie Vienne-Guerrin (Mont Saint-Aignan: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2008), 193–208. 200.

[22] Derek P. Royal, "Shakespeare's Kingly Mirror: Figuring the Chorus in Olivier's and Branagh's 'Henry V'," *Literature/Film Quarterly,* Vol. 25, N°2 (1997), 104–110. 108.

Chorus initially appears as a distanced, neutral conveyor of information, but as the film progresses, he is subtly "sucked into" Henry's way of thinking: the unbiased journalist unwittingly becomes mouthpiece of official doctrine. This runs counter to Shakespeare's own Chorus, who from the start, stands as that mouthpiece: it is his stance that is constantly undercut by the events in the play. Rather than being the unbiased conveyor of verifiable truth, it is the Chorus and not the play who for Shakespeare is the myth maker. "The Chorus is great painter of pictures", Andrew Gurr drily notes, "but they are never the pictures shown on the stage."[23]

What then should be the nature and the degree of 'mismatch' between the Chorus and the play, and what is the Chorus' role if it is considered akin to the modern-day journalist? If the Chorus is to be a journalist, then we have a problem, indeed. Capra's films for instance show journalists as crass, opportunistic and insensitive. Their sense of self-importance leads them to believe their jaded world view as objectively accurate. Finally, journalism is terribly susceptible to political and corporate control. But for Capra *journalists do not lie*. The idea that Shakespeare suggests with his characterization of the Chorus, that journalists indeed lie – that they transmit as truth that which they patently know is false – is so unsettling for a democracy as to be inconceivable. Only did Orson Welles, a careful reader of Shakespeare, confronted that possibility in *Citizen Kane*.

The New Media and the Centrality of the Individual Experience

The idea that lying is endemic to the use of power came to the fore just prior to the first Gulf War with the Iran-Contra Scandal a few years earlier.[24] The subsequent idea that wars and policy were the product of political manipulation in which journalists and journalism in general played a willing and active part, was one that was ready to take shape at the close of the last century. For at about that time, the earliest version of data transfer telecommunications, or the internet, began to take shape. Developed in the late sixties for NASA, commercial versions began appearing in the 1980's. France had successfully launched its Minitel. The first internet powerhouse was America On Line. The internet was sufficiently sprawling in the early 1990's for various search engines to emerge (Altavista, Netscape, and, of course, Yahoo). The internet came into its own with the new century, as

[23] Andrew Gurr, "Introduction", William Shakespeare, *King Henry V,* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press New Cambridge Shakespeare, 1992) 1–55. 9.

[24] Bill Moyers offered a very interesting documentary in the wake of that scandal *The Truth About Lies,* the last of a four-part documentary, *The Public Mind,* discussing the use of images in shaping public opinion, aired November 29, 1989.

access became simpler and more powerful. Information that could take hours to download would take minutes (and today need not be downloaded at all). It is a revolution whose impact cannot be over emphasized. Historians, and particularly art historians, have access to images and information at unprecedented levels. Virtually all the works as well as the entirety of the images consulted for this paper can be found on the internet; book encyclopedias are a thing of the past.

But is that actually such a good thing? Access to images and information is so massive and immediate that they become difficult to actually verify. There are well documented catalogues from sites like the British Library, but even they have difficulties keeping up. It is easy to forget how labor intensive such a task actually is, and the immediacy of access tends to hide labor: The British Library catalogue is quite complete, but since its creation (which is now well over ten years), certain collections have yet to be digitized; scanning errors have yet to be corrected, and most importantly, the bibliography needs to be brought up to date. For instance, the 'select bibliography' for the catalogue entry of the Arundel 38 Manuscript of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* ends in 2011.[25] Alongside the institutional are the commercial catalogues, such as Bridgman Images, which do not offer comprehensive entries to their images. Without further investigation, it is unwise to include in a catalogue of images of the king a given manuscript painting that is ostensibly of Henry V (or of any given subject for that matter).

There are a number of web pages that say virtually anything. Any search will run the entire gamut of sources and interpretations: newspapers, personal blogs, television downloads, MOOC's and YouTube free-form videos. All this information is placed on the same level. One could expect that such an ability to inform as well as be informed would be a source of expanded knowledge and novel thinking, but in fact it is the opposite that is true. Rather than seeking out information that challenges our assumptions and our knowledge, the very practices of the internet tend to reinforce our preconceptions. A form of planetary groupthink sets in. If one types *Battle of Agincourt* in a search engine, the resulting articles will say essentially the same thing: that English pluck, English longbowmen and good leadership helped them beat the odds and that, to this day, discussing Agincourt is a good way to irritate the French. There is a surprising degree of flippancy when dealing with images. Usually, these articles will be illustrated by either a manuscript image or some equally unspecified nineteenth-century engraving (preferably colored), a still from Olivier's *Henry V* and the National Portrait Gallery portrait of the King

[25] Detailed record of Arundel 38 (Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*). British Library online catalogue. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8782&CollID=20&NStart=38

(or some generically unspecified variation). A good example of this can be found in Laurier Hampton's blog post "A Story of the Underdog: The Battle of Agincourt". The article gets the basic information right and then messes up the imagery: along with the expected list (which is neither explained nor identified), we get a picture of the wrong Charles VI, for instead of showing a picture of the late fourteenth-century French king, we have a portrait of the early eighteenth-century Habsburg Emperor. [26] What does that say of the other images?

In short, while the internet offers great advances in conventional history, it more often than not becomes an echo chamber of redundant clichés, which lead to a surreal vision of history. David Michôd's *The King* is ostensibly a fusion between a biography of Henry V and a condensation of Shakespeare's *Henriad.* As a concession to historical advances, there is even a scar under Henry's left eye.[27] But why there should be one is anybody's guess: the Battle of Shrewsbury, where history tells us he sustained the arrow wound, is reduced to a single combat between Hal and Hotspur. There is no bow shot to wound Henry in the first place! This, along with the recharacterization of Falstaff[28], is the most egregious example of the film's rewriting of History as well as of Shakespeare.

Finally, we have the internet's viral and highly emotional user-responses; one post is followed by hundreds of comments leading to another post. This creates not so much a conversation as a series of personal points of view – written shouting matches, if you will. The practice has obvious political fallout, turning partisan opinion into unquestionable doctrine and consequently shattering society as a cohesive whole. It also spills over into subsequent representations of King Henry V and productions of the play. Thus, if one follow's Ramona Wray's analysis of the 2012 *Hollow Crown* version of *Henry V,* the play no longer discusses the responsibility of those in power when waging war, but rather "a vision of war" that "embeds a human experience divorced from larger questions of political accountability."[29] Wray explores how the film discusses the issue of post-traumatic stress that is prevalent in contemporary Iraq war films, a stress that is felt by Henry himself. What Wray fails to point out is that to achieve such a reading one must throttle

[26] Laurier Hampton, "A study of the Underdog: The Battle of Agincourt," *Old Dirty History* (March 12, 2017). It should be added that the bibliography is surprisingly thin. https://olddirtyhistory.wordpress.com/2017/03/12/a-story-of-the-underdog-the-battle-of-agincourt/

[27] The problems surrounding Henry's arrow wound just under his eye suffered at Shrewsbury has come under considerable scrutiny these past few years.

[28] He becomes Henry's most trusted adviser, and eventually suffers the duke of York's fate of dying while taking the hardest onslaught of the French cavalry.

[29] Wray, "*Henry V* After the War on Terror," 3.

the very point of the play. It is a common practice to shift scenes in Shakespearean productions, but they are usually made for clarity; rarely do they subvert the play's intent. While there is a problematic tradition in the case of *Henry V*, as both previous film versions attest, in order to prove her point, director Thea Sharrock makes editorial and staging decisions that tend to undermine the play as well as its tradition in favor of her own thesis. Henry's violent description of war at the gates of Harfleur is made *after* he has entered the gates of the city, in other words at a moment when they are no longer necessary. The Saint Crispan's day speech is made to small group of officers for whom such a speech is equally unnecessary. Finally, Henry's order to kill the prisoners is presented as a moment of spite: the order upon seeing York's body. Such an editorial choice is once again unnecessary, as the sense of stress could have been conveyed using Shakespeare's own strategy: in the play, the order to kill the prisoners comes at a moment of panic when Henry fears the French are getting ready to regroup and launch a final offensive.[30]

Internet Crowding and the Collapse of History

The internet highlights a recurrent problem when dealing with Henry V and the Lancastrian dynasty in general: historians tend to read the era in a contemporary light. The term *propaganda* for instance is regularly used when discussing Lancastrian art. As early as 1981, Francis Woodman discusses the choir screen of Lancastrian kings at Canterbury Cathedral as a work of propaganda, in proposing that Edmond Beaufort, duke of Somerset (1406–55) and brother to cardinal Beaufort (c.1375–1447) was the choir screen's patron.[31] Somerset had the money, the power and the political affiliations to back such a grandiose structure, but does the term *propaganda* apply? Such a term only has meaning in the context of mass-production and mass-dissemination of information. A printed book like John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* can be perceived as propaganda. A statue in a church, no matter how important the church and impressive the statue is, is limited in its reach.

[30] What transpires is Sharrock's profound ignorance both of the battle and of Henry. By the time he came to Agincourt, Henry was an old campaigner. In battle, you press on and try to survive. As Samuel Fuller put it, "All that phony heroism is a bunch of baloney when they're shooting at you". The stress comes after, sometimes long after, the battles have settled. Roger Ebert, "'All war stories are told by survivors': An interview with Samuel Fuller" (August 17, 1980). http://www.rogerebert.com/interviews/all-war-stories-ar-told-by-survivors-an-interview-with-samuel-fuller

[31] Francis Woodman *Canterbury Cathedral,* 192.

Historians should know better: is Henry V a war criminal as Desmond Seward paints him, or a model king, following Malcolm Vale's presentation?[32] What makes the first idea interesting is how his actions could be seen as controversial *in his own time*. "Indeed," notes Craig Taylor, "the example of Henry V demonstrates the problems caused by the romantic notions of chivalry that have come to dominate the modern imagination. […] In the Middle Ages, the ideals of knighthood were much more complicated."[33] The modern Oxford historian Felipe Fernandez-Armesto states that Henry "began, on the field of Agincourt, a career as a war criminal, massacring prisoners in defiance of the conventions."[34] What conventions is Fernadez-Armesto referring to? For, as Taylor pointed out, "[c]rucially, Medieval commentators, even from the French side did not attack Henry V for his action."[35] What should intrigue historians is the gap in perception between modern times and Henry's times (or those of any historical figure).

The face of Henry is always presented in profile; it is only a question of point of view to say which side is placed forward. Internet crowding makes the Middle Ages seem darker, and in many ways more mysterious and complex today than they did seventy years ago, for rather than questioning perceptions, blogs and posts tend to reinforce commonplaces.

How to come to terms with such a mess? Perhaps by taking our time, logging off and rereading Shakespeare. Like its historical namesake, *King Henry V* is known for its ambivalence,[36] for it is a play that is built along the lines of a medieval pageant, and as such is expected to be seen as an example of kingly greatness, the story of 'this star of England' as the Chorus calls him. Yet all the calls of greatness are undercut by the scenes themselves; even Agincourt is reduced to the vision of a Mountebank taking a coward prisoner. It is a play that demands the audience's sustained attention, with various levels of information to work with at all times. No actor worth his salt ignored that fact. William Hazlitt famously called Henry an "amiable monster" – as viewed from the safety of the theater[37]. Welles more

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[32] Desmond Seward, *Henry V as Warlord* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987); Malcolm Vale, *Henry V: The Conscience of a King* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2016). It should be noted that there is a prominent either/or attitude towards Henry's character.

[33] Craig Taylor, "Henry V, Flower of Chivalry," *Henry V: New Interpretations,* edited by Gwilym Dodd (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The York Medieval Press, 2013) 217–247. 220.

[34] Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, "The Myth of Henry V", in *BBC History* webpage (Accessed on February 17,2011) http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/middle_ages/henry/v/o1.shtml

[35] Taylor, op. cit. page 236.

[36] *Henry V* and *Hamlet* are near contemporary plays in the Shakespeare cannon.

[37] William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays.* Posted online: https://beelyrics.net/music/53179-william-hazlitt/161337-characters-of-shakespeare-s-plays-henry-v-lyrics.html

bluntly called him a 'most awful shit.'[38] Even Olivier knew that the play would have to be seriously reworked if it was to be a patriotic crowd pleaser.

Shakespeare wrote his play as a warning against media manipulation, but did he expect it to become so effective a participant in that manipulation?

[38] Bridget Gellert-Lyons, "Interview with Keith Baxter," *Chimes at Midnight,* edited by Gellert-Lyons, (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, Films in Print Collection, 1988), 267–283. 275.

HERESY: A FOLKLORE-INSPIRED STREETWEAR BRAND REFASHIONS BRITISH HERITAGE

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At the autumn 2018 Paris Fashion Week, a series of artificial megaliths were erected in the Jardin du Luxembourg. Designed to resemble those located at the Neolithic henge in Avebury, Wiltshire, these standing stones served as runway backdrops for the newest collection of garments designed by British luxury fashion label Alexander McQueen. Models posed in front of the faux megaliths as they glided down the catwalk in clothing tailored to resemble medieval armour, leading one fashion reviewer to describe the models as "modern-day Boudicas".[1] In the same review, the label's designs are characterized as "*distinctly British",* evoking the mythical romance of Avalon and Arcadia and the sweeping landscapes, pagan rituals, and folkloric traditions of Old 'Olde' England".[2] The McQueen fashion show offers a recent example of British folkloric media-centered on themes and imagery derived from Britain's vernacular culture. On the McQueen runway, the presence of folkloric material, such as megaliths and other premodern iconography, conjures – for one reviewer at least – a host of accompanying folkloric associations, from Celtic warriors to pagan rituals. But why should any of this material be considered "distinctly British" in the first place? In the following discussion, I answer this question by outlining the history of the perceived connection between folk culture and national identity. I then examine how this connection is perpetuated, and occasionally challenged, in contemporary folkloric media.

1. A Brief History of British Folklore Studies

The study of Britain's ancient landscapes, artefacts, and customs begins with early modern antiquarianism. As folklorist Paul Cowdell explains, antiquarians participated in a discipline known as "popular antiquities" a "broad and diffuse field of research incorporating archaeology, toponymy, landscape, local history and legend".[3] Cowdell suggests that antiquarianism was motivated, at least in part, by a desire to preserve Britain's heritage, a desire rooted in anxieties about

[1] Osman Ahmed, "Alexander McQueen Explores British History," *I-D,* 2 October 2018, https://i-d.vice.com/en_uk/article/bjadb8/alexander-mcqueen-explores-british-history.

[2] Emphasis added.

[3] Paul Cowdell, "'Practicing Witchcraft Myself During the Filming' Folk Horror, Folklore, and the Folkloresque," *Western Folklore,* vol. 78, no. 4 (2019): 297.

the loss of older ways of life in the face of Britain's shifting political, economic, and social landscape.[4] These anxieties persisted into the Victorian period when, in 1846, the antiquarian W. J. Thoms first used the term "folk-lore," initiating a gradual transition from popular antiquities to the more formalized field of folklore studies.[5] The formalization of folklore studies coincided with Victorian society's increased interest in the premodern roots of British national identity, spurred by growing "revulsion against increasing urbanization and industrialization".[6] According to folklorist Gillian Bennett, the Victorians' resistance to the effects of modernity engendered a desire to "[retreat] into the myth of 'Merrie England,' a largely imaginary heritage which [the Victorians] sought to restore and place at the center of national cultural life".[7] As Bennett suggests, early scholarly perceptions of folklore were biased by nationalist agendas and romantic misconceptions of the past and the pastoral. At this time, folklore was viewed as a product of isolated rural communities, where premodern beliefs and practices were protected from corrupting factors like industrialization and foreign influence. Understood as a static, untainted expression of Britain's cultural heritage, folklore was often used to support ideas about national identity.[8] Twenty first century folklorists largely reject this perception of folklore. Instead, folklore is understood in broader, more fluid terms, as something produced collectively by any group of people, in any time period and place.[9]

2. British Folklore Beyond the Academy: Folkloric Media

Outside the academy, in folkloric media, many early misconceptions about vernacular culture persist. For instance, this media is typically characterized by the presence of recognizable topoi – common folkloric tropes and iconography – including superstitious villagers, pagan customs, and vast, uninhabited landscapes that promote a sense of spatiotemporal separation from the modern world. Such depictions of vernacular culture perpetuate the early modern and Victorian view that folklore is restricted to remote agrarian communities which, in their remove

4 Cowdell, 298.

5 Gillian Bennett, "The Thomsian Heritage in the Folklore Society," *Journal of Folklore Research,* vol. 33, no. 3 (1996): 212.

6 Bennett, 212.

7 Bennett, 212.

8 Timothy Baycroft, *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century.* (Leiden, 2012), 1.

9 Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud, *The Dictionary of English Folklore* (Oxford, 2000), 130.

from contemporary urban life, are seemingly frozen in a quasi-pagan premodern time-warp; i.e. folklore is framed as something ancient, static, and insular. These misrepresentative portrayals of folk culture discursively reinforce a restrictive and fundamentally inaccurate definition of Britain's authentic cultural heritage while perpetuating similarly restrictive definitions of British national identity. Defining British heritage and identity in such narrow terms has deleterious effects, and this is particularly evident in the context of contemporary British politics. For example, since voting in 2016 to withdraw from the European Union, Britain has witnessed an increase in nationalist and xenophobic discourse,[10] and an attendant increase in so-called "bordering processes" – social and cultural practices of differentiation which construct and perpetuate symbolic divisions, or borders, between "insider and "outsider"; "us" and "them".[11] These bordering processes frequently weaponize the past by using misconceptions about Britain's cultural heritage as flawed bases for adjudicating who does and does not qualify as "truly" British. By perpetuating a misrepresentative portrayal of vernacular culture, folkloric media contributes to broader sociocultural bordering practices that position Britain's heritage and, by extension, British identity as monolithic and exclusive.

However, not all folkloric media functions in this way, with these effects. HERESY, a London based streetwear brand which takes creative inspiration from British folklore, incorporates recognizable folkloric themes and imagery in its clothing designs, but does so in a self-reflexive way: the brand combines elements of tradition and modernity to create garments which emphasize the hybridity of British cultural heritage. In doing so, HERESY also, by extension, challenges rigid and exclusionary notions of British identity.

I am not claiming that certain types of folkloric media are good while others are bad. Rather, I wish to illustrate that folkloric adaptations based on inaccurate, prejudicial understandings of vernacular culture are inherently prone to perpetuate those unfounded prejudices. HERESY is one example of folkloric media which eschews the common depiction of folk culture as static and hostile to change and difference. Instead, this brand portrays folklore in a more accurate sense, as a dynamic negotiation between self and community, past and present. At a time when the status of British heritage and British national identity are deeply contested, it is worth considering the sociopolitical value of media which reframes

[10] Andrew Gardner, "Brexit, Boundaries and Imperial Identities: A Comparative View," *Journal of Social Archaeology,* vol. 17, no. 1 (2017): 4.

[11] Anssi Paasi, "Bounded Spaces in a 'Borderless World': Border Studies, Power and the Anatomy of Territory," *Journal of Power,* vol. 2, no. 2 (2009): 223.

– or in this case, refashions – cultural heritage as an accessible, ongoing processes in which anyone is invited to participate.

2.1 Examples of Folkloric Media

The extensive use of folkloric themes and imagery in a wide variety of twentieth and twenty first century popular media (e.g. music, film and television, and fashion design) attests that vernacular culture is not restricted to the academic sphere. In the examples below, media signals its folkloric associations by employing familiar themes and imagery which have become recognizable folkloric topoi, or commonplaces. These folkloric topoi include depictions of isolated rural settings, and allusions to premodern beliefs and traditions. Such allusions populate contemporary folkloric media, an "agglomeration of convincing motifs and forms"[12] which functions to imbue this media with a veneer of historical authenticity.

Take, for example, Britain's musical "folk revival," which gained particular momentum following the Second World War.[13] The economy of postwar Britain was gradually shifting from austerity to increasing affluence and consumerism.[14] This shift led to increased social and political interest in "so-called 'working-class culture'… in opposition to mass, commercial culture".[15] Musicians experimented with "reviving" musical traditions associated with Britain's proletariat[16], including ballads and sea shanties and seasonal songs.[17] The music of Britain's rural working class was of particular interest, due to a general belief that "folk songs would be 'found only in those country districts, which, by reason of their remoteness, have escaped the infection of modern ideas'".[18]

The folk revival was both a means of resisting modern consumer culture, and an attempt to push back against the increasing Americanization of music within Britain.[19] In an effort to rediscover a distinctive British sound, musicians

[12] Michael Dylan Foster, "Introduction: *The Challenge of the Folkloresque," in The Folkloresque: Reframing Folklore in a Popular Culture World,* eds. Michael Dylan Foster and Jeffrey A. Tolbert (Utah State University Press, 2016), quoted in Cowdell, 319.

[13] Julia Mitchell, "'Farewell to 'Cotia": The English Folk Revival, the Pit Elegy, and the Nationalization of British Coal, 1947–70," *Twentieth Century British History,* vol. 25, no. 4 (2014): 586.

[14] Mitchell, 586.

[15] Mitchell, 588.

[16] Britta Sweers, *Electric Folk: The Changing Face of English Traditional Music* (Oxford, 2005), 25.

[17] Sweers, 33, 24.

[18] Cecil J. Sharp and Maud Karpeles, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions,* 4th ed. (EP, 1975), quoted in Cowdell, 304.

[19] Mitchell, 589; Sweers, 33.

began to research and perform what they believed were "idiomatic" musical styles, with "characteristic melodic turns and instrumental sounds".[20] However, the fact that, in many cases, the revivalists' research was based on collections of folk songs compiled – and heavily edited – in the Victorian era undermines the material's actual authenticity.[21] Using texts with Victorian corruptions as their source material, the revivalists' entire conception of what constituted British musical heritage was largely founded on "romanticized nineteenth-century ideas of traditional music".[22]

Many of the recognizable topoi appearing in musical adaptations of folklore are also present in folkloric film and television productions. For example, rural locales and ancient vernacular traditions are central features in British films such as *The Wicker Man* (1973), and television programs like *A Warning to the Curious* (1972), and *The Children of the Stones* (1977). There is a strong visual and narrative emphasis on "rural lifestyles, places and aesthetics"[23] in each production. Remote landscapes, seemingly "stained by time"[24], provide the atmospheric setting for stories that revolve around artefacts, customs, and legends with folkloric associations. Typically, these stories follow an outsider, usually an urbanite, who enters "the zone of the countryside"[25] thereby coming into contact with this zone's inhabitants, the "folk." This contact represents a form of trespass on the spaces and traditions typically reserved for the folk. In all three productions, the outsider's is unwelcome: they may be punished for their trespass, and/or driven away.[26]

As folklorist Paul Cowdell notes, in these and other so-called "folk horror" productions, the portrayal of vernacular culture is "built… on popular and sometimes anachronistic readings of folkloristics".[27] For instance, each of these programs centres on the depictions of sequestered agrarian communities, characterized by the kind of "residual supernatural belief and practice" which early folklorists "associated with such rural isolation".[28] This folkloric video media is thus effectively "replicating a fantasy of rural separation and remoteness as a locus for preservation of the arcane and sinister".[29] Cowdell's statements highlight the fact

[20] Sweers, 8.

[21] Sweers, 7.

[22] Sweers, 4.

[23] Adam Scovell, *Folk Horror: Hours Dreadful and Things Strange* (Auteur Publishing, 2017), 126.

[24] Mark Fisher, "What Is Hauntology?", *Film Quarterly,* vol. 66, no. 1 (2012): 21.

[25] Scovell, 124.

[26] Scovell, 124–125.

[27] Cowdell, 299.

[28] Cowdell, 304.

[29] Cowdell, 312.

that folkloric video media "depends upon an intellectual history of thinking about folk traditions".[30]

Folkloric adaptations are also found in contemporary fashion design, with the London-based clothing brand HERESY offering one example. Founded by two illustrators,[31] HERESY produces small, seasonal collections of casual "streetwear" garments, such as jeans, T-shirts, and hoodies, and smaller items like socks, hats, and tote bags. HERESY's website and Instagram account indicates that Britain's rural spaces and vernacular culture play a key role in both design and marketing, as folkloric topoi appear frequently in both the products, and in the direction of fashion footage used to promote these products.

Heresy's website offers several illuminating examples, like the "Chalky Lad" trousers (see *fig. 1*) featuring screen printed Green Man figures on the front, and a small "Chalky Lad" figure on the back. The Green Man detail is a graphic allusion to the mysterious leafy faces which appear as ubiquitous decorative motifs, carved or painted in structures ranging from medieval churches to modern pubs throughout Britain. The origin and meaning of Green Man iconography are unknown, but the image has long been associated (perhaps incorrectly) with folk custom.[32] The Chalky Lad detail is a visual rendering of the similarly mysterious Long Man of Wilmington, a large-scale hill figure located on the Sussex Downs and subject of local legend.[33]

Figure 1. HERESY, "Chalky Lad Trousers," Facebook image, https://www.facebook.com/heresylondon/shop/

The matching "Shin Kicker" jacket and shoes, which take conceptual inspiration from a British vernacular sport of the same name are also listed for sale. Dating back to the seventeenth century, shin kicking is a form of competitive grappling now included in the revived "Cotswold Olimpick Games" along with other traditional British sporting events.[34] Designed

[30] Cowdell, 308.

[31] "Feature: Interview With Heresy London," *Pam Pam London,* 22 May 2018, www.pampamlondon.com/blogs/news/feature-interview-with-heresy.

[32] Brandon S. Centerwall, "The Name of the Green Man," *Folklore,* vol. 108, no. 1–2 (1997), 26.

[33] Simpson and Roud, 392–393.

[34] Martin Polley, *The British Olympics: Britain's Olympic Heritage 1612–2012* (English Heritage, 2011), 35.

as part of a collaboration with the British footwear brand Stepney Workers Club, the jacket and shoes feature embroidered depictions of small boots, along with repeating star-like motifs. As HERESY's website explains, these are actually abstract "bang symbols"[35] which utilize the stripped-down gestural simplicity of comic book illustration to represent the frenetic kicking motions of the competitive shin kicking sport.

In addition to the design of products like these, folkloric themes and imagery are also discernible in photographs and videos made to promote HERESY garments. Promotional footage of the "Shin Kicker" shoes, posted to HERESY's Instagram account, use backdrops strewn with grass and straw, a visual allusion to the muddy country fields where this sport has historically taken place.[36] Vernacular culture and British heritage are also referenced in promotional material for HERESY's Spring/Summer 2020 collection, titled "Dwelling" (see *fig. 2*). The collection includes outerwear in earthy shades of green and brown, and a jacket with matching pants, all featuring an abstract design of uneven, wobbly spirals and jagged lines. As one reviewer explains, this pattern represents a graphic tribute to prehistoric cave drawings, as "the particular focus for this collection is on the lore that surrounds caves, bogs, hovels and the people that live [in them]".[37] This folk theme is emphasized in promotional footage for the collection,

Figure 2. HERESY, "Cave Jacket and Trousers," digital image, https://www.heresy.london/lookbooks/lookbook-dwelling

[35] "S.W.C & HERESY - Dello 'Shin Kicker'," *Stepney Workers Club,* www.stepneyworkersclub.com/heresy-dellow-m-canvas-shin-kicker.

[36] "Photo of Shin Kicker Trainers," *@heresylondon,* 15 Nov. 2020, www.instagram.com/p/CHnZmg-h3z3/?igshid=1njdpkh3msx73.

[37] "HERESY Continues to Celebrate British Folklore for SS20," *Hypebeast,* 16 Mar. 2020, www.hypebeast.com/2020/3/heresy-london-spring-summer-2020-lookbook.

which was shot inside Surrey's historic Dorking Caves. Photographs show a model dressed in pieces from the collection, standing in front of subterranean walls covered in deeply etched graffiti, testifying to centuries of human passage while visually echoing the abstract pattern on the garments.

These examples illustrate the central role folklore plays in HERESY's fashion designs, simultaneously taking inspiration from, and paying tribute to, Britain's heritage. In both its products and its promotional material, the brand incorporates a wide range of visual allusions to rural space and vernacular tradition. The result is a kind of visual *folk pastiche*, which brings together an assortment of diverse and often unrelated folk material. HERESY uses this pastiche of folkloric topoi to establish a relationship with the past – specifically Britain's past – thereby aligning the brand with British heritage and, by extension, with the concept of Britishness itself.

2.2 Self-Reflexivity and Alternative Heritage in Folkloric Media

Generally speaking, all folkloric media is characterized by using pastiche to attempt to establish continuity with the past: we have seen how, in both folk music and folkloric screen productions, "cultural producers integrate or stitch together folkloric motifs and forms to make a product that appears to be inspired directly by one or more specific traditions".[38] In each of these mediums, common folkloric themes and imagery are "stitched" together in an effort to generate the impression of historicity and realism. Of course, the version of vernacular history this media depicts is often based less on historical accuracy than outmoded scholarship, informed by romantic and/or prejudicial ideologies. HERESY's use of folklore is thus distinct from the other folkloric media analyzed in this discussion. Though Britain's vernacular cultural heritage is the primary source of creative inspiration for the brand, HERESY adopts a playful, irreverent attitude towards folkloric topoi, generating designs that are decidedly self-reflexive. This irreverence and self-reflexivity is particularly evident in the brand's characteristic juxtaposition of folk pastiche and contemporary design elements.

Noteworthy examples include the "Sigil Pullover," a fleece sweater in rich, moss green, embroidered with a pattern of esoteric symbols that call to mind alchemical sigils. The pullover combines these decorative sigils with functional details: a frontal pouch, a zipper with nylon pull at the throat, and a nylon drawcord hem with plastic cord locks.[39] Similarly, the "Fable Jacket" (see *fig. 3*) is covered

[38] Foster quoted in Cowdell, 297.

[39] "Sigil Pullover," *HERESY*, www.heresy.london/shop/sigil-pullover.

in watercolour graphics depicting wagon wheels, mushrooms, crumbling stone ruins, and the cryptic phrase "Monolithic Beings".[40] At once pastoral and mysterious, these images serve as incongruous decorative features for a boxy cotton jacket with metal popper buttons, side vents, and a drawcord at hem. These two pieces typify HERESY's approach to design. Garments are regularly made of sturdy materials like canvas, denim and other heavy cotton fabrics, featuring utilitarian details like zippers, buckles, and nylon cording. Far from insignificant, these small details are the recognizable hallmarks of high-performance workwear and outerwear, often associated with well-known brands like Patagonia and The North Face.[41] These brands design clothing in a style known as "technical wear" characterized by its emphasis on weather resistance and functionality. In appearance, the garments are often designed to imitate the well-equipped feel of military tactical gear, offering a "paramilitary look for our modern-day battles with the elements".[42]

Figure 3. HERESY, "Fable Jacket," digital image, https://www.heresy.london/shop/fable-jacket

HERESY's approach to fashion design is thus composed of two distinct layers: the first manifests as a pastiche of popular folkloric topoi which serve as decorative motifs, usually appearing as screen printed or embroidered graphics. These decorative features are then incorporated into a second layer composed of high-performance outerwear and other recognizably modern garments, such as T-shirts, sweatpants, and hoodies. Juxtaposing traditional and contemporary materials, modern design elements are a kind of backdrop to frame – and draw attention to – a pastiche of folkloric imagery. This folk pastiche reads like a postmodern allusion to the nature of our relationship with the past, suggesting that our perception of heritage is simply a composite of fragmented associations. In attempts to "revive" the past, these fragments are simply stitched together

[40] "Fable Jacket," *HERESY*, www.heresy.london/shop/fable-jacket.

[41] Olivier Laselle, "What is Techwear: Apparel of the Future," *Altitude Blog*, 1 Mar. 2021, www.altitude-blog.com/en/what-is-techwear-apparel-of-the-future/.

[42] Laselle, "What is Techwear".

to create a patchwork of "convincing motifs and forms." The juxtaposition of folkloric pastiche and modern design reminds us that, while the amalgamation of disparate historical elements may generate the illusion of historicity, such illusions will necessarily be founded on, and shaped by, contemporary attitudes and (mis) understandings of the past.

HERESY garments are thus designed to underscore their own constructedness, simultaneously drawing attention to the fact that popular ideas about folklore and heritage are themselves largely modern constructs. This level of self-reflexivity is uncommon in folkloric media, with previous examples from film, television, and music characterized by efforts to conceal and disavow their own artificiality. By actively embracing the idea that modern perceptions and portrayals of heritage are creative inventions, HERESY also challenges the significance of historical authenticity, undermining the idea that the past can be accessed objectively and reproduced authentically in the present. This should not be misinterpreted as an attempt to negate the significance of heritage. Rather, HERESY "draws attention to itself as a self-reflexive heritage project, a strategy that signals that it is attempting at once to *celebrate* particular elements from national history and to *distance* itself from other bodies more commonly associated with such projects".[43] By highlighting the fragmented nature of our relationship with the past, and abandoning efforts to manufacture a veneer of authenticity, HERESY distances itself from rigid, monolithic portrayals of British heritage. Instead, the brand portrays heritage as "contingent and relational"[44], something each person defines and experiences differently.

Drawing attention to layers of difference and plurality in Britain's heritage is a unifying theme in HERESY's designs. For instance, while the brand's use of folk pastiche seems to visually articulate our fragmented relationship with the past, in a more straightforward sense it also represents a "selection of cultural artifacts… marked out as worthy of attention".[45] Foregrounding this proliferation of folkloric topoi, HERESY is also emphasizing the material's significance, "making a stake for these entities as an important part of British cultural heritage".[46] This insistence on the significance of folk culture serves to reorient traditional representations of heritage.

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[43] Jamie Sexton, "Weird Britain in Exile: Ghost Box, Hauntology, and Alternative Heritage," *Popular Music and Society* 35, no. 4 (2012): 572-57. Emphasis added.

[44] Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain* (Berkeley, 1989), quoted in Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1992): 311.

[45] Sexton, 571.

[46] Sexton, 571.

As Jaime Sexton has noted, heritage discourse in Britain is monopolized by large institutions like The National Trust and English Heritage.[47] In the version of British history and culture which these institutions foreground, the traces of ordinary individuals, those without titles and lands for instance, are frequently overlooked. This lack of representation carries an implicit message: that history is an account of remarkable people, but only certain types of people are remarkable. In its designs, HERESY focuses on the rural spaces and peoples that are often overlooked or actively erased in dominant retellings of the past, thereby emphasizing their importance. In this sense, the brand utilizes design to generate a counter-narrative to more mainstream accounts of Britain's heritage. This counter narrative, and the shift in historical focus it promotes, is an example of what Sexton refers to as an "alternative heritage".[48] Alternative heritages stem "from a changed conception of history. There has been a decline in the strength of a given national history… Instead a proliferation of alternative or vernacular histories has developed".[49] The proliferation of different histories challenges the supremacy of a dominant historical narrative, creating space for new and equally valid constructions of heritage and identity.

HERESY is by no means the only example of folkloric media that emphasizes the significance of vernacular culture. In fact, re-evaluating the importance of people and places often overlooked by dominant historical narratives is a central characteristic of folkloric media. For instance, in folkloric screen productions we often see "the peasantry, in all their muddy reality, move from background to centerstage…They become less plot adjuncts than the defining milieu".[50] However, this brings us to the central difference between HERESY and the other folkloric media analyzed: the folkloric music and video media examples illustrate how in centring cultural material that has been excluded, folkloric media – paradoxically – frequently engages in exclusionary practices of its own.

[47] Sexton, 572.

[48] Sexton, 572.

[49] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (Sage, 2002), quoted in Sexton, 572.

[50] Cowdell, 301.

British Folklore and Brexit: Folkloric Media as Bordering Process

3.1 Bordering in Folkloric Media

Exclusionary practices can be identified in Britain's postwar folk revival. What began as an experiment in exploring musical heritage[51] had, by the 1960s, "created an atmosphere that was governed by the ideal of performing 'authentic' music".[52] The mandate to perform only music considered to be appropriately authentic led to a "dogmatic" and "highly restrictive atmosphere".[53] Britta Sweers notes that "this exaggerated traditionalism had taken on a very contradictory character, as the revival had developed a stricter performance practice than the tradition itself".[54] The "increasing rigidity" in attitudes towards folk music made it difficult for many revivalists to express their own creativity as musicians without risking exclusion by fellow community members.[55]

Here, we see an attempt to establish what does and does not qualify as "folk" music. Musical material is included or excluded on the basis of its historical authenticity, which is evaluated by looking at perceived links with tradition. In many folkloric film and television productions, similar processes of inclusion and exclusion are literally acted-out on screen. The narratives of these productions frequently revolve around an insider/outsider dynamic, which manifests as a divide between the spheres of rural and urban, traditional and modern.[56] Tension or outright conflict arises when the boundary separating these spheres is transgressed in some way: urbanites who trespass on the "zone of the countryside" are often punished or driven-out for intruding where they do not belong.[57] Their expulsion ensures that the boundaries of the vernacular are maintained.

In these examples, efforts to differentiate between what is and is not folk culture represent acts of inclusion and exclusion that function as "bordering processes." While borders have historically been thought of as "motionless lines at the edges of state territories," borders may also be sociocultural, manifesting as

[51] Sweers, 37.
[52] Sweers, 38.
[53] Sweers, 38.
[54] Sweers, 38.
[55] Sweers, 38.
[56] Scovell, 124.
[57] Scovell, 124–125.

different "institutions, symbols, practices and discourses".[58] Just as physical borders are used to differentiate, in spatial terms, between separate regions, sociocultural borders "create and maintain inclusions and exclusions, divisions between 'us' and 'them'".[59] In this sense, bordering processes are at work in any "social practice of… differentiation".[60] Because they serve to differentiate between inside(r)/outside(r), borders and bordering processes are also "closely related to different constructions of identity, belonging and citizenship".[61]

In the examples of folkloric music and video media, we see efforts to establish and maintain a border that differentiates between what is and is not folklore. The primary criterion for inclusion in this category is authenticity – or the perception of authenticity – based on adequate links with tradition and rurality. However, these criteria reflect an outdated perception of folk culture: as Part 1 outlined, folklore is no longer seen, by scholars at least, as something static, restricted to specific time periods and places. Thus, in an academic context, the perimeter delimiting what is and is not folklore has widened significantly. Yet, in the less formal context of popular media, folklore's borders continue to be defined and maintained in a much narrower sense.

3.2 Bordering in Twenty First Century Britain

Folkloric media's tendency to both rely on and perpetuate narrow, outdated conceptions of folklore has potential sociopolitical ramifications that are easier to appreciate in the context of broader contemporary debates on British national identity and citizenship. Recall that folklore has historically been positioned as an authentic expression of cultural heritage and, by extension, of national identity. We can think of this relationship as an equation: folklore reflects national heritage, and national heritage reflects national identity. By this token, it is possible to read the effort to establish and maintain the boundaries of authentic British folk culture, as an effort to establish and maintain the borders of British identity itself. Furthermore, because folkloric media both relies on and perpetuates a definition of folklore that is at once restrictive and inaccurate, it risks reinforcing a similarly narrow and distorted definition of British identity.

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[58] Anssi Paasi, "Problematizing 'Bordering, Ordering, and Othering' as Manifestations of Socio-Spatial Fetishism," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol. 112, no. 1 (2020): 23.

[59] Paasi, "Bounded," 223. Nira Yuval-Davis *et al.,* "Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation." *Sociology*, vol. 52, no. 2 (2018), 231.

[60] Paasi, "Problematizing," 23.

[61] Yuval-Davis *et al.,* 230.

Upholding restrictive definitions of Britishness represents a particular issue in the wake of Brexit, as twenty first century Britain witnesses an increase in bordering processes aimed at regulating British identity.[62] British heritage is frequently weaponized in these bordering processes as a means of alienating and excluding immigrants and other foreigners. For example, a recent study of public Brexit debates occurring on Facebook found that British citizens regularly invoked heritage to support their arguments.[63] This was done regardless of whether they were for or against Brexit, with individuals on both sides of the debate referencing Pictish, Celtic, Norse, and Norman heritages. In some cases, individuals made claims about historical multiculturalism within Britain, using this theory as evidence that the country's so-called indigenous inhabitants (whomever those might be) have always lived harmoniously with outsiders. In other cases, it was argued that history demonstrates that "native Brits" have, and always will, force outsiders to either assimilate or leave.[64] Though British heritage is invoked in support of differing arguments, both pro- and anti-Brexit opinions reflect the perception that Britishness is a monolithic category, with stable boundaries that have persisted through time. Even individuals with a positive attitude towards foreigners fall back on heritage as evidence of an intrinsic boundary separating "us" and "them."

The use of heritage in maintaining insider/outsider dualisms extends beyond the Brexit debate. With rising levels of migration across Europe, many countries, including Britain, have seen an increase in nationalism, anti-immigration sentiments, and the popularity of the extreme Right.[65] This has led to a concomitant increase in various border control processes.[66] In these processes, we see the weaponization of British heritage used to establish and maintain sociocultural borders that differentiate between people possessing British ancestry and communities of multi-ethnic immigrants already within, or seeking to enter, Britain's physical borders.[67] Othering immigrant communities by creating an us/them dualism serves to strengthen a shared sense of national identity amongst those in the "us" category. As Paasi explains, these oppositions are "substantial ideological

[62] Andrew Gardner, "Brexit, Boundaries and Imperial Identities: A Comparative View," *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2017): 4.

[63] Chiara Bonacchi *et al.,* "The Heritage of Brexit: Roles of the Past in the Construction of Political Identities Through Social Media," *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2018): 188.

[64] Bonaachi *et al.,* 183.

[65] Gardner, 4.

[66] Yuval-Davis *et al.,* 239.

[67] Bonaachi *et al.,* 188.

tools…often vigorously mobilised to convert and redefine the main categories of social life, such as identity, belonging and citizenship".[68] Indeed, Yuval-Davis et al. argue that these processes of bordering and othering are part of a hegemonic "political project of belonging"[69] which is based on a "more elastic notion than ethnicity that states no more than *'I was here before you'* and, as such, can be applied in any situation, in different scales of 'the local' and can be constantly redefined".[70] This creates "hierarchies of belonging which [are] only partially related to people's formal citizenship status".[71] Here, belonging is established largely on the basis of a presumed link with the past. Such limited criterion for social and political inclusion not only jeopardizes the extent to which newcomers feel a sense of acceptance and belonging in Britain, it also potentially jeopardizes their well-being and safety.

To relate this point back to folkloric media, we can see how *symbolic* bordering processes contribute to *real world* bordering processes: folkloric music, film, and television perpetuate a restrictive definition of cultural heritage, reinforcing a similarly narrow understanding of national identity. This folkloric media thus effectively supports the agenda of nationalist and extreme Right discourse "which calls to keep jobs, housing, education, health care and generally being part of 'the community', exclusively to those who 'belong', and construct an exclusionary 'hostile environment' to those who do not".[72]

Conclusions: HERESY and a British Heritage Without Borders

In many of the examples of folkloric media discussed in Part 2, heritage itself is positioned as one such hostile environment. Folk culture features as a policed territory in the examples taken from the postwar revival of British folk music and twentieth century folkloric screen productions, and folk culture. People, places, and things are rejected from the borders of this territory if they lack an adequate connection with rural space and ancient tradition. This effort to regulate folk culture represents a bordering process aimed at maintaining the integrity of Britain's vernacular heritage by essentially rejecting anything new and/or foreign. Yet, the idea that "authentic" folk culture must be static and hostile to difference is fundamentally inaccurate. Folklore is now understood as a dynamic and on-going process, constantly being reimagined to serve the needs of the communities

[68] Paasi, "Problematizing," 20.

[69] Yuval-Davis c 240.

[70] Yuval-Davis *et al.,* 231. Emphasis added.

[71] Yuval-Davis *et al.,* 240.

[72] Yuval-Davis *et al.,* 240.

where it arises.[73] Thus, I have tried to demonstrate that folkloric media is often founded on misconceptions about the vernacular, perpetuating a restrictive, and misrepresentative depiction of British folk culture. Ultimately, these depictions discursively reinforce a similarly narrow and erroneous conception of what constitutes authentic British heritage more broadly. In the context of twenty first century debates on Brexit and British citizenship, the misrepresentation of heritage is a serious issue, since limited and often ahistorical definitions of British heritage are weaponized in bordering processes that regulate British identity by differentiating between who is and is not a "native Brit."

Returning to HERESY, this streetwear brand offers a rare, but crucial, example of folkloric media that takes inspiration from and pays tribute to British vernacular culture, without perpetuating the false dualisms that ultimately contribute to border control. Using designs that juxtapose folk pastiche and contemporary fashion, HERESY draws attention to the fragmented nature of our relationship with the past. In doing so, the brand undermines the concept of historical authenticity and challenges the perception that cultural heritage is static and monolithic, with fixed and impenetrable borders. Instead, the brand's designs foreground and celebrate the coexistence of diverse vernacular heritages. By highlighting this multiplicity of different heritage discourses, HERESY garments function as "alternative heritage" projects, contesting both the centrality and power of a single, hegemonic narrative about national history. Ultimately, the brand portrays British cultural heritage as hybrid, suggesting that hybridity is also a fundamental characteristic of British national identity. This emphasis on hybridity, rather than uniformity, complicates bordering processes used to establish and maintain politically charged divisions between insider and outsider, native and foreigner. Furthermore, by using the medium of fashion design, the brand also reinforces the idea that, like one's personal style, our relationship to heritage and national identity is an ongoing process, constantly being negotiated and renegotiated on a personal level. HERESY presents this process of negotiation as an activity that anyone is welcome to participate in. At a time when nationalism and border control is on the rise, in Britain and around the world, it is necessary to seek-out and examine folkloric media that offers new, imaginative conceptualizations of national heritages and identities. Such media can offer guidance as, moving into the future, we (hopefully) look for ways to celebrate the past, while ensuring that heritage is accessible to everyone.

[73] Simpson and Roud, vi.

"THE BARBARIZATION OF OUR CHILDREN:" THE PUBLIC MEDIEVALISM OF THE US DUNGEONS AND DRAGONS PANIC IN THE 1980s

Jordan Voltz, CEU

It can be broadly stated that the majority of English-language literature in Medievalism Studies comprise two distinct fields: 1) historicized representations of the Middle Ages (often from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but increasingly from the Early-Modern); 2) studies on the representation of the Middle Ages in contemporary media. There is a need to better integrate both of these fields by providing a clear, historicized account of recent medievalist media. Doing so will provide a historical basis for critiques of contemporary media and provide another chapter in the history of medievalism. Through an understanding of public medievalism in the United States during the 1980's, this paper aims to demonstrate the value of this approach.

The term "public medievalism" is borrowed from Paul B. Sturtevant's *The Middle Ages in Popular Imagination: Memory, Film and Medievalism*, which he defines as, "the historical consciousness of the medieval world that is the origin of instances of medievalism."[1] For Sturtevant, mass media plays a primary role in cultivating this historical consciousness because of its orientation towards the public. While Sturtevant grasps public medievalism through a quantitative analysis, this paper analyzes discourses of medievalism in order to achieve the same result. Although the medievalist texts covered in this article do not depict a historical Middle Ages, they frequently utilize its aesthetics and metanarratives in order to facilitate storytelling. To this extent, it is useful to recall Andrew Elliot's argument that the Middle Ages in mass media "does not recall the past in the present, but often rejects the past in service of a shared cultural repository of symbols."[2] In light of this, it is necessary to historicize past depictions of the medieval because, as Helen Young states, "all reimaginings of the Middle Ages are influenced by the cultural contexts in which they are produced and by earlier eras' versions."[3] In

[1] Paul B. Sturtevant, *The Middle Ages in Popular Imagination: Memory, Film and Medievalism* (Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 3.

[2] Andrew Elliot, *Medievalism in Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the 21st century*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), p. 4.

[3] Helen Young, "Introduction," in Fantasy and Science Fiction Medievalisms: *From Isaac Asimov to* A Game of Thrones, edited by Nickolas A. Haydock, (Cambria, 2015), p. 3.

the texts discussed herein, a shared understanding of aesthetics which are loosely derived from a stereotypical understanding of the Middle Ages mark a text as a medievalist object.

Public Medievalism in the United States during the 1980's was strongly influenced by emergent trends in popular children's media which utilized pseudo-medieval settings. Some of the most notable media from this period were derived from the popular tabletop roleplaying game, *Dungeons and Dragons*. *Dungeons and Dragons* is a collaborative storytelling board game in which each participant plays the role of a fictional character in a pseudo-medieval world. The game is facilitated by the Dungeon Master, a player who plays every other character and is the ultimate authority in the game world. Although *Dungeons and Dragons* was originally published 1974, its popularity dramatically increased during the next decade due to various media controversies and vocal criticism from evangelical advocacy groups. In particular, these critics claimed that a number of well-publicized suicides and murders were influenced by the 'satanic' and 'occult' elements of the game. These concerns initially emerged in news media, but quickly gained traction in entertainment media and burgeoning evangelical media circles. While Dungeons and Dragons would cease to be a flashpoint of moral panic by the end of the decade, many of the discourses about the relationship between violence and interactive media would carry into the 90's and beyond.

In the media produced by critics of *Dungeons and Dragons*, the medieval is used to aestheticize their anxieties about the effects of violent children's media. For these advocacy groups, especially evangelical groups, children's media which utilized 'Satanic' or 'occult' imagery were dangerous because they exploited children's inability to distinguish reality from fiction by infiltrating the occult into their imagination.[4] In their metaphysics, imagination exists as a liminal space between reality and fiction, and they claim that it is necessary to protect a child's imagination by regulating their media consumption. As Phil Phillips states in his audio cassette series published by evangelical publishing outlet *Eagle's Nest Ministries,* "I want to state the danger right from the beginning, that many of the players have a hard time separating reality from fantasy, and this game becomes the reality in their life and

[4] It should be noted here that the 'occult' is used by critics of Dungeons and Dragons to refer a depiction of any non-Christian religious or spiritual elements, including fictional ones. The latter is especially prominent in fantasy medievalism, but prominent evangelical figures like Gary Greenwald and Phil Phillips were quick to identify the influence of "eastern, oriental mystical religious practices" in various children's media. Gary Greenwald and Phil Phillips, *Deception of a Generation,* directed by Paul Crouch Jr., (USA: Eagle's Nest Ministries, 1984).

Figure 1: Mary Dempsey, Pat Dempsey, and Patricia Pulling, Dungeons and Dragons, (Bothered About Dungeons and Dragons, publication date unknown ca. 1985). https://archive.org/details/dungeons_and_dragons-witchcraft_suicide_violence/mode/2up. (Accessed March 23, 2022). Bothered About Dungeons and Dragons was one of the many small evangelical publishing outfits which produced material warning parents about Dungeons and Dragons. Patricia attributed her son's suicide to Dungeons and Dragons, and this pamphlet argues that the game teaches witchcraft, destroys "traditional values," and a catalyst for depression

the world around us, the real world, becomes the fantasy to them."[5] Following a description of teenage players who (allegedly) shot indiscriminately at passing cars, he claims that, "Did you know that children today are totally into imitating what they see? They imitate what they see on television, they imitate what their parents do, and they imitate the role they play in their fantasy games."[6] This concern is often expressed in media depicting the social harm of *Dungeons and Dragons*, in which the medieval is used to aestheticize the violence which occurs when media-influenced violence erupts from imagination into reality.

[5] Gary Greenwald, *Dungeons and Dragons,* (USA: Eagle's Nest Ministries, c. 1981). The author is unable to determine the exact date of publication, but estimates 1981. The version to which the author has access is an .mp3 of the cassettes purchased from Inspirational Media. https://www.inspirational.org.nz. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

[6] *Ibid.* I say "allegedly" because he does not provide specifics on this case, nor does he provide substantial evidence that *Dungeons and Dragons* motivated these attacks.

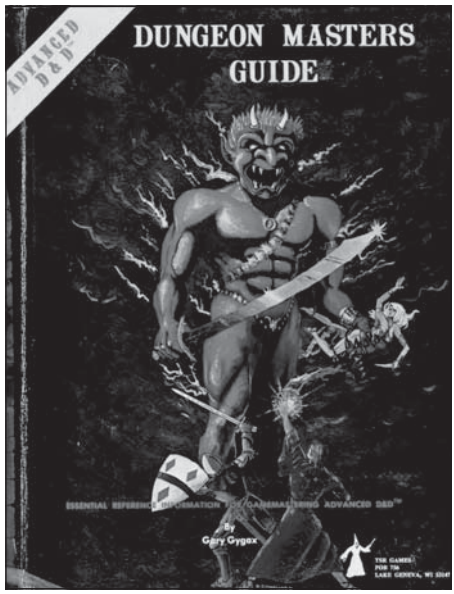

Figure 2: The controversial cover of the 1979 Advanced Dungeons and Dragons Dungeon Master's Guide (TSR, 1979). This image of a devil provoked severe criticism, alongside other similar images within the book. The updated volume did not contain such imagery and evaded mention of demons and devils

Joseph Laycock's book, *Dangerous Games: What the Moral Panic over Role-playing Games Says about Play, Religion, and Imagined Worlds,* argues that both role-playing games and religious practitioners construct a shared fantasy, "in which tragedy is rendered sensible, and if the forces of chaos cannot be annihilated, we can at least fight them as heroes."[7] In each of these fantasies, the medieval occupies different positions. This paper is primarily interested in analyzing the medievalism of those who criticized *Dungeons and Dragons* because their media established a public medievalism which has yet to be scrutinized. However, some attention should be paid to the medievalism of the game itself. While discussing the appeal of medieval roleplaying games to its players, Daniel Dayan, in his review of Gary Alan Fine's 1983 text *Shared Fantasy: Role Playing Games as Social Worlds,* provides an interesting perspective,

> "Medieval Europe as a fantasy world is not only situated in a conveniently other time and on a distant continent, but it is read (according to a now obsolete paradigm) as a dark interval, an interruption between two periods of enlightenment. The Middle Ages are perceived here as that chaos that comes when civilization has collapsed, a parenthesis open to the rule of violence (and to the imperative of using it first). This chaotic universe suggests at least a double metaphoric dimension. It allows adolescents to come to terms with their uncertainty, with the internal chaos inherent in their transitory status. It also translates- projects

[7] Joseph Laycock, *Dangerous Games: What the Moral Panic over Role-Playing Games Says about Play, Religion, and Imagined Worlds,* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), p. xiii. Laycock claims that these attacks on *Dungeons and Dragons* originated in the Christian Right, but there is strong evidence that it began in secular news and entertainment media.

> into a 'historical' elsewhere- the interruptive, 'liminal' character of the gaming session itself."[8]

Dayan's reading of the medievalism of *Dungeons and Dragons* through a metanarrative of the 'dark age' is only one way of understanding it. Other medieval metanarratives, particularly the medieval as the 'romantic pre-modern,' also constitute the public reception of the medieval and are likewise expressed through *Dungeons and Dragons*.[9] Laycock's call to investigate the shared fantasies of those engaged in the *Dungeons and Dragons* panic requires us to also investigate the medievalism of its critics, which starkly resembles the tradition of the Suburban Gothic as defined by Bernice M. Murphy.

The Gothic is a well-known medievalist genre which is often characterized in Freudian terms by the return of a repressed (or hidden) element which undermines the protagonist and imperils them.[10] The medievalism of the Gothic is too long to state here, but the European branch of the genre frequently utilizes medieval settings, aesthetics, and narratives in order to challenge what Kimmi Bowers considers to be,

> "the Enlightenment idea of historical progress; people were letting their minds move backward to a 'dark' time of history rather than moving forward… Indeed, the authors of Gothic novels idealized, twisted, stretched, and imagined the truth of the medieval past. They are historical novels, but historical accuracy of fact was not the primary concern of the authors.[11]

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[8] Daniel Dayan, "Review Essay: Copyrighted Subcultures," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 91 no. 5 (1986), p. 1220.

[9] David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History,* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), p. 13–16.

[10] I am particularly referring to Sigmund Freud's essay, "The Uncanny" here, where the majority of the texts he references are Gothic texts. The reader is advised to consult the following text for an overview of the genre: David Putner, *A New Companion to the Gothic,* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012). Detailing the medievalist tradition of the gothic is outside the scope of this paper, but some recommended texts for the interested reader are: Medievalism: A Critical History, p. 7–8, 15–24; Dale Townsend, *Gothic Antiquity: History, Romance, and the Architectural Imagination, 1760–1840,* (Oxford, 2019); Herman Raphael, *The Medievalism of Horace Walpole,* (Loyola University, 1942).

[11] Kimmi Bowers, "Medievalism and the Gothic Novel," *Be a Beautiful Soul,* Blog, April 30, 2015. https://beabeautifulsoul.wordpress.com/2015/04/30/medievalism-and-the-gothic-novel/. (Accessed July 6, 2021) Detailing the medievalist tradition of the gothic is outside the scope of this paper, but some recommended texts for the interested reader are: *Medievalism: A Critical History,* p. 7–8, 15–24; Dale Townsend, *Gothic Antiquity: History, Romance, and the Architectural Imagination, 1760–1840,* (Oxford, 2019); Herman Raphael, *The Medievalism of Horace Walpole,* (Loyola University, 1942).

The Gothic also has a strong tradition in American literature and media, evidenced by the works of Edgar Allen Poe, Shirley Jackson, and William Faulkner. For Murphy, the Suburban Gothic is squarely in the American tradition of the Gothic, and,

> "is a sub-genre concerned, first and foremost, with playing upon the lingering suspicion that even the most ordinary-looking neighborhood, or house, or family, has something to hide, and that no matter how calm or settled a place looks, it is only ever a moment away from dramatic (and generally sinister) incident.[12]

Murphy aptly describes the narrative surrounding the *Dungeons and Dragons* panic, in which a seemingly innocuous game enters a family household and could potentially produce a violent child. As I will explain later, this narrative was explicitly realized in the media coverage of James Dallas Egbert III's disappearance and suicide. This media coverage would function as an ur-text for critics of *Dungeons and Dragons*, but there were numerous other incidents during the decade in which *Dungeons and Dragons* was blamed for instigating youth violence.[13]

Murphy also briefly questions the lack of medievalist aesthetics in the American Gothic tradition, "The imaginative appropriation of Europe's feudal past had provided many of the important props, characteristics, and settings of the genre. How could it then be adapted to suit a nation in which 'white' history went back less than 200 years?"[14] While she finds her answer in the 'newness' of suburbia, this paper identifies that the medieval also emerged in the American Gothic tradition and was used to aestheticize the concern that the innocence of childhood is not a given, and that without regulation, violent media could produce a violent child.

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The controversy surrounding *Dungeons and Dragons* emerged as a flashpoint amongst various moral panics of the decade; the most salient features of the panic were a renewed interest in the public presence of the occult and a concern over youth violence.[15] Stanley Cohen defines a moral panic as,

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[12] Bernice M. Murphy, *The Suburban Gothic in American Popular Culture,* Hampshire and NewYork: Palgrave, 2009, p. 2.

[13] For an incomplete list in an excellent primary source, see: Mary and Pat Dempsey, Pat A. Pulling, Dungeons and Dragons: Witchcraft, Suicide, Violence, Richmond: Bothered About Dungeons and Dragons, p. 1.

[14] *The Suburban Gothic,* p. 10.

[15] In various media, claims are sporadically made that the game promotes drug use, homosexuality, 'transvestitism,' and the sexual objectification of women. In the media of the time, these claims received

> "A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to, the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible." [16]

In this definition, it is important to note the role which mass media plays in disseminating the controversy.[17] Although there were both public and less public media (especialty evangelical programming) which expressed this controversy and furthered this medievalism, there is only a minor difference between their narratives. Public media, or media designed for public consumption, evaluated these claims against *Dungeons and Dragons* with slightly more skepticism than evangelical media and often omitted reference to the game's 'occult' elements. Evangelical arguments against *Dungeons and Dragons* unsurprisingly amplified the spiritual dangers of the game, and identified *Dungeons and Dragons* as a part of a broader effort by Satanists to corrupt children through media.[18] Phil Phillips,

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less emphasis than concerns about Satanism and violence, but there are various poignant contemporary critiques of *Dungeons and Dragons*' misogyny. Aaron Trammel, "Misogyny and the Female Body in *Dungeons and Dragons," Analog Game Studies,* vol. 8 no. 2 (2014). Web. https://analoggamestudies.org/2014/10/constructing-the-female-body-in-role-playing-games/. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

[16] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 1.

[17] Likewise, it is important to remember moral panics do not accurately represent social reality. A renewed concern on youth violence does not correlate with a significant increase in youth violence. A 2001 study on youth violence by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine which drew on data from various government sources found that while youth violence (both arrests and reporting) increased from the late 1980's to the mid 90's, such trends either represented a broader increase in violent crime amongst all age groups or resulted from "changes in police policies regarding whether to consider specific types of assault as aggravated assaults rather than simple assaults and an increasing willingness to arrest for assault." Rather than accept the moral panic as an accurate representation of social reality, a more apt question would be, 'why were youth perpetrators presented as the face of this reported increase in violent crime?' National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, Juvenile Crime, *Juvenile Justice, "Patterns and Trends in Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice,"* (Washington: National Academies Press, 2001), p. 25–65, esp.62–3.

[18] See particularly: William Schnoebelen, "Straight Talk on Dungeons and Dragons," *chick.com,* https://www.chick.com/Information/article?id=Straight-Talk-On-Dungeons-and-Dragons. (Accessed July 6, 2021). Schnoebelen claims to be a reformed Satanist who was consulted by the authors of *Dungeons and Dragons* in order to "make certain the rituals [in the game] were authentic." Needless to say, the authors of *Dungeons and Dragons* have denied these allegations.

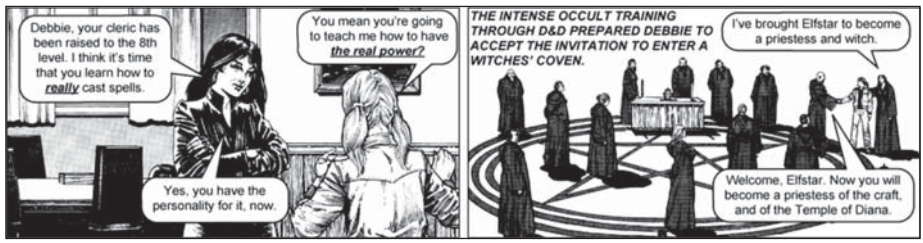

Figure 3: Jack Chick, Dark Dungeons, pg. 4–5. https://www.chick.com/products/tract?stk=0046. (Accessed March 23, 2022). In this notorious comic tract, a player becomes a member of a witch's coven through their experience with Dungeons and Dragons. Her experience with Dungeons and Dragons is provides here with experience of a simulated version of real power, which her induction into the coven grants her

author of *Turmoil in the Toybox*, worked with Greenwald to produce the 1984 *Deception of a Generation* video cassette for the evangelical media organization *The Eagle's Nest* with the goal of explaining, "the vast movement toward the occult within the cartoon and toy industry… which has a vast effect on the whole United States and other countries around the world…."[19]

Phillips and Greenwald's identification of the novel interrelation between the cartoon and toy industry is noteworthy. Mark Fowler, Ronald Reagan's 1980 appointment to chair the Federal Communications Committee, reversed recent efforts by the Action for Children's Television (ACT) to limit the frequency of advertisements during children's programming and he substantially deregulated children's television.[20] Fowler contended that regulations on children's media

[19] *Deception of a Generation,* 3:30-4:45. For Greenwald and Phillips, it was irrelevant that the protagonists in these media were often opposed to the antagonists who wielded this occult power because they were concerned that the occult was depicted in children's programming. In instances where the protagonists wielded 'occult' power against their antagonists, the pair reference Anton La Vey, a prominent Satanist at the time, who claimed that there was no distinction between 'white magic' and 'black magic,' and thus indict the protagonists in the same occultism as the antagonists. It is also very likely that *Deception* was also broadcast, but the author does not have any information on this.

[20] Fowler's approach to deregulation and the resulting controversy underscores a principal irony in Republican politics since Reagan: signaling their commitment to the cultural interests of conservative Christians while also appealing to the financial interests of market fundamentalists. The conflict between the two should be evident here. Conservative Christians, particularly evangelicals organized into Pat Robertson's Moral Majority, played a large role in the election of Reagan and many of the evangelical media organizations discussed in this paper either emerged from the leaders of the Moral Majority or established their success in its cultural wake. Unsurprisingly, perceived 'Satanists' are a more suitable antagonist for a conservative culture war than the economic policies of the president whom they elected.

diminished both the First Amendment rights of broadcasters and the "'listener's rights to receive and hear suitable expression,'" and that a balanced solution would be through a free-market imperative in which "'the public's interest, then, defines the public interest' and that competition in the free, unregulated market and best identify and serve those interests."[21] This provoked a rise of programming which critics such as the ACT referred to as "program length advertisements" or "30 minute toy commercials," in which the program functioned as advertising for the toy.[22]

Notable medievalist examples of this programming would be *He-Man: Masters of the Universe*, and *Dungeons and Dragons*; both programs feature prominently in Greenwald and Phillips' criticism of the cartoon and toy industry. While *Dungeons and Dragons* had originated as a 'toy' and was utilizing its animated series to capitalize on its popularity, *He-Man* followed the 'program length advertisement' model more closely. For both of these media properties, Phillips and Greenwald comment primarily on their troubling use of violent and 'occult' imagery, which they claim can influence a child to repeat the behaviors they see on television,

> "Phillips: I see a real trend towards what I call as the barbarization of our children, where through these violent movies and these violent cartoons, they are teaching our children that the way to handle problems is through violence."
>
> Greenwald: Also, the violence is helping sell cereal… and what we're really concerned about is not selling cereal, though. We're concerned about the trend towards teaching the children to have violent attitudes."[23]

Toys play an important role in their understanding of the relationship between a child's media ecosystem and their imagination, where the toys enable them to use their imagination in order to play the television show away from their screens. As Phillips says,

> "All this stuff links together. When a child watches the cartoon… they've been programmed by the cartoon to play with the toy in certain manner. So if the cartoon says the character has occult powers, when

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[21] Michelle Hilmes, *Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States,* Boston: Wadsworth, 2011, p. 291–293. The quotes within the quotations are derived from; Mark Fowler & Daniel L. Brenner, "A Marketplace Approach to Broadcasting. Regulation," *Texas Law Review,* vol. 60 Rev. 207, p. 207–258 (1982). The author does not have access to the latter text.

[22] John Corry, "TV View; Cartoons or Commercials," *NY Times,* October 30th, 1983, https://www.nytimes.com/1983/10/30/arts/tv-view-cartoons-or-commercials.html. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

[23] *Deception of a Generation,* 1:09:55- 1:10:24.

> the child plays with the toy, he is going to use the toy to cast spells or do whatever the toy does in the cartoon…And then when they don't have the toys and they're on the playground, then they take on these characters and fantasy roleplaying themselves, and they imagine themselves with these occult powers."[24]

In these examples, there is a clear concern about controversial media elements ('occultism,' violence) influencing children who then actualize these elements in reality. In narrative media which criticizes *Dungeons and Dragons*, such as the film *Mazes and Monsters* (1982), this narrative is realized and the actualization of violence and the occult is presented as the emergence of the medieval into the present.[25]

The film *Mazes and Monsters* was adapted from Rona Jaffe's novelized fictionalization (1981) of the disappearance of James Dallas Egbert III. Egbert's disappearance and later suicide was chronicled by private investigator William Dear in his book *The Dungeon Master: The Disappearance of James Dallas Egbert III* (1984). Dear's text was published four years after Egbert's suicide, and according to the Saturday Evening Post, "dramatically downplays any involvement that gaming might have had in his death."[26] However, both Dear's text and the media reception to it centers Dungeons and Dragons as a tool of escapism from reality.[27] The book comprises Dear's investigation into the disappearance and later suicide of the teenage Egbert, and it is centered around his speculation that Egbert's commitment to *Dungeons and Dragons* played a critical role in his disappearance. Dear conjectured that Egbert had descended into his university's steam tunnels in order to play *Dungeons and Dragons* in real-life, writing,

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[24] *Ibid.,* 31:58–33:12.

[25] There are quite a few narratives which comprise this genre, but for the sake of brevity, only Mazes and Monsters will be mentioned here. Narratives from the time include: *Skullduggery,* directed by Ota Richter, (Canada: Wittman/ Richter films Inc., 1983); Jack Chick, "Dark Dungeons," *chick.com,* (Chick Publications, Unknown), https://www.chick.com/products/tract?stk=0046. (Accessed July 6, 2021); *Honor Thy Mother,* directed by David Greene, (USA: MCA Television, 1992). However, this genre has also seen a handful of parodies, such as Zombie Orpheus Studios' parody of Chick's Dark Dungeons (2014) and *Knight Chills* (1997) by Collective Development Inc.

[26] Troy Brownfield, "Disappearances and Dragons: The James Dallas Egbert III Story," *The Saturday Evening Post,* September 2, 2019, https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2019/09/disappearances-dragons-the-james-dallas-egbert-iii-story/. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

[27] Carla Hall, "Into the Dragon's Lair," The *Washington Post,* November 28, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1984/11/28/into-the-dragons-lair/b4c93daa-e50e-443c-bc65-02b4bdb28a27/. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

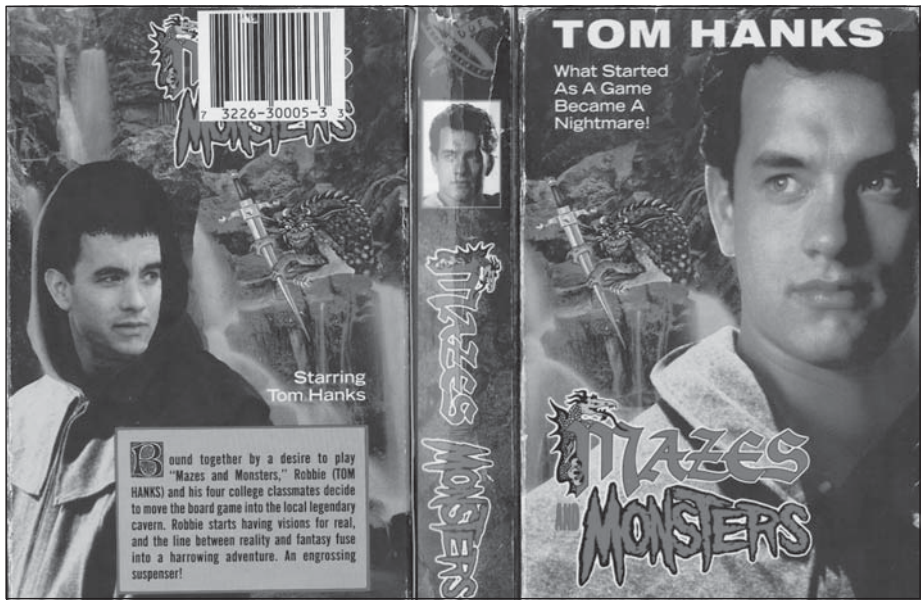

Figure 4: Video Cassette Sleeve for EDDE Entertainment's distribution of Mazes and Monsters (1991). Mazes and Monsters, directed by Steven Hillard Stern (USA: McDermott Productions, 1982)

> "The tunnels seemed eerily to fit the descriptions I'd read of the dungeons where adventures took place and monsters lurked and pursued… Dallas might actually have begun to live the game, not just play it. *Dungeons and Dragons* could have absorbed him so much that his mind had slipped through the fragile barrier between reality and fantasy, and he no longer existed in the world we inhabit."[28]

After Dear finds Egbert, he inquires about Egbert's reasons for playing *Dungeons and Dragons* in the steam tunnels. Egbert supposedly responds,

[28] William Dear, The Dungeon Master: *The Disappearance of James Dallas Egbert* III, Crossroad Press, 2017, ebook. There are a few things to note here; 1) Live-Action Roleplaying (LARPing) is a relatively common way to play roleplaying games, and it is not functionally different from various other roleplaying-storytelling events (murder mystery parties are the easiest comparison). However, LARPing is often discredited in popular media for blurring the lines between reality and fantasy which leads to violence. For another example of this, see the 2009 film, *The Wild Hunt.* 2) I'm omitting Dear's homophobia in my description of the event, which certainly deserves its own separate analysis in relation to the moral panics of the era.

> "'Playing the game-for real, I mean- was total escape. I mean, I could get into it. Scramble through those tunnels like a monkey. And you can use all your brains. There's nothing to constrain you except the limits of your imagination. When I played a character, I was that character. Didn't want to bring all my personal problems along with me. It's a terrific way to escape."[29]

Regardless of Dear's intentions, his account reflected and amplified dominant news media narratives about *Dungeons and Dragons* which had been present since his disappearance. Unsurprisingly, these news accounts appropriate the medievalism of *Dungeons and Dragons* in order to indicate its strangeness. The New York Times' coverage of Egbert's disappearance in 1979 refers to Egbert's hobby as "an elaborate version of a bizarre intellectual game called *Dungeons and Dragons*... Students at Michigan State University [Egbert's university] and elsewhere reportedly have greatly elaborated on the game, donning medieval costumes and using outdoor settings to stage the contest."[30] The headline for their coverage of Egbert's suicide in 1980 continues to suggest that the game was linked to his suicide, describing the game as a, "highly complex fantasy game, [in which] players assume the roles of contrived medieval characters who oppose each other in war campaigns."[31] The continued reference to the medieval in order to describe *Dungeons and Dragons* is remarkable because it represents an attempt to understand something which is perceived as bizarre through historically familiar elements. Additionally, these media reports are the first to establish the association between youth violence and *Dungeons and Dragons*, which would provide this narrative as a template for other media.

The film version of *Mazes and Monsters* provides a heavily fictionalized account of Egbert's disappearance. More importantly, the film iterates upon Egbert's story

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[29] *Ibid.* I write "supposedly" because we have no other confirmation that these are Egbert's words and according to a Washington Post review of the book, Dallas' mother comments, "'Most of the things in the book are inaccurate… I just don't want to comment. It's all his [Dear's] word against mine.'" Additionally, Dallas' aunt states, "I think it's a big bluff to make [Dear] look good… It's all a publicity stunt to make him a star and get him public attention. I think he went way overboard with all his quotation marks. After all these years, I don't know how he could remember all those conversations." From "Into the Dragon's Lair."

[30] Nathaniel Sheppard Jr., "Tunnels Are Searched for Missing Student," *NY Times,* September 8, 1979, https://www.nytimes.com/1979/09/08/archives/tunnels-are-searched-for-missing-student-described-as-brilliant.html?smid=url-share. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

[31] William Robbins, "Brilliant Computer Student Dies from Gunshot Wound," *NY Times,* August 18, 1980, https://nyti.ms/3hinUFL. (Accessed July 6, 2021) The description of the game reads, "In the highly complex fantasy game, players assume the roles of contrived medieval characters who oppose each other in war campaigns."

Figure 5: Robby and his friends, dressed in their costumes, confront a mysterious skeleton in the cave. Mazes and Monsters, 38:09

for entertainment purposes. The differences between Mazes and Monsters and Egbert's case are too numerous to describe, but it is worth noting that *Mazes and Monsters* relies upon the audience's familiarity with the case and intentionally subverts their expectations for which character in the film is the fictionalized Egbert. It was broadcast on CBS (Central Broadcasting Service) with an accompanying home video cassette release.[32] The film begins with police, an investigator, and a news reporter arriving at a set of cave tunnels near Grant University, where the reporter remarks that an unnamed student disappeared while playing a game of Mazes and Monsters (the film's version of *Dungeons and Dragons*), a game which the reporter describes as "a psychodrama…where these people deal with problems in their lives by acting them out, but in this case, there might be a loss of distinction between reality and fantasy."[33] The film's narrative then reverts 6 months prior to the disappearance and introduces the players who will comprise the Mazes and Monsters group. Early in the film, the character Jay Jay is presumed to be

[32] John J. Connor, "TV: 'Mazes and Monsters,' Fantasy," *NY Times,* December 28, 1982, https://nyti.ms/3xjohW5. (Accessed July 6, 2021)

[33] *Mazes and Monsters,*1:20.

the fictionalized Egbert where, upon expressing suicidal ideation, he concludes that the cave tunnels would be an ideal place to commit suicide. After his Mazes and Monsters character dies, he suggests "a logical extension of the game" to his group, where they play the game in the cave tunnels except, "this time it won't be a fantasy, it really will be Mazes and Monsters."[34] Borrowing robes and armor from the theatre department, they descend into the tunnels. In the tunnels, the group's cleric, Robby (played by Tom Hanks), wanders off alone and becomes frightened. This causes his understanding of reality and fantasy to blur. He believes that he sees a fantasy monster called a Gorvill and slays it in a panic.[35]

After the group exits the cave, Robby does not return to reality and he continues to role-play his character. That night, he has a dream where a figure in a hooded habit encourages him to further integrate his character's monastic asceticism into his real life.[36] Their exchange concludes with the hooded figure telling Robby that he must "come to the Two Towers and be one with the Great Hall," foreshadowing the film's conclusion where Robby attempts to commit suicide by jumping off of the World Trade Center.[37] Earlier in the film, the audience learns that 3 years ago, on Halloween, Robby's brother, Hall, ran away to New York and disappeared. Robby remains traumatized by this, and often dreams about searching for his brother. Because of this, it is strongly implied that *Mazes and Monsters* exploited this trauma in order to induce his break from reality by presenting a fantasy where he can be reunited with his brother.

On Halloween in the film's present, Robby leaves unannounced for New York and his friends try to find him. Jay Jay suggests that they look for him at the cloisters and cathedrals because they are "medieval." [38] In New York, Robby is attacked by two people who attempt to rob him and, believing one of them to be a Gorvill, stabs them. He then descends into the city's sewer system, which he regards

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[34] *Ibid.* 31:00.

[35] The cleric is a common character class in *Dungeons and Dragons*. As the name suggests, they are worshippers of a god and channel their god's power into reality. The Gorvill, however, is not a monster from *Dungeons and Dragons*. As Robbie's romantic partner and fellow player, Kate, remarks, "Holy men are supposed to see things that aren't there."

[36] A habit is the name given to robes worn by Christian monastics and they often feature prominently in medievalist aesthetics. Also, these religious behaviors seem to fit a popular understanding of the behavior of Christian monastics: abstinence, charity, and the performance of religious rituals. These behaviors are dismissed by his friends as, "just role-playing his character."

[37] Robby devises a map of the World Trade Center which resembles a dungeon map used for the game. The 'two towers' is also a reference to the title of J.R.R. Tolkein's second book in *The Lord of the Rings*.

[38] *Ibid.* 1:26:55.

as a maze (a dungeon). Here he encounters a homeless man who sarcastically refers to himself as the King of France, a statement which Robby takes literally and pays royal deference to him.[39] The conversation between the two of them proceeds lucidly, but with more medievalist misunderstandings. The homeless man believes Robby to be newly homeless and advises him to stay away from the surface where the police may capture him. Robby interprets this as advice to stay away from the subway which he believes is a dragon, but he inquires where he can find 'the Two Towers.' The homeless man obliges him and directs him to the World Trade Center. When Robby arrives at the towers, the audience is presented with a vertical panning shot from street level to the top of the two towers, while a stark neo-gothic spire inhabits the space between them.[40] He travels to the roof where his friends intercept him and use the rules of the game in order to persuade him not to jump. This causes Robby to realize that the game is not reality, and he briefly returns to reality. However, 3 months later, Robby has returned to live with his parents and his friends visit him, only to discover that he tragically continues to believe that he is his character.

In *Mazes and Monsters*, we can see that a foundational narrative of the Dungeons and Dragons panic utilized a very concentrated expression of the public medievalism in order to express the blurring between reality and fantasy. References to the medieval emerge alongside the blurring between reality and fantasy, leading to violence. This medieval is not explicitly expressed in the historical sense, but like the blurring between reality and fantasy, the distinction between the medieval and fantasy are blurred and positioned as a dangerous alternative to reality. This begins when the characters bring the world of Mazes and Monsters into reality through live-action roleplaying in medievalist garments and it is cemented when Robby's violent hallucination (attacking the imaginary Gorvill) proliferates into a medievalist asceticism. Because his participation in the live-action game brought fantasy into reality (like the child on the playground without their toy), the game exploited his existing trauma in order to change him. Anti-social and violent episodes follow from this as references to the medieval increase, often serving to indicate the depth of Robby's delusion.

In conclusion, an understanding of the medievalism of the *Dungeons and Dragons* panic requires an understanding of the discourses which were critical of the game as an example of broader trends in children's media. This medieval

[39] The maze here is obviously meant to be understood as a dungeon. Likewise, it should be stated that sarcastically remarking that one is "the King of France" expresses disbelief in the other's stated identity.

[40] *Ibid.* 1:28:34.

is expressed as a fantasy world which corrupts children, impelling them towards violence and the occult. This occurs through the media, and situates parents as the guardians of their children by advocating that they regulate their children's media consumption. While *Mazes and Monsters* is certainly not the only media which expressed this medievalism, it demonstrates that this medievalism had a position in both evangelical and mass media.

PART 3

From the Workshop

THE MONGOL INVASION OF HUNGARY: FROM THE FIELD SURVEY OF THE BATTLEFIELD AT MUHI TO THE DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

János B. Szabó – József Laszlovszky – Balázs Nagy – Dorottya Uhrin

The third year of the research project "*The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context*"[1] has created major challenges for our research team because of the Covid-19 situation.[2] The previous field research continued; however, due to the pandemic, there was less opportunity for large-scale surveys or community archeological programs. At the same time, we continued publishing academic studies related to the project, and we have paid special attention to the dissemination of the project results to the wider public. Therefore, we have also presented some results at conferences and in our lecture series for the general public. Moreover, members of the project incorporated the most recent results into university courses in Hungary and abroad. One of the main aims of the project this year was to present our project to the widest possible audience, thus, we prepared a significant number of interviews and project presentations in different spheres of media.

I. Archaeological field research, reconstruction of the battle at Muhi

In February 2021, József Laszlovszky and Tamás Pusztai, members of our research team, together with Balázs Nagy (Department of Physical Geography, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) carried out a short field survey in the region of the confluence of the Sajó and Hernád rivers. This fieldwork was based on previous results of their interdisciplinary investigations (geomorphological, hydrological, historical-geographical, and archaeological) connected to the environmental-

[1] Interdisciplinary Research Project Supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (2018–2022) (project identification number: K 128880).

[2] Previous reports on the project: János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context. Interdisciplinary Research Project Supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (2018–2022)," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 26 (2020): 223–233; János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context. Interdisciplinary Research Project Supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (2018–2022). Research Report of the year 2020," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 27 (2021): 271–282.

historical reconstruction of the battlefield area.[3] While previous research has focused on possible sites connected to different events of the battle, this recent investigation focused on the riverbed changes of the two rivers. This question is crucial for the understanding of river crossings (bridges, fords) mentioned in medieval sources and descriptions of the area in the context of the battle. It is also very important for identifying research areas and sites for archaeological field walking and metal detector surveys. Therefore, a detailed study was carried out to interpret the LIDAR survey of the area and produce video recordings of the extreme floods and highwater periods that had occurred in the last few years. The particular reason the fieldtrips were made in February was the fact that the Sajó and Hernád rivers flood at that time. This helped in the reconstruction attempts of the historical place of the confluence of the above mentioned two rivers.[4] As has been argued in our previous studies, an earlier confluence can be reconstructed to the north of the present situation; thus, this historical change of the riverbed must have influenced the place of a bridge on the River Sajó mentioned in the context of the battle. This late winter field survey, combined with the analysis of video recordings made during flood and highwater periods, confirmed the size and extension of the water-covered area in this region. Furthermore, it also offers an explanation for the name of the village of Sajóhidvég ("at the end of a bridge on the Sajó"), which is situated now near the Hernád River. The medieval site of this village has been previously identified by historical-cartographic studies and by archeological field surveys. Together with the environmental-historical data, the field survey carried out in 2021 contributes to our understanding of dynamic water changes of the Sajó River in historical periods, has also been corroborated by recent hydrographic studies.[5]

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[3] József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy, "Új földrajzi, környezettörténeti és régészeti kutatások a muhi csatatéren és a Sajó mentén. [New Geomorphologic, Environmental History and Archaeological Research at the Battlefield of Muhi and Along the River Sajó]," in *Környezettörténet 3. Környezeti folyamatok a honfoglalástól napjainkig történeti és természettudományos források tükrében* [Environmental History, 3 Environmental Processes from the Hungarian Conquest to the Present in the Light of Historical Sources and Scientific Evidence], ed. Gábor Demeter, Zoltán Kern, Zsolt Pinke, Beatrix F. Romhányi, András Vadas, and László Bíró (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont/ Research Centre for the Humanities, 2021), 139–159.

[4] Dorottya Uhrin, "Munkatársaink terepbejárása az áradó Sajónál," Tatárjárás 1241, http://tatarjaras1241.elte.hu/2021/03/03/munkatarsaink-terepbejarasa-az-arado-sajonal/, accessed February 8, 2022.

[5] László Bertalan, Tibor József Novák, Zoltán Németh, Jesús Rodrigo-Comino, Ádám Kertész, and Szilárd Szabó, "Issues of Meander Development: Land Degradation or Ecological Value? The Example of the Sajó River, Hungary," *Water* 10, no. 11 (2018): 1–21; László Bertalan, "Detailed

In August 2021, the research group carried out another field survey on the Sajó River between Sajólád and Köröm in order to determine and identify wooden structures in the river that could be interpreted as the remains of historical crossings (bridges). The remains were approached and documented using an electric boat with the help of Nándor Rácz, a member of the Community Archaeology Association, and the remains were identified and photographed. The exact locations of the wooden structures were recorded with GPS coordinates. The preliminary results of the survey show that some of these wooden structures in the Sajó River belong to bridges used in the nineteenth and even in the twentieth centuries. Their locations can also be identified with the help of modern maps and historical data. However, some of the other wooden structures cannot be traced in these sources from the eighteenth century onwards, thus, they can be connected to bridges from earlier periods. Based on this preliminary dataset we plan to collect samples for dendrochronological dating. However, this sampling work can only be carried out during periods when the water level of the river is low, due to the strong current. Also, in the framework of this program, the project examined the applicability of an underwater drone in the research of the medieval wooden remains in the lake near Köröm. Due to the high organic matter content of the water and algae growth, this program is planned to be repeated during the winter or early spring period.

Another important part of the fieldwork carried out in the framework of this research project was connected to the community archaeology programs and the investigations of the battlefield at Muhi. In the previous year, we carried out several field surveys and research with metal detectors in this area with the contribution of large groups of volunteers.[6] Community archaeology has produced significant results in many different parts of Hungary and the first major comprehensive exhibition was organized in 2021. The exhibition of the Ferenczy Museum Center at Szentendre offered an excellent overview of the projects carried out in Pest County. Furthermore, the exhibition also presented projects from other parts of the country; thus, the fieldwork connected to the Muhi battlefield was also summarized and finds from this research were also on display. Arrowheads, coins, and small dress accessories such as rings were the characteristic finds from this

assessment of spatial and temporal variations in river channel changes and meander evolution as a preliminary work for effective floodplain management. The example of Sajó River, Hungary," *Journal of Environmental Management* 248 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2019.109277; https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S030147971930979X.

[6] For the community archaeology projects connected to our battlefield investigations see the previous two reports.

area. Restoration of these finds was part of the exhibition project, which also helps the interpretation of these objects. The detailed interpretation of the finds in the context of the battle is a further research topic for our project.

The exhibition at Szentendre also offered further opportunities to discuss the first research results of the Mongol invasion in Hungary project. A public lecture series was organized by the museum on particular aspects of the objects and finds presented in the exhibition. One of the first lectures (24 September 2021) was entitled "Arrowheads, Jewelry, Silver Coins: Archaeological Finds of the Battle at Muhi." This lecture by József Laszlovszky focused on the finds of the community archaeology projects and compared them to other objects found in different archaeological contexts (fortified church sites, coin hoards, deserted rural settlements, etc.). Other aspects of this research were also discussed in a scholarly workshop connected to the exhibition. The paper presented also by József Laszlovszky – "Complex Investigations of Battlefields: Methodological Aspects of the Community Archaeology Investigations Connected to the Battle of Muhi" – was part of the conference on the new models and approaches of community archaeology in Hungary.[7]

New archaeological excavations

Archaeological excavations were carried out in the area of Szank, led by Szabolcs Rosta in 2021. The people of the settlement erected a rampart around the medieval church during the Mongol invasion. As the archaeological excavation proved, several of the defenders died a heroic death during the Mongol attack. The human remains found in the moat are archaeological evidence of the destruction of the Mongol invasion. Similar archaeological features and traces of another fortification around

[7] "Mindenki másképp csinálja." A közösségi régészet modelljei, módszertani tanulságok. ["Everybody does it in a different way." Models of community archaeology and methodological issues.] Conference organized by the Ferenczy Múzeumi Centrum and the Community Archaeology Association, Szentendre 12–13 November, 2021. József Laszlovszky – Katalin Wollák, "Treasure Hunting, Adventure, Science. Community archaeology projects: catalogue, lecture series and conference." *Hungarian Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2021): 49–57 http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?p=9570; Tibor Ákos Rácz – Hella Mag, "Report on the First National Community Archaeology Conference." *Hungarian Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2021): 93–96, http://files.archaeolingua.hu/2021T/Upload/Racz_E21T.pdf; Gabriella Kulcsár, "Treasure Hunting, Adventure, Science. Community Archaeology Projects in Pest County. From the publications of the Ferenczy Museum Center." *Hungarian Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2021): 97–100, http://files.archaeolingua.hu/2021T/Upload/Kulcsar_E21T.pdf; Katalin Wollák – Alexandra Anders, "Community Archaeology Projects in County Pest. Reflections on an Exhibition in the Ferenczy Museum Centre, Szentendre." *Hungarian Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2021): 101–107, http://files.archaeolingua.hu/2021T/Upload/Wollak_E21T.pdf

the village church were also found at Tázlár by Zsolt Gallina, a few kilometers from Szank. Two researchers of the project (József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy) took part in the on-site consultation organized by the Museum of Kecskemét in connection with these excavations. Anthropologists from the Museum of Natural History also attended the program. Some details of the consultation were recorded by local TV as well as another film crew.[8]

II. New results and new publications

Members of our team have also published scholarly studies related to the Mongol invasion of Hungary. Here we offer a short summary of them, particularly on studies that were only published in Hungarian. They cover different topics, including military architecture, coin hoards, and the impact of the invasion.

In a recent study, József Laszlovszky summarized the historical, archaeological, and architectural-historical data on the first castle building period after the Mongol invasion in Hungary.[9] He argued that contemporary written sources, mainly letters, support the idea of the creation of a defense line along the Danube after 1242. During the Mongol invasion of Hungary the invading army was not able to cross the Danube for a significant time, and as a result the western part of the country was less devastated. Castles and fortifications offered protection for military forces and for the local population in this region, and this experience forced King Béla IV to initiate a castle-building program. Castles were mentioned in a letter written to the pope in 1242, and a list of fortifications was offered in this document. These castles were the main centers of resistance in the second phase of the Mongol invasion in 1242. In another document written also to the pope a few years after the invasion, it was clearly stated by the ruler that the Danube could be used as a defense line in case of another Mongol invasion, and castles mainly made of stone were the most significant elements of this system. The castle of Esztergom, the two new fortifications of Visegrád, the castle of Óbuda, and the new, fortified town of Buda were the most important strongholds of this system on the western side

[8] Boglárka H. Molnár, "Hősi halottat találtak Szankon – videóval," https://hiros.hu/kultura/tudomany/hosi-halottat-talaltak-szankon--videoval?fbclid=IwAR0XuKXFsgjDkBBl2c1OIhj-9q-ZM4wXbWOjAwkSBXWz-CLsVHN1m-WfdhE, accessed February 8, 2022; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tLeax5D2b20&ab_channel=M5 accessed February 8, 2022.

[9] József Laszlovszky, "Visegrád várai és a tatárjárás után kiépített dunai védvonal" [The castles at Visegrád and the defense line built after the Mongol invasion along the Danube], in *„Visegrád, Visegrád! Hol hajdani fényed?" Tanulmányok Szőke Mátyás 80. Születésnapjára* ["Visegrád, Visegrád! Where is your former glory?" Studies for Mátyás Szőke's 80th birthday], ed. Gergely Buzás (Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2021), 25–50.

of the Danube. The two most important new castles were constructed at Visegrád by the king and with the help of the queen. The largest and most important new fortification was built on the castle hill at Buda, which was a combination of a fortified urban settlement and a fortified royal residence. Two other fortifications also belonged to this system, but they were not built by the king himself. They are less known in the research of the period as no visible remains can be seen today at their site. One of them, on the northern end of Margaret Island, was built by the archbishop of Esztergom. The head of the Hungarian church was also an important person from the point of view of military issues and in the defense of the country. Although the town of Esztergom was destroyed during the invasion, the high stone walls on the castle hill at Esztergom offered protection for the defenders. Thus, the castle itself was not occupied by the Mongol army. King Béla IV decided to create a new center on the hill of Buda, and he donated the whole castle of Esztergom to the archbishop. This can also be seen as another factor in the construction of a new tower and castle on Margaret Island as a part of the defense line, initiated by the king. During the second Mongol invasion of the country (1285) it was used by the bishop of Vác, whose seat was on the eastern side of the river. This town and the center of the diocese was much more vulnerable, as was made clear by the destruction of the seat of the bishop and the town in 1241. The castle on Margaret Island lost its importance by the end of the thirteenth century, and the archbishop of Esztergom exchanged it for other estates.

Another castle was erected at the southern end of the island. It was built by the Order of Saint John. This religious military (or Hospitaller) order played a significant role in the history of the period. Their main house was built at Székesfehérvár – one of the royal centers – well before the Mongol invasion. Their troops and groups of other religious military orders were also important forces in the battle of Muhi at the side of the Hungarian king. They suffered heavy losses here, but a letter from 1242 mentions them as military forces resisting the Mongol invasion. A few years after the invasion, a letter by Béla IV to the pope explicitly mentions them as defenders of the southeastern borders of the kingdom and as castle builders in the central part of the country. Their skills and experience in constructing castles were also mentioned in this document. The castle in the central part of the country can be identified with the tower on Margaret Island. This castle also lost it importance by the late medieval period, but some images from the sixteenth century show details of this building. These briefly discussed two castles on Margaret Island had a relatively short period as important fortifications. After the second Mongol invasion of Hungary, they were not used as elements of a defense line. However, during the two decades following the first Mongol

invasion their stone buildings contributed to a defense concept initiated by the king. Thus, the emergence of new castles and urban settlements along the Danube can be interpreted as a direct, and later indirect, response to the Mongol invasion. The construction of new fortifications in this region represents the first phase of a major castle building period in different parts of the country during the second half of the thirteenth century.[10]

As a result of another important scholarly project, the third volume of the new catalogue of Hungarian coins from the Árpádian period has been published recently, which covers almost the entire thirteenth century to the Angevin era starting in the early fourteenth century.[11] The latest part of this series is a considerable achievement in the numismatics of the period, but it also goes beyond it in many respects. The volume is particularly important for the coins of the period of the Mongol invasion in 1241–42. The first reason for this is their dating value in archaeological contexts and for sites destroyed by the invasion. In this respect, the history of research into the hoards from the period of the Mongol invasion is particularly intriguing, as they represent find assemblages that are almost unique in Hungarian archaeology both in terms of number and significance. As far as the spatial distribution of coin assemblages is concerned, the hoard horizon of the period of the Mongol invasion covers a significant part of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, in connection with the complex examination and reinterpretation of these finds, it was worth briefly summarizing in a review article those factors and academic issues that reflect the interconnection of the types of coins, the development of minting, the contemporary use of money, and the study of coin hoards.[12] Taking into account the new research results, the interpretation of hoards connected to the Mongol invasion leads to a series of questions that are important not only for the study of events but also for that of economic processes. On the one hand, there is the question of why the tesauration (i.e., the accumulation and deposition of valuables) was done in the form of given coins or jewelry items. The related main research questions can be summarized in the following:

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[10] For the castle building programs after the Mongol invasion in the region see also: Stephen Pow, "Hungary's Castle Defense Strategy in the Aftermath of the Mongol Invasion (1241–1242)." In: Fortifications, defence systems, structures and features in the past. *Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju / Serta Instituti Archaeologici*, Vol. 13. Eds. Tatjana Tkalčec, Tatjana Sekelj Ivančan, Siniša Krznar, Juraj Belaj. Zagreb: Institut za arheologiju, 2019. 233–244.

[11] Csaba Tóth and József Géza Kiss, *Az Árpád-kori magyar pénzek katalógusa III. Catalogue of Árpádian Coinage III.* (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2020).

[12] József Laszlovszky, "Minting, coin hoards, and processes in the history of money during the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241-42. Thoughts on a New Catalogue of Coins," *Hungarian Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2021): 49–57, http://files.archaeolingua.hu/2021T/Upload/Laszlovszky_E21T.pdf.

- The contemporary use of money represents a complex issue. Where and to what extent was any kind of minted coin used in this period? How common was payment in money in daily business and the trade of goods? In this respect, there could be major differences among the parts of the country and even among various types of settlements. It has also been hypothesized that the concentration of hoards in one area and the lack of them in other regions were connected to this. However, some regions of the country show different patterns in this respect, for example, the territory of Transylvania. Here, the lack of hoards should be explained by different factors, as significant destruction can be reconstructed in this relatively well-developed area on the basis of the written sources.
- Different means of exchange existed in the contemporary trade of goods. This could include not only money (including coins of various origins and qualities) but also hacksilver and other valuable objects, such as rock crystals and semi-precious stones. Many treasure hoards suggest that this was exactly the case in this period. They also include textiles of outstanding value (e.g., items with gold thread), a piece of which is already known from a hoard, and we also have a contemporary written source on such high-value textiles.
- Research into the general history of economy has also revealed that such coexistence of different means of exchange and minted coins is not uncommon and is particularly typical of certain periods. It was an age of the so-called *Geldgewichtswirtschaft* (the economy of measured money), which means that coins were not only counted but also weighed (unless only clearly good-quality, nearly identical coins were used in one particular transaction), and all sorts of things were used in payments. Objects and jewelry containing silver or other precious metals were measured in the same way. This explains the presence of items in the treasure hoards that can be identified as hacksilver. Evidence for this complex use of money is the growing number of scales that have long been known in scholarship as money weighing scales, together with archaeological finds of weights. Salt also played a significant role in financial transactions of the period, but, concerning the archaeological evidence, it belongs to the "invisible" financial tools of the period.
- Different social groups in the era had wealth accumulation practices, or "tesauration strategies," that may have been significantly different, and, at the same time, the amount of accumulated wealth (e.g., the number of coins in the hoards) reflects a significant stratification of wealth. Among the hoards, there are assemblages made up of a few dozen coins as well as those with more than ten thousand coins, which represent truly considerable wealth.

To interpret these, however, additional considerations must also be taken into account, as the tesauration system of the period was not uniform; it was affected by social and regional differences.

– In connection with the large number of foreign coins discovered in Hungary, it would be worth re-visiting a question that has already been raised in scholarship: What kinds of goods and products were given in return for the enormous number of silver coins taken to the country? Is it possible that a large number of silver coins attests an early phase of the export of livestock from Hungary, even if there is hardly any evidence of this in written documents? The economic historical interpretation of these questions requires a separate study on this issue.
– The reasons and practices for hiding hoards and their findspots lead to further questions. Time was a very important factor in the process of hiding; the place and time of hiding are also connected to the nature of the danger. A lot of hoards were hidden when and where no safe possibility of escape was guaranteed, but there was still time to hide things. One of the most important written sources of such an event is the description of the siege of Esztergom by Master Roger. The exact location of hiding is also a complex question, even in the case of a small region. A substantial part of the hoards may have been hidden in the vicinity of the given person's place of residence, but it is also conceivable that they were hidden during flight after it had become evident that the fleeing persons were not able to continue their way safely. The fact that people fled carrying significant assets can also be inferred from the fact that a substantial number of jewelry items and even coins were discovered next to the people who were killed inside a building connected to the destruction of the Mongol invasion. Previously, researchers often believed that the greatest destruction had taken place along the main roads because the Mongols used them. The idea is undoubtedly logical, but there are some indicators (e.g., hoards) that do not always project the same picture. The combined use of different indicators may reveal a much more complex picture than before, including the extent of the devastation that can be expected in the individual parts of the country.[13]

[13] Beatrix F. Romhányi and József Laszlovszky, "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a magyarországi templomhálózat" [The destruction of the Mongol invasion and the church network in Hungary], *Századok* 155 (2021): 601–630.

III. Dissemination of the new results

One of the main goals of the project is to present the new results to the general public. The public lecture series "A tatárjárásról sok szemmel: régi kérdések, új válaszok" [About the Mongol Invasion from Many Perspectives: Old Questions, New Answers] started its seventh semester in 2022. The members of the project present their research, but other distinguished scholars also offer relevant topics and shed light on different aspects of the Mongol invasion or the Mongol Empire.[14] In February 2021 Zsolt Szilágyi presented his research during his presentation entitled "The Image of Genghis Khan and the Great Mongolian Empire in Present-Day Mongolia." In March Tamás Pusztai spoke about the archaeological aspects of the battle of Muhi in his presentation "What Traces May Have Remained of the Destruction of the Battle of Muhi? Archaeological Excavation of the Medieval Village of Muhi." In April, Dávid Kotán presented "Mongolian Siege Technique: A Toolbox of Destruction from the Far East to the Kingdom of Hungary." The last presentation of the semester was "Dog-headed (?) Cannibals (?). Elements of Fear-Raising Propaganda in Ögödej's Western Campaign Based on Contemporary Written Sources and the Treasure of Hungarian Historical Legends" by Ágnes Birtalan. The next semester started in September 2021 with the presentation of András Pálóczi Horváth under the title "The Effect of the Mongol Invasion on the Transformation of the Medieval Settlement System of the Middle Tisza Region."

[14] Zsolt Szilágyi, "Dzsingisz kán és a Mongol Birodalom képe a mai Mongóliában" [The image of Genghis Khan and the Great Mongolian Empire in present-day Mongolia], February 4, 2021; Tamás Pusztai, "Milyen nyomai maradhattak a muhi csata pusztításának Muhiban? – Muhi középkori falu régészeti kutatásai" [What traces may have remained of the destruction of the Battle of Muhi? – Archaeological excavation of the medieval village of Muhi], March 4, 2021; Dávid Kotán, "Mongol ostromtechnika: a pusztítás eszköztára a Távol-Kelettől a Magyar Királyságig" [Mongol siege technique: A toolbox of destruction from the Far East to the Kingdom of Hungary], April 8, 2020; Ágnes Birtalan, "'Kutyafejű (?), emberevő (?).' A félelemkeltés propagandájának elemei Ögödej nyugati hadjáratában a korabeli írott források és a magyar történeti mondakincs alapján" Dog-headed (?) Cannibals (?). Elements of Fear-Raising Propaganda in Ögödej's Western Campaign Based on Contemporary Written Sources and the Treasure of Hungarian Historical Legends], May 6, 2021; András Horváth Pálóczi, "A tatárjárás hatása a Közép-Tisza vidék középkori településrendjének átalakulására" [The effect of the Mongol invasion on the transformation of the medieval settlement system of the Middle Tisza Region], September 6, 2021; Márton Vér, "A kán szolgálatában: ujgurok a Mongol Birodalom nyugati területein" [In the service of the Khan: Uyghurs in the western parts of the Mongol Empire], October 4, 2021; Tibor Szőcs, "'Tatárjárások' a tatárjárás után – A második tatárjárás Magyarországon és Közép-Európában" ["Mongol" invasions after the Mongol invasion – The second Mongol invasion in Hungary and Central Europe], November 8, 2021; László Veszprémy, "Volt-e stratégiájuk a mongoloknak?" [Did the Mongols have a strategy?], December 6, 2021.

In October, Márton Vér presented his research during his lecture "In the Service of the Khan: Uyghurs in the Western Parts of the Mongol Empire." In November Tibor Szőcs presented "'Mongol Invasions' after the Mongol Invasion – The Second Mongol Invasion in Hungary and Central Europe." In the last presentation of the semester László Veszprémy answered the question "Did the Mongols have a Strategy?" in his lecture of the same name. These lectures are also available on the YouTube channel of the project.[15]

Moreover, with the contribution of the Hungarian online news portal, 24.hu, an article series started in 2021. The members of the project gave interviews to journalist Dániel Bihari about the recent results connected to the project or the Mongol invasion. In the first article, "Ismert cselnek dőltek be a magyarok" (The Hungarians fell for a well-known trick), József Laszlovszky spoke about issues connected to the Mongol invasion, how according to Mongol leaders Béla IV committed a crime by accepting the Cumans in Hungary, and how he should have bow to the Mongols. One of the greatest armies of the world attacked Hungary in 1241, thus, different defense strategies such as closing the passes did not help against them. Moreover, the Hungarians were defeated by a well-known trick (crossing the river by night), a military tactic used earlier by them.[16] In the second article, "Óriásit hibáztak a magyarok az utolsó pillanatban" (The Hungarians made a huge mistake at the last moment), Balázs Nagy and Dorottya Uhrin spoke about the Mongol conquest and army. Further aspects of the Mongol Empire were presented as well as what made it the military superpower of the age. It had an inexhaustible army of experienced soldiers, while the Hungarians were more experienced in the European type of warfare. In this respect another important factor played a significant role at the last minute, namely, the expulsion of the Cumans from the country.[17]

In the third article, "Magyarország segítséget kért, de senki nem mozdult" (Hungary asked for help, but no one moved), Dániel Bihari interviewed Attila Bárány. He focused on the issue of international contacts. Although King Béla sent letters asking for help against the Mongols, no soldiers or pennies arrived.

[15] 1241 Tatárjárás, accessed February 3, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0g0VCgxNMVNWWUHQ_BcqCg/videos.

[16] Dániel Bihari, "Ismert cselnek dőltek be a magyarok" [The Hungarians fell for a well-known trick], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/04/25/tatarjaras-csata-magyar-kiralysag-dzsingisz-kan/.

[17] Dániel Bihari, "Óriásit hibáztak a magyarok az utolsó pillanatban" [The Hungarians made a huge mistake at the last moment], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/05/09/magyar-kiralysag-tatarjaras-csata/.

The powers of Europe were preoccupied with each other, but they prayed for the Hungarians. The idea a Crusade was also discussed, however, the planned Crusade was hijacked. Batu Khan did not come back, but Hungary had to live in the shadow of a next attack.[18] In the article "Ezért hordták körbe a véres kardot Magyarországon" (This is why the bloody sword was carried around in Hungary) József Laszlovszky described how the Mongol army invaded Hungary. Before the battle of Muhi in 1241, the Mongols broke the wooden blockades at the gates of Hungary situated at the passes of the Carpathian Mountains with astonishing speed. They destroyed the palatine's army and raced towards the center of the country. There were errors and mistakes, but Béla IV tried to do everything to protect the country. The main reason behind the tragedy of the Mongol invasion was that the Mongol Empire represented a military force and style that Hungary could not be prepared for.[19] The next article, "Elnyeli a föld a magyar tragédia helyszínét" (The ground swallows the location of the Hungarian tragedy), was again written with the contribution of József Laszlovszky. It describes the research problems connected to the archaeological investigations of the battle of Muhi. The village known as Muhi today is not the site of the medieval village and market town of Mohi, which was mentioned from the Middle Ages onwards as the place of this major battle. However, the archaeological remains of the medieval Muhi were identified and partially excavated before the construction of a new motorway in this area. Another problem of the battlefield research is connected to the changing riverbed of the Sajó. Therefore, finding the remains of an 800-year-old bridge, mentioned in the descriptions of the battle, is a crucial problem for the investigations.[20]

The following article was an interview with János B. Szabó entitled "Kiengedték a kelepcéből a magyarokat" (They let the Hungarians go from the trap), during which he spoke also about the same battle. He described that the Hungarians fought so hard in the fateful battle that the Mongols opened an escape route for them, otherwise they themselves would have suffered shocking losses. The use of a temporary fortification made of chariots was the idea of the Hungarian military leaders, and it is often quoted as one of the mistakes of Béla IV. However, this was

[18] Dániel Bihari, "Magyarország segítséget kért, de senki nem mozdult" [Hungary asked for help, but no one moved], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/05/23/tatarjaras-magyarorszag-segitseg-kozepkor/.

[19] Dániel Bihari, "Ezért hordták körbe a véres kardot Magyarországon" [This is why the bloody sword was carried around in Hungary], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/06/05/tatarjaras-csata-kiraly-mongol-karpatok/.

[20] Dániel Bihari, "Elnyeli a föld a magyar tragédia helyszínét" [The ground swallows the location of the Hungarian tragedy], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/06/26/tatarjaras-muhi-csata-sajo-kozepkor/.

a justified method, even if it came to grief due to the enemy's superiority, ingenuity, and high degree of military knowledge in the end.[21] Attila Bárány discussed in the article "Ez a csel mentette meg a magyar király életét" (This trick saved the life of the king) how the Mongols opened the siege ring and Béla IV left the battlefield. He did not follow a route expected by the Mongols, and this was an important aspect for the events right after the battle. After the battle of Muhi, he wandered hundreds of kilometers in imminent danger of his life, but he survived thanks to the local knowledge and self-sacrifice of his escorts. His ally Frederick robbed and blackmailed him, but finally Béla got to Zagreb safely, where he set up his new headquarters.[22]

Dorottya Uhrin spoke about the Mongol side of the same battle in the article "Ellenünk vívták a legkeményebb csatájukat a tatárok" (The Mongols fought their hardest battle against Hungarians). She explained that although the battle of Muhi in 1241 ended in a tragic defeat for the Hungarians, the Mongols also considered it as one of their toughest battles. Many of them died, and at one point they almost gave up. The Mongols also paid homage to their heroes who had fallen there for the empire. [23] Another article shows why Hungary became a target of the Mongol Empire and how the Mongols valued the battle of Muhi. In the article "Teljesen elpusztították Magyarország közepét" (The Mongols fully destroyed the center of Hungary) József Laszlovszky demonstrated that the Mongol conquest in Hungary was also based on intimidation and terror; the number of dead was in the order of tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands, and the captured prisoners were driven into battle against their own people. The response to the resistance was especially cruel, and the extent of the destruction was greatest in the central parts of the country: whole villages and towns disappeared from the face of the earth. He also spoke about the results of recent archaeological research that have uncovered tangible traces of the tragedy.[24]

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[21] Dániel Bihari, "Kiengedték a kelepcéből a magyarokat" [They let the Hungarians go from the trap], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/07/18/tatarjaras-szekertabor-muhi-csata/.

[22] Dániel Bihari, "Ez a csel mentette meg a magyar király életét" [This trick saved the life of the king], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/08/14/tatarjaras-csata-bela-kiraly-menekules-sajo/.

[23] Dániel Bihari, "Ellenünk vívták a legkeményebb csatájukat a tatárok" [The Mongols fought their hardest battle against the Hungarians], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/09/05/tatarjaras-muhi-csata-dzsingisz-kan-magyar-kiralysag-kozepkor/.

[24] Dániel Bihari, "Teljesen elpusztították Magyarország közepét" [They completely destroyed the center of Hungary], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/09/19/tatarjaras-pusztitas-haolttak-terror/.

In the article "Tatárjárás: keményen ellenálltak a magyarok" (Mongol invasion: The Hungarians resisted strongly) József Laszlovszky continued to describe the historical and archaeological sources of the defense. The Hungarians successfully defended the line of the Danube for a long time, and the Mongols needed a trick to cross the river in a particularly cold winter period and so used the strong ice on the river. In the Transdanubian region the Mongol losses were significant compared to the eastern part of the country. Thus, there was significant Hungarian resistance after the battle of Muhi and during the second phase of the Mongol invasion.[25] In the next article, "Megcáfoltak egy fontos elméletet a tatárjárásról" (An important theory was disproved about the Mongol invasion), Dorottya Uhrin demonstrated that historians' lengthy dispute over whether Ögödej's death was the main reason of the Mongol withdrawal should be re-evaluated. Most probably Batu had already decided about the withdrawal even before the message about the death of the great khan arrived.[26]

In the article "Magyar királylányok haltak meg a tatárjárásban" (Hungarian princesses died in the Mongol Invasion) Attila Bárány discussed the family history aspects of the royal court in the period of the invasion. Although Béla IV did everything to save his country and family, two of his daughters died. The Hungarians could defend the line of the Danube, and he could rest some months in Zagreb, but later only the sea could provide shelter in Dalmatia. If he was forced to leave the town of Trau (Trogir), two ships were prepared for him to escape capture by a special military group of the Mongols.[27] The following article, "Valójában a magyarok legyőzték a tatárokat?" (Were the Hungarians, in fact, defeated by the Mongols?), was an interview with József Laszlovszky on conflicting interpretations and re-interpretations of the Mongol invasion. Although new research results indicate a more complex picture on the destruction of the country with major regional differences, it cannot be questioned that the Mongol invasion was one of the greatest tragedies in the history of Hungary, and it cannot be re-interpreted as a victory. At the same time, the persistent resistance can be seen as one of the most important factors, among some others, which led to the withdrawal

[25] Dániel Bihari, "Tatárjárás: keményen ellenálltak a magyarok" [Mongol invasion: The Hungarians resisted strongly], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/10/17/tatarjaras-magyar-kiraly-harc-ellenallas-mongol/.

[26] Dániel Bihari, "Megcáfoltak egy fontos elméletet a tatárjárásról" [An important theory was disproved about the Mongol invasion], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/11/07/tatarjaras-batu-kanvalasztas-kozepkor-tortenelem/.

[27] Dániel Bihari, "Magyar királylányok haltak meg a tatárjárásban" [Hungarian princesses died in the Mongol invasion], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/11/21/tatarjaras-bele-kiraly-menekules-kozepkor-tortenelem/.

of the Mongols, and they gave up the conquest of the country in 1242.[28] In the next article, "Kannibalizmus kísérte a tatárjárást" (Cannibalism accompanied the Mongol invasion), József Laszlovszky talked about the scale of destruction and the Hungarian losses during the Mongol invasion. The loss of human life was greater in proportion than in the second world war. Archaeological investigations carried out during the last 20 years have revealed different sites with direct evidence of fights and massacres. There is also direct bioarchaeological evidence (human and animal bone materials from settlement sites) indicating various forms of destruction, which also reveals terrible human tragedies, such as cannibalism. This archaeological evidence confirms some of the written sources mentioning this aspect of the invasion and related to the famine caused by the general situation.[29] Zsolt Szilágyi in the article "Nem hozza lázba a mongolokat a tatárjárás, amúgy is távoli rokonként tekintenek rank" (The Mongols are not really interested in the Mongol invasion of Hungary, and they see us as distant relatives) showed that although the Hungarians had an effect on the contemporary Mongols, they had lesser impact in the eyes of the later empire. The medieval Mongol Empire is a relevant aspect of historical memory culture in modern Mongolia, but the invasion of Hungary by the Mongols does not play a significant role in this process.[30]

Another form of dissemination of the project results was achieved by other forms of media appearances. János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin contributed to a four-part podcast series called "… Rabló mongol nyilát…" (…Thieving Mongol's arrow…), where they were interviewed about the Mongol invasion by Árpád Bayer, a historian dealing with gamification and podcast programs on historical topics. In the first part of this series, "Digitális Legendárium" (Digital Legendary), János B. Szabó and Dorottya Uhrin presented the "enemy" and spoke about the dynamics of a nomad empire and about the

[28] Dániel Bihari, "Valójában a magyarok legyőzték a tatárokat?" [Were the Hungarians, in fact, defeated by the Mongols?], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2021/12/19/tatarjaras-mongol-kivonulas-magyarorszag-kozepkor/.

[29] Dániel Bihari, "Kannibalizmus kísérte a tatárjárást" [Cannibalism accompanied the Mongol invasion], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2022/01/30/kannibalizmus-kiserte-a-tatarjarast/.

[30] Dániel Bihari, "Nem hozza lázba a mongolokat a tatárjárás, amúgy is távoli rokonként tekintenek rank" [The Mongols are not really interested in the Mongol invasion of Hungary, and they see us as distant relatives], accessed February 3, 2022, https://24.hu/tudomany/2022/02/19/tatarjaras-mongol-rokon-kozvelemeny/.

Mongols.[31] In the second part, János B. Szabó and József Laszlovszky discussed the battle of Muhi and they summarized the newest results in the framework of battlefield and conflict archaeology.[32] In the third part, József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy talked about the state of Hungary right after the battle of Muhi, and how and why the Mongols left the kingdom.[33] In the fourth part, Balázs Nagy and Dorottya Uhrin spoke about the rebuilding and re-founding of the country after the invasion and the role of Béla IV.[34]

As it can be clearly demonstrated by these lecture series, interviews, and podcasts, the last phase of the four-year research project can be characterized by a strong attempt to disseminate research results. This corresponds with the original plans of the project, but it was also forced by the Covid-pandemic situation. Therefore, the last year of the project will return to some of the original plans concerning fieldwork, and it will also focus on the scholarly publication plans of this interdisciplinary program.

[31] Dorottya Uhrin and János B. Szabó, "#28 – '...rabló mongol nyilát...' 4/1 – Dr. B. Szabó János, Dr. Uhrin Dorottya," accessed February 28, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TZHongOJiQ&t=1s&ab_channel=Digit%C3%A1lisLegend%C3%A1rium.

[32] József Laszloszky and János B. Szabó, "#30 – '...rabló mongol nyilát...' 4/2 – Dr. B. Szabó János, Dr. Laszlovszky József," accessed February 3, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sDwg1-hposI&t=2523s&ab_channel=Digit%C3%A1lisLegend%C3%A1rium.

[33] József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy, "#32 – '...rabló mongol nyilát...' 4/3 – Dr. Nagy Balázs, Dr. Laszlovszky József," accessed February 3, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIGYEU7oUbM&ab_channel=Digit%C3%A1lisLegend%C3%A1rium.

[34] Balázs Nagy and Dorottya Uhrin, "#34 – '...rabló mongol nyilát...' 4/4 – Dr. Nagy Balázs, Dr. Uhrin Dorottya," accessed February 3, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kUxmaGAMW0k&t=1932s&ab_channel=Digit%C3%A1lisLegend%C3%A1rium.

REGIONS AND REGIONAL EXCHANGES IN MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE
DAAD-supported collaboration with the University and the Academy of Sciences of Heidelberg

Katalin Szende

After several successful bilateral cooperation projects with some of the most prestigious German universities – Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Dresden – supported by the German Academic Research Board (DAAD) in its outreach program to Hungary, in 2018 we initiated a renewed collaboration with Heidelberg on a project entitled "Regions and Regional Exchanges in Medieval Central Europe."[1] The German partners in this two-year research and student exchange project were Heidelberg University, represented by its Institute of Regional History (*Institut für Fränkisch-Pfälzische Geschichte und Landeskunde)* led by Professor Jörg Peltzer and the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences represented by Dr. Julia Burkhardt (who in 2020 took up a professorship in Medieval History at the University of Munich). The Hungarian entity of CEU, Közép-Európai Egyetem, was represented by the Department of Medieval Studies, with Professor Katalin Szende as the leader of the project. CEU also supported the project financially through a special grant from its Academic Cooperation and Research Support Office (ACRO). The project involved around ten faculty members and close to twenty PhD students altogether from the three institutions. Due to the pandemic-related prolongation, several doctoral students completed their dissertations before the conclusion of the project and handed on the baton to a new cohort of participants.

The program envisaged organizing four thematic workshops and research visits of students and faculty connected to these events in the calendar years 2019–2020. Because of the pandemic, these plans had to be adjusted and re-negotiated. With an extension of the funding period until the end of 2021, we managed to arrange three workshops and complete the planned number of student exchanges. Many other factors besides the pandemic interfered with our original plans, the most severe change was CEU's involuntary move from Budapest to Vienna in September 2020. As a result of these circumstances, the three workshops took place in three different locations: the first one in Heidelberg, the second in Budapest, and the third in Vienna. Additionally, from the second workshop onwards, we enlarged the Budapest-Heidelberg cooperation to a triangle with our colleagues

[1] Grant Number 307425.

from Prague, affiliated with the Centre for Medieval Studies and the Charles University, respectively, to which both the University of Heidelberg and CEU have had strong contacts, and who are also active participants of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN). Workshop 3 also included a paper by a student from the University of Vienna, and our Viennese colleagues contributed to chairing the sessions and participating in the discussion. The detailed programs of the workshops can be found in the *Appendix* to this report.

The three workshops unfolded particular aspects of the common theme: regionalism, the formation and cohesion of regions, cooperation within the region, and conflicts within or with other regions. We concentrated on Central Europe as an analytical framework and compared it with other regions in Europe: the British Isles, Iberia, and the Holy Roman Empire. We also paid attention to geographical, socio-economic, and political aspects and interactions, and religious and cult-related phenomena. The region as an analytical category proved to be particularly suitable for contextualizing the case studies presented by the students, for recognizing contexts beyond the given settlement, aristocratic family, or church institution.

The workshops were often the first international venues where doctoral students had a chance to present their research projects, which made the received feedback even more valuable. Students also spent short but intense research periods at the host institutions, collecting secondary literature and in some cases also primary sources for their dissertations. The scholarly exchanges were complemented by short excursions led by local experts that were integral to the themes of the three workshops: to Heidelberg Castle, to the Pest city center, and to the mendicant friaries in Vienna. The site visits allowed for a historical analysis of the local cultural heritage, linking and enriching the theme with topographical and architectural dimensions.

The first workshop, organized by Jörg Peltzer and Julia Burkhardt in Heidelberg on 24–25 April 2019, examined the formation and operation of dynastic rule and succession, as well as the power structures associated with or independent of the ruling dynasty. We considered the permanence and changes of dynasties in the High and late Middle Ages within the broad geographical framework of the Holy Roman Empire and the medieval states and regions in Central and Eastern Europe and England. We discussed the questions along three lines. First, we examined the impact of rulers and ruling dynasties on their domains, with particular attention to the principles of inheritance and dynastic marriages. The second aspect was to consider the role of alliances and relations between rulers and dynasties in the formation of regions. The third major issue

was the agency of the aristocracy, especially those whose possessions or interests were tied to border areas or to multiple regions or political entities at once. This situation affected their loyalty, decisions, and the eventual changes in their political allegiances, which determined the cohesion or division of the region itself, even if the actors themselves were not always aware of the long-term consequences of their choices.

The fundamental difference between the studied areas is shown by the fact that in the case of the Holy Roman Empire the local noble society played a much more decisive role in the formation of regions than in the states dominated by the monarchical principle (England, Hungary). An interesting addition to this was a presentation analyzing the representation strategies and loyalties of the families of the noble kinships in the Anglo-Scottish border region, as well as a presentation on the formation of the Polish-Lithuanian personal union with an emphasis on the differences that still prevailed in this composite monarchy. The workshop was organized in an innovative format, starting with a tour of Heidelberg castle and the collegiate church of the Holy Spirit to discuss dynastic strategies in situ, followed by nine 7-minute (!) papers in three blocks, with very intense discussions on each. This served as an *entré* for five CEU-affiliated PhD students to stay and conduct research in Heidelberg's rich libraries.

The second workshop on 17–19 October in Budapest organized by Sandra Schieweck and Katalin Szende titled "Urban Societies in Border Zones" focused on the topic of regionalism from the perspective of cities, especially those located in border areas. The main question was what role cities played in the formation of regional identity and in the relationship between regions, including the exchange of goods and social movements in the Middle Ages. To address this complex issue, in this workshop we examined the societies of cities that were located on political, cultural, or religious boundaries or in border zones.

Research on medieval urban history has traditionally shown the strongest interest in the most important economic and political centers. At the same time, examining small and medium-sized towns on the border, considering the forms and intensity of networking, can help one to better understand the specific dynamics of integration or segregation. The workshop used case studies to review how the populations of border towns were organized and developed relationships with neighboring regions and how the proximity of the border influenced urban development. The research aspects included different forms of communication from language to transport and trade to cultural and religious transfer. During the discussions, it became clear how many examples one can find where the border zones did not separate the settlements on either side, but rather connected them.

At the same time, through the analysis of emerging conflicts and their solutions, we also sought answers to the challenges that urban societies faced in their daily coexistence.

Finally, the third workshop, organized in a fortunate niche between two lockdowns on 8–9 November 2021 in Vienna by Gábor Klaniczay, Jörg Peltzer, and Katalin Szende, approached the Central European region, its border zones, and interactions from the perspective of religious and intellectual history through the themes of monasticism, the cult of saints, and places of pilgrimage. The study of religious orders was particularly instructive, as they themselves were organized on a regional basis through their provinces, but the orders also played a trans-regional liaison and mediating role through their rules and specific identities. At the same time, Central Europe served as an example of the emergence of different monastic models at the crossroads of Western and Eastern Christianity. The introductory lecture and several other presentations of the workshop also covered the expansion and missionary activities of the orders to the east and their role in spreading the cult of certain saints or even in border defense.

A review and comparison of Central European examples drew attention to the peculiarities of architectural solutions and the role of relationships established during personal, family, or university studies in the foundation of monasteries. In addition, we observed that the notion of an "action radius" also played a role in spreading or delimiting the cult of saints, the monastic reform movements, and the diffusion of artistic influences. Several presentations covered the movement of manuscripts, texts, and ideologies within and between regions, their interaction, and the role of education in this intellectual mobility.

The exchange project has contributed to the formation and progress of the doctoral students and their projects in various ways. The library of the University of Heidelberg, one of the richest collections for historians, archaeologists, and art historians alike, offered almost unlimited research possibilities. Doctoral students were able to expand the historiographical chapters of their dissertations with materials previously unknown or difficult to access. In addition, professors from the University of Heidelberg were consulted and provided methodological assistance and, in some cases, they even made available specific research materials. The students who came to Budapest from Heidelberg also found the consultations and the use of the medieval library of CEU, which we maintain together with the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, very helpful. Making virtue out of necessity, Heidelberg students could also benefit from research resources in Vienna since the venue of the third workshop had to be moved here. Six of the doctoral students affiliated with CEU who joined at the beginning of the project completed their

dissertations in the meantime. Two of them (Iliana Kandzha and Mišo Petrović) had as their external readers Heidelberg professors who were also involved in the project.

To illustrate the student experience from the Heidelberg side, let me quote here a paragraph from the report of Isabel Kimpel, participant of the third workshop: "Through the numerous case studies, participants not only gained insight into current research discourses but to a special extent the workshop opened up the possibility to question their own 'borders.' As a Ph.D. student whose focus is on the study of medieval monasteries of Western Europe, I gained an intensive insight into the world of Eastern European monasteries and regional peculiarities, such as the interaction of Dalmatian Franciscan friars with the Italian universities of Bologna and Padua. Thanks to my following research visits to CEU libraries in Vienna and Budapest, I was able to deepen the impressions I obtained during the workshop."[2]

In sum, as a result of the three workshops and the related exchanges based on the students' ongoing research, we obtained a much more nuanced and sophisticated image of the intellectual, artistic, and social exchanges in late medieval Central Europe. These processes can be examined more effectively in the conceptual system of regionalism and border zones than in the traditional frameworks of national history.

[2] Published on the website of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network, https://www.mecern.eu/index.php/2022/01/31/daad-workshop-vienna-8-9-nov-2021/ (accessed 6 June 2022).

APPENDIX
THE PROGRAMS OF THE CO-ORGANIZED WORKSHOPS

Workshop 1:
Dynastic Principle and Regnal Persistence
Heidelberg, 24–25 April 2019

Wednesday, 24 April 2019

Benjamin Müsegades/Stefan Bröhl: Tour of the castle and the collegiate church of the Holy Spirit (Meeting point: "Fountain of the Lion" on University Square in front of the Old University)

Thursday, 25 April 2019

Location: Senatssaal, Old University

9:00

Welcome (Beatrix Busse, pro-vice-chancellor)

9:15

Introduction (Julia Burkhardt/Jörg Peltzer)

9:30

Illiana Kandzha – Henry II and Cunigunde as Virgin Rulers and Dynastic Saints
Maree Shirota – Marcher Lords in Late Medieval England
Karen Stark – The Hungarian Angevins: Strategies of Pilgrimage and Patronage

11:00

Miraslau Shpakau – The Gediminids' Dynastic Policies and the Formation of the Region of Poland-Lithuania in the Middle Ages
Stefan Holz – In-Between Franconia and Thuringia. The Counts of Henneberg and Their Fiefs in the Late Middle Ages.
Bela Zsolt Szakács – Artistic Regions and the Hungarian Angevin Dynasty

13:30

Mišo Petrović – Local Elites, Dynastic Succession, and the Ecclesiastical Reorganization of the Church of Croatia-Dalmatia during the 13th and the 14th Centuries
Stefan Bröhl – Princes and Knights in the Bergstraße Region

Leslie Carr-Riegel – Monetary Sovereignty and Dynastic Ambition in Central Eastern Europe

14:30
Round table discussion (Gabor Klaniczay/Jörg Peltzer/Bernd Schneidmüller/Katalin Szende/Daniel Ziemann)

Workshop 2:
Urban Societies in Border Zones
Budapest, 17–19 October 2019

Thursday, 17 October
3:00 – 3:30
Opening, welcome, introductory talk (Sandra Schieweck, Heidelberg and Katalin Szende, Budapest)

3:30 – 4:30
Session 1
Chair: Jörg Peltzer (Heidelberg)
Stefan Holz (Heidelberg) – Berwick-upon-Tweed and the Anglo-Scottish Border under Edward I
András Vadas (Budapest) – The Multi-Ethnic Ottoman–Hungarian Frontier

5:00 – 6:00
Session 2
Chair: Daniel Ziemann (Budapest)
Vojtěch Bažant (Prague) – Spišians and Hungary. The Chronicle from Spišská Sobota and the Collective Identity of Spiš
Béla Zsolt Szakács (Budapest) – Artistic Contacts in the Towns of the Polish-Hungarian Border Zone in the Gothic Period

Friday, 18 October
9:30 – 10:30
Session 3
Chair: Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest)
Martin Pjecha (Prague) – Tabor as an Intellectual Border Zone
Barbara Frenk (Heidelberg) – Fiefs as Borders. The Bishopric of Speyer in the Late Middle Ages

11:00 – 12:00
Session 4
Chair: Julia Burkhardt (Bonn/Heidelberg)
Anna Kónya (Budapest) – Artistic Exchange and the Use of Models in Late Medieval Wall Painting. Case Studies from Transylvanian Towns
Corentin Hamet (Paris/Heidelberg) – Border Crossing, Taxation, and the Role of the Market Hall: Understanding the Customs and Commercial Procedure in the Cities of the Empire in the 15th Century

13:00 – 14:00
Session 5
Chair: Václav Žůrek (Prague)
Roman Shlyakhtin (Mainz) – Republic in the Borderlands? Nicaea and its Inhabitants between Byzantium and Turks (1080–1097)
Tünde Komori (Budapest) – Eger in the Ottoman Period

14:30 – 16:00 project presentations
Chair: András Vadas (Budapest)
Jan Kremer (Prague), Libellus, Database and GIS of Central European Medieval Monasteries
Stefan Bröhl (Heidelberg), Lower Nobility in the Late Middle Ages
Pavel Soukup (Prague), From Performativity to Institutionalization. Handling Conflict in the Late Middle Ages: Strategies, Agents, Communication
Balázs Nagy and József Laszlovszky (Budapest), The Mongol Invasion and its Impact on Central Europe

Visit to the parish church of Pest: From border to center and back

Saturday, 19 October
9:30 – 10:30
Session 6
Chair: Nikolas Jaspert (Heidelberg)
Sandra Schieweck (Heidelberg) – Central on the Periphery? The Case of Jaén at the Castilian-Naṣrid Frontier
Judit Majorossy (Vienna) and Katalin Szende (Budapest) – Divided in War, Connected in Peace: Towns in the Border Zone of Western Hungary and the Austrian Lands

11:00 – 12.00 Closing discussion and preview of the next workshop
Chairs: Julia Burkhardt and Jörg Peltzer (Heidelberg)

Workshop 3:
Borders and Interactions: Monastic Regions, Cult Centers, and Pilgrimages
Vienna, 8–9 November 2021

Monday, 8 November

9:00 – 9:30
Welcome and Introduction (Daniel Ziemann, CEU; Julia Burkhardt, University of Munich; Gábor Klaniczay, CEU)

9:30 – 10:30
Keynote lecture
Chair: Julia Burkhardt
Beatrix F. Romhányi (Gáspár Károli University of the Reformed Church, Budapest) – The Monastic Network(s) of East Central Europe

11:00 – 12:30
Session 1
Chair: Gábor Klaniczay
Sanja Miljan (CEU) – Crossing the Borders: Franciscans of Dalmatia Traveling to Italy (from Assisi to Bologna and Padua)
Benjamin Müsegades (University of Heidelberg) – Saints and the City. Holy Men in Medieval Lincoln

14:00 – 15:30
Session 2
Chair: Christina Lutter (University of Vienna)
Cynthia Stöckle (University of Munich) – Medieval Monasteries between Monastic Aspirations and Dynastic Politics. The Example of Stams in Tyrol
Karel Pacovský (Charles University, Prague, Institute of Greek and Latin Studies) – Prague Benedictine Nuns and Their Social Networks

16:00 – 18:30
Session 3
Chair: Judit Majorossy
Norbert Hunor Orbán (University of Vienna) – Protagonists – Institutions – Networks: Paulines in Late Medieval Lower Austria
Jan Kremer (CMS Prague) – Uncertain Result and Certain Perils: Premonstratensians within the Bohemian Monastic Landscape

Tuesday, 9 November

9:00 – 10:30

Session 4

Chair: Eloïse Adde (CEU)

Olga Kalashnikova (CEU) – Relics Cross the Borders: Prague Pilgrimage and Public Veneration of Passion Relics in the 14th Century

Isabel Kimpel (University of Heidelberg) – Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Libri miraculorum*: A Guide to Life in and outside the Monastery in the 13th Century

11:00 – 13:00

Session 5

Chair: Béla Zsolt Szakács (CEU)

Martina Kudlíková (Masaryk University, Brno) – The Cloisters of the Mendicant Monasteries in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown in the Middle Ages. The Relationship between Function, Form, and Space

Jason Snider (CEU) – Lybko and Soel as Command Sectors: Reinterpreting Toponyms along the Danube Frontier in OBA Nr. 27837

Florian Schreiber (University of Heidelberg) – Clerical Institutions in the Financial Environment of Heidelberg University

13:00 – 13:30

Concluding remarks

Jörg Peltzer (University of Heidelberg) and Katalin Szende (CEU)

14:30 – 17:00

Afternoon program:

Guided visit of mendicant friaries in Vienna (Franciscan and Augustinian)

Guides: Tim Juckes (University of Vienna) and Béla Zsolt Szakács (CEU)

VITA PROCOPII MINOR
A Basic Source for the History of the Sázava Monastery and Early Medieval Bohemia

Petr Sommer

The oldest surviving legend of Saint Procopius (*Vita minor*) is one of the most important early medieval sources of Czech origin. Until recently, historians have disputed neither its dating nor its authenticity. The current debate on these topics is perhaps more instructive in relation to Czech historiography than to the Procopian themes themselves[1].

The hagiographic record of St Procopius (Prokop, 970/80[2]–1053), founder of the Sázava monastery consists of three surviving and one hypothetical texts. The three Latin Lives were called by Václav Chaloupecký the *Vita antiqua,* the *Vita minor* and the *Vita maior*.[3] The existence of the earliest hagiographic text on St Procopius, supposedly written in Old Church Slavonic, has been alternately affirmed and doubted[4]. The second Prologue of the *Vita maior,* which, together with the first prologue, is generally regarded as an authentic original component of the text of the *Vita minor*, refers to a "translation" *de slavonicis litteris*.[5] Chaloupecký

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[1] The Latin text of the legend with an English translation by Christian Gaşpar will be published in the *Central European Medieval Texts* series, in the volume edited by Gábor Klaniczay, *The Sanctity of the Leaders. Holy Kings, Princes, Bishops and Abbots from Central Europe (11th to 13th Centuries)* (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2022). This text was written in the course of the project *"Sázava – Archaeology of the Benedictine Monastery"* (No. 19-17636S) supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic.

[2] On the question of the time of Procopius' birth cf. Petr Sommer, *Svatý Prokop. Z počátků* českého *státu a církve* [Saint Procopius. From the Beginnings of the Czech State and Church], Prague: Vyšehrad 2007. pp. 73–89.

[3] Václav Chaloupecký and Bohumil Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské* [Medieval legends of St Procopius] (Prague: ČSAV, 1953), pp. 112–120, 129–161, 246–266.

[4] The most recent chapter of questioning the traditional understanding of the Procopian issue was started by Petr Kubín, whose conclusions are disputed in the second part of this text.

[5] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 131. The question of the two Prologues is one of the most debated problems of the Procopian sources, if only because both have only ever survived in manuscripts of the *Vita maior* legend. However, the recently re-discussed possibility that the Prologues were created as part of an attempt to support the authenticity of the Gothic *Vita maior* is not logical. First of all, because the *Vita maior* does not try to pretend that it was written in the time of Bishop Severus of Prague, especially by linking Procopius to the Vyšehrad chapter, which was not founded until after Severus' death.

argued that the Old-Church Slavonic legend preceded the *Vita antiqua*, but the latter has been convincingly re-dated by Bohumil Ryba to the end of the thirteenth century.[6] Thus, the *Vita minor* was composed after the OCS legend – if it existed – as its author declares.

Chaloupecký dated the *Vita minor* to the time of the first Latin abbot of Sázava, Dethard (1097–1133), and this was long accepted. Recently, however, attempts were made to date this legend as close to Procopius' canonization in 1204 as possible, as the later appendix to the *Vita minor* (Additamentum) describing the canonization of Procopius.[7] This is most problematic for a number of reasons. If the *Vita minor* were created specifically for the canonization, it would have to have been written by an extremely sophisticated and diligent forger; however, if that were his purpose, the work is not very convincing, because it records only the beginnings of a local cult. On the other hand, the *Vita antiqua*, although concise, contains references to all the elements necessary for the canonization. What is decisive for the dating of the *Vita minor* is its first Prologue addressed to Bishop Severus (Šebíř), which proves it must have been written before his death in 1067. This Prologue could have been part of the OCS legend, or composed specifically for the *Vita minor*. The report on the exile of the community to Hungary under Duke Spytihněv (1055–1061) and their return to Sázava in 1061 provides a *terminus post quem*.[8]

The *Vita minor* could thus be a work from the second half of the eleventh century (as it refers to events of this time), or date to the time of the Latinization of Sázava and Abbot Dethard in the first third of the twelfth century. In either case it may be a translation of an OCS work. The anonymous continuator of Cosmas of Prague, called the Monk of Sázava (writing 1173–8), maintained that after the expulsion of the Slavic monks, Abbot Dethard found only Slavonic books in the monastery's library and had to have Latin ones written.[9] A translation from Old

[6] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské,* p. 283.

[7] Martin Wihoda, "Sázavský klášter v ideových souřadnicích českých dějin 11. věku" [The Sázava monastery in the thought system of Czech history of the eleventh century], in *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, ed. P. Sommer (Prague: NLN, 2006), p. 239; similarly, without particular justification, Martin Nodl, "Prokop démonobijec a dvojí cesta vnitřní christianizace karlovských Čech" [Procopius the conqueror of demons and the two paths of the domestic Christianisation of Bohemia under Charles IV], in *Tři studie o době Karla IV*. [Three studies on the time of Charles IV.] (Prague: Argo, 2006), p. 112.

[8] The most comprehensive account of these events is given by a local chronicler from Sázava. See Anhang III in Bertold Bretholz, ed., *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, MGH SSrG NS 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), [henceforth: *Cosmas*], p. 247–249.

[9] *Cosmas,* p. 255.

Church Slavonic would fit into this time very well. It cannot be dismissed, however, that the *Vita minor* was indeed created at the time the preface claims, with the death of Bishop Severus as the *terminus ante quem*. Even then, it could have been – but did not have to be – a translation from an OCS original, implying that both legends were composed between 1061 and 1067. True, the *Vita minor* as we know it contains (besides the appendix about the canonization) references to later events, such as the miracle in the Church of the Holy Cross, consecrated only in 1070[10]. If the OCS life did not exist, the *Vita minor* could still have been written before the time of the first Latin abbot. If we accept this earlier dating, it becomes an interesting case of a Latin version of the Life of St Procopius (whether translated from an OCS legend or not) being created during the Slavonic period of Sázava. The use of Latin in this Slavic monastery would be remarkable, but not altogether surprising for a community on the border between Eastern and Western Christianity.

The traditional *communis opinion,* then, is that the hagiography of St Procopius might have begun with an OCS legend, which (if it existed) was written before 1067. The *Vita minor*, either a translation of an OCS text or an independent work, was created in the second half of the eleventh or the first third of the twelfth century, the beginning of the Latin period of Sázava. The *Vita antiqua* was only written thereafter, and the transmission concluded with the *Vita maior*. The *Vita antiqua* was written in the later thirteenth century, the *Vita maior* perhaps even later. The *Vita minor* thus represents the oldest surviving tradition about the saint.

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The introduction to the legend is indebted to many authorities, but above all to the Life of St Benedict[11]. The author wanted to draw a parallel between Procopius and the founder of the order, who before becoming abbot of Monte Cassino, also lived as a hermit. From the introduction we learn that Procopius was a priest of the Slavonic Rite, knew the Slavonic script, and became a monk and the first abbot of his monastery. He was married, had a son and other relatives, and used some property[12]. The reference to property, which has recently become the subject of heated debate about the nature of property in early medieval Bohemia, is, however, an almost verbatim quotation of Matthew's Gospel (19:29). Its use was not intended to characterize Procopius' ownership, but his resignation to all

[10] *Cosmas,* p. 120.

[11] Most recently on this topic cf. Petr Kubín, "Opat Prokop (+1053). Duchovní otec knížete Oldřicha" [Abbot Prokop (+1053). Spiritual father of Prince Oldřich], in Petr Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů* [Seven Přemyslid Cults], (Praha: Togga, 2011), pp. 243–244.

[12] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 132.

worldly things.[13] Procopius' son was called Emmeram, and one of his nephews was named Vitus. The two names point symbolically to the beginnings of the Czech Church. Emmeram was a Bavarian saint whose cult came to Bohemia from the missionary bishopric of Regensburg. Vitus was the patron saint of Saxony whose cult arrived in Bohemia from the monastery of Corvey. The veneration of both saints in Bohemia is known as early as the reign of Duke (St) Wenceslas (d. 935)[14].

Procopius lived in the time of early medieval Czech society and the Czech Church, whose clergy was connected with the important centres of the ducal administration of the land. For Procopius, the most important center was Kouřim. The church and clergy were entirely subordinate to the duke, and the priests in the so-called large-parish administration not only carried out spiritual duties but were also entrusted with administrative tasks related to the maintenance of law and order. Procopius was a priest who most likely not only lived in the of Kouřim region but also was directly connected with this important ducal castle[15].

It was probably in 1009 that Procopius decided to leave the secular world and go into seclusion at the place where Sázava monastery was subsequently founded. A group of pupils and followers gathered around him, and with them, he founded a Benedictine monastery, perhaps in 1032[16]. The sources on Procopius (particularly the *Vita minor*) provide a number of details on the everyday life in that monastery which, dated from Procopius' life, fall in the period between 1032 and his death in 1053[17]. The abbot is depicted as an exemplary Benedictine: a good father to his monks, a good shepherd of the laity, and one who, in accordance with the Rule of St Benedict, worked with his hands.[18]

The year of Procopius' death is symbolic for the history of Sázava. It preceded the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches by only one year, after which the days of the Slavonic Rite in the West (which consisted primarily in the use of Old Slavonic as the liturgical language and that Procopius had cultivated) were numbered. Forty-two years later, the Slavonic community had to leave Sázava

[13] Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, pp. 93–94, 143–144.

[14] Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, p. 144.

[15] Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, p. 143.

[16] It is a hypothesis based on the fact that there are two basic dates for the foundation of Procopius Monastery in the sources – 1009 and 1032. Therefore, the first date is usually related to Procopius' retirement into solitude, the second to the actual foundation of the monastery. Petr Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, p. 111–113.

[17] *Cosmas*, p. 247.

[18] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 135.

for good. Individuals were then accepted back by an act of grace, but only as members of the Latin convent, which had come to Sázava from Břevnov[19].

A number of apparently reliable stories of people and events fill in the historical framework in the legends. The *Vita minor*, for instance, narrates the story of a person called Menno who wanted to participate in the Rogation processions but was hindered by a river. At Procopius' intercession, a small boat came to Menno so that he could cross the river and participate. The miracle of the small boat is a typical hagiographical *topos*; the fact that the Sázava Convent organized *Rogationes*, however, testifies to how the abbot and the monks took pastoral care of the surrounding populace – or at least how *Rogationes* were conducted at the time the earliest legends were created. The whole story is also evidence that when the monastery began the region was well settled by lay people, who attended processions in some numbers.[20]

Another story, present in both of the earliest Lives, is also characteristic of the age. It is reported that St Procopius successfully exorcised an evil spirit from a possessed person[21]. That Procopius had the power of an exorcist must have seemed logical, as he had already conquered the demons in the cave, where he dwelt, the ability to defeat the Devil is among the axiomatic characteristics of every saint. Procopius' cave became one of the most sacred places in the local history of Sázava; located next to the choir of the church, the abbot's resting place. The sacred core of the monastery was composed so that both places (with the cave subsequently built upon or entirely changed) would form the spiritual axis of the site[22].

The accounts of Procopius' exemplary life and miracles reached Duke Břetislav, who according to the Monk of Sázava confirmed the establishment of the abbey and thus fulfilled the intention of his father, Duke Ulrich.[23] It is also noteworthy that the *Vita antiqua* says that Břetislav made Procopius' cell the basis of the abbey, and, as was the custom, appointed him abbot[24]. Closer investigation of this statement provides a number of interesting details. The noun *cella* commonly refers

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[19] *Cosmas*, pp. 250–251, 255–256.

[20] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 136; Petr Sommer, "Procession in early medieval Bohemia,"in *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur / Pilgrimage in European Culture*, ed. Daniel Doležal and Hartmut Kühne (Frankfurt am Main: Europäischer Verlag d. Wiss., 2006), pp. 167–176.

[21] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, *Vita minor,* pp. 137-138.

[22] The so-called Prokop's Cave north of the presbytery of the monastery church is a Gothic work, which does not exclude the possibility that it was preceded by a real natural cavity. Its existence could be suggested by the persistent legendary tradition of Procopius' first dwelling.

[23] *Cosmas*, p. 245.

[24] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské,* p. 115.

to a hermitage or an embryonic form of a monastery. Thus, if it is said that this *cella* was turned into an abbey, it is equivalent to saying that it attained the status of a standard Benedictine monastery, which would have been headed by a prelate with the rank of abbot. The statement that the duke made Sázava an abbey (which the *Vita minor* also says), just as he made Procopius an abbot, is also typical for the Early Middle Ages and the status of the Czech Church at that time, as referred to above. The *Vita antiqua* recorded that the duke invested Procopius with his office, and that Bishop Severus of Prague confirmed him in his new function according to canon law only afterwards.[25] Thus, even the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the country was understood to be subject to the sovereign's court.

The legends *Vita minor* and *Vita antiqua* are divided into two parts by the account of Procopius' death and his funeral. The first part is devoted to Procopius' life and the miracles performed by his intercession, the second part recounts the *post mortem* miracles and the episodes that were to celebrate the saint. These include the first banishment of the Sázava Slavonic monastery, as Procopius had prophesied, following the death of Břetislav. In the place of the banished Benedictines, Duke Spytihněv II (1055–1061) installed a German abbot and a Latin monastic community.[26] Behind this move one can see the competition between the eleventh-century reform movement from Gorze – which reached Bohemia from Regensburg and Niederaltaich through the monasteries of Břevnov and Ostrov – and the Slavonic tradition of Sázava.[27] In this round, Gorze won out against the locals. The passages of the legends about the detractors (Latinists) and their poisonous slanders,[28] especially the appearance of Procopius as an indignant soul beating the German abbot, who refuses to acknowledge that he is barring his way,[29] fits well with early medieval Czech patriotism as discerned by Anežka

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 118–120, 147–150.

[27] Petr Sommer, "První dvě století benediktinských klášterů v Čechách" [The first two centuries of Benedictine monasteries in Bohemia], in *Studia mediaevalia Pragensia II*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova 1991, pp. 77–78.

[28] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 118, 147.

[29] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 118–119, 149. The Sázava domestic chronicler speaks of Prince Spytihnev II. putting "Latine auctoritatis abbatem et fratres" in the place of the expelled convent (*Cosmas* p. 247), *Vita minor* mentions "abbatem genere Theutunicum", Vita antiqua speaks of events in the time of "Abbate itaque Theutonico ... collocato" (Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 148, 118). It is clear, however, that the Latin Benedictines are also mentioned.

Merhautová and Dušan Třeštík for twelfth century Bohemia.[30] Our legends take this quite a bit further. The appendices to the *Vita minor* describe how Abbot Blasius of Sázava brought the long endeavor for the canonization of Abbot Procopius to final success, and how Pope Innocent III consented to Procopius' canonization only after the future saint resorted a rather rough tactics: he threatened the slow-witted pope with a beating.[31] Violent saints are not a frequent topic of legends, but they do exist. In the case of St. Procopius, it can be recalled that medieval legendary fiction bears undeniable traces of its connection with the Vyšehrad chapter. The Vyšehrad domestic tradition preserves the memory of the alleged punishment of Prince Friedrich (1172–1173, 1178–1189) because he harassed the Vyšehrad canons, for which he was beaten by St. Peter. The oldest evidence of this tradition is the seal of an unknown canon of Vyšehrad from a charter issued on 1 January 1275.[32]

In their study of the religious ideas in twelfth century Bohemia, Merhautová and Třeštík correctly emphasize that such issues of patriotism troubled only a small group of intellectuals. The laity, primarily the agricultural population of Bohemia, presumably had more pressing worries around daily life and survival. The life of this laity is impressively documented in the legends of St Procopius. Besides fears for their crops, their worries were mainly about illness; and in their affliction, the sick rushed to Procopius for help, who healed them as a proper saint should, through miracles both during his lifetime and thereafter.[33] František Šmahel noted that faith in Procopius' healing power lasted through the entire Middle Ages and did not vanish even in the Hussite period, when the traditional cult of the saints was otherwise rejected.[34]

The passages where the author speaks about miracles in terms that reflect his personal experience are also important. Hagiographers, when they speak of a

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[30] Anežka Merhautová and Dušan Třeštík, *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století* [Trends of thought in Bohemian art of the twelfth century], *Studie ČSAV* 1985/2 (Prague: ČSAV, 1985).

[31] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 158–159.

[32] Dana Stehlíková, "Nejstarší pečeti Vyšehradské kapituly a jejího duchovenstva do roku 1420" [The oldest seals of the Vyšehrad Chapter and its clergy until 1420], in *Královský Vyšehrad I* (Praha: Královská kolegiátní kapitula sv. Petra a Pavla na Vyšehradě 1992), p. 180. The tradition more widely developed in the time of Charles IV is primarily associated with the charter-confirmation of Prince Bedřich (Friedrich) from 2.5.1187, where the whole event is commemorated, but with a later insertion. Cf. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, ed. Gustavus Friedrich (Pragae: Typis Aloisii Wiesneri, 1904–1907), Nr. 317, pp. 288–290.

[33] E.g. Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 136–140.

[34] František Šmahel, "Silnější než víra: Magie, pověry a kouzla husitského věku" [Stronger than faith: Magic, superstition and witchcraft in the Hussite age], *Sborník vlastivědných prací z Podblanicka* 30 (1990), p. 31.

supernatural phenomenon, are in reality often writing about their own world. In this way the author here also reveals things about his own time, such as the story, told by the author of the *Vita minor*, of the miraculous recovery of a woman who had been blind and disabled for four years. This woman had tirelessly sought the assistance of St Procopius and visited his monastery to fast and pray. On the day of the Birth of the Lord, in the Church of the Holy Cross, Procopius appeared to her during the ceremonial church service and healed her.[35] The Church of the Holy Cross has been identified archaeologically as the central four-apse structure that the Monk of Sázava (as we already know) spoke of as having been consecrated in 1070.[36] It stood in the centre of an extensive lay complex just north of the monastery, where there was a settlement of servants of the monastery.[37]

The *Vita minor* provides information about other inhabitants of the monastic complex when it tells the story of the hermit Martin and some nuns living at the monastery in a monastic way, and how thieves stole all of their property. We learn about Martin's hermitage, from which this Benedictine, living alone, hurried to morning prayers: the passage about Martin's despair at the loss of the facilities of his abode, is noteworthy. This is a human scene, easily imaginable, but it is hardly an exemplary story for the poor hermit as a model of piety. Martin runs to the grave of Abbot Procopius and "blackmails" the saint: If he does not get the stolen things back, he will leave the Sázava monastery and never settle in another.[38] As a Benedictine, Martin must have known that to leave the monastery arbitrarily is a serious offense; and not to settle in another monastery meant either leaving the order or becoming a wandering monk (a *gyrovagus*, as St Benedict scornfully calls such persons in his Rule), which was an unthinkable transgression. That such an episode appears in an important hagiographical text might be explained by reference to the state of the early medieval Czech church. Another important detail is that Martin entered the monastery as a boy and grew old there still under Procopius' rule. It is thus likely that the whole story is to be assigned to the period not long after Procopius' death, which corresponds to the dating of the legend first to the later eleventh century. The information that Procopius' tomb (still in the

[35] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 157.

[36] *Cosmas*, p. 120.

[37] Petr Sommer, "Eine Dienstsiedlung des Benediktiner-Klosters in Sázava," in *Hausbau und Raumstruktur früher Städte in Ostmitteleuropa,* ed. J. Klápště and H. J. Brachmann, *Památky archeologické* – Supplementum 6, 1996, pp. 142–147.

[38] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 154.

wooden church built at the time when the monastery was founded) was accessible to petitioners and indicates that some form of local cult existed at that time.[39]

The reference to a group of nuns leading "a spiritually profitable life under the yoke of Christ" in the Sázava monastery is mysterious.[40] It is possible that there was some kind of women's convent next to the monastery, but such an arrangement would have been unusual in a proper Benedictine abbey. There were so-called dual monasteries in Western Europe in the Early Middle Ages, but as an entirely exceptional phenomenon, experiments usually abandoned after a short time[41]. There is no other evidence of such a Benedictine institution on Czech territory and, if the mention in the *Vita minor* was based on reality, it must be understood as a testimony to the rather archaic and undeveloped beginnings of the Czech Church and of monastic life in Bohemia.

Like many other saints' lives, the legends of St Procopius speak of the holy abbot's power to free diverse types of transgressors from prison. In one case, he frees an unfaithful wife after delivering an appropriate admonition;[42] in another, a shepherd who had stolen clothes from the bailiff he worked for. The manager first had a rope bound around the shepherd's neck and his hands tied behind his back, then had him locked up and set in stocks, planning to take him before the court the next day at Kouřim Castle. At the time of the incident Procopius was already dead. The new abbot, Vitus, interceded for the shepherd, but in vain: the manager most likely responded to the abbot by citing the contemporary legal principle that if he had not turned in the guilty man, he would have been publicly punished himself. This sheds light on the legal conditions of the age that without Procopius' intervention the shepherd would have faced serious punishment for the theft of a few garments. What is particularly interesting is that the process of convicting the thief involved the testimony of the *vicini*. This seems to be proof of a functioning vicinage, the archaic lowest form of the organisation of agrarian society.[43]

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[39] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 154.

[40] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 155.

[41] Irma Bühler, "Forschungen über Benediktiner-Doppelklöster im heutigen Bayern," *Zeitschrift* für *bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1928–1930) 197–207, 4 (1929) pp. 1–13, 199–229, 5 (1930), 17–33, 229–51; Stephanus Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster*, Beiträge zur Gesch. d. alten Mönchtums u. d. Benediktinerordens 15 (Münster: Aschendroff, 1928); Michel Parisse, "Doppelkloster," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich–Zürich: Artemis, 1983), pp. 1257–1259.

[42] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 156.

[43] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 153.

The longer legend of St Procopius, the *Vita maior,* also touches on the theme of imprisonment and although it was created much later, it is not impossible that it adopted elements from earlier traditions. In particular, its description of the miracle connected with parricide evidently draws on early penal practice. The legend tells of a parricide who came to the Sázava monastery from faraway lands at the time of the Easter fast. He had a chain fitted round his loins which pierced his flesh and tormented him cruelly. At the moment the priest began to read the Gospels, the chain softened like wax and fell clattering to the floor.[44] The "deadly deed" story of the parricide, however, is not mere fantasy. The description recalls the strictures Duke Břetislav announced over the grave of St Adalbert in Gniezno in 1039, which prescribed that such criminals be "expelled from the country, chained on their hands and body so that they wander around in the world as fugitives and vagabonds like Cain."[45]

The *Vita minor* presents yet another interesting glimpse into the area of guilt and punishment in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It mentions a certain Labessa from the retinue (*ex clientela*) of Duke Vratislav II (1061–1092). Court slanders caused Labessa to fear for his life, so he decided to escape to the Sázava monastery. His plan, however, was discovered, and he was followed until he found himself across from the monastery on the opposite bank of the flooded Sázava. Although it was summer, at Procopius' intercession, the water froze for a brief time, so that Labessa could quickly cross this barrier and escape his pursuers.[46] Should we wish to see a core of truth in the event, it might be primarily that life at the ducal court was (like at every court) quite uncertain. That Labessa sought refuge in Sázava monastery can be explained by the fact that Duke Vratislav loved this monastery exceedingly,[47] and the intercession of the abbot of Sázava would have had the power to save a person who took asylum there. As we know, Vratislav so

[44] Chaloupecký and Ryba, pp. 261–262.

[45] *Cosmas*, p. 87. Similar punishment can be documented in neighbouring Western Europe from the eighth century onwards: Hermann Joseph Schmitz, *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdisciplin der Kirche* (Meinz: Kirchheim, 1883), pp. 152–153. As Dušan Třeštík found out, a similar ancient penal principle is documented in the acts of the Synod of Split (925), it can also be found in the eleventh century Hungarian legal practice. Dušan Třeštík, Miscellanea k I. Staroslověnské legendě o sv. Václavu: "Každý kdo povstává proti pánu svému, podoben jest Jidáši." [Whosoever riseth up against his lord is like unto Judas.], in Československý časopis *historický,* 15 (1967), pp. 338–339.

[46] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 150–151.

[47] *Cosmas*, p. 248.

favored Sázava that he attempted to obtain papal permission from Gregory VII for Slavonic church services in Bohemia.[48]

The legends of St Procopius provide us details of the death of Abbot Procopius. The version of the *Vita minor,* certainly recast according to the sentiment of the Benedictine world from which it comes, but its time of writing makes it the most authentic one. Procopius himself foresaw his death – seeing into the future being among the essential characteristics of a saint. This scene became an occasion for the author to compose a *vaticinatio ex eventu*. Procopius had the brothers called together; he lectured them and expressed his wishes for his burial and prophesized to his monks, among them his nephew Vitus and his son Emmeram, of tribulations that awaited them in the reign of Spytihněv II, after which a period of calm would come that would last for all of their days. The third day after this, the abbot died as he was sitting on his bed and talking with the members of the convent. He did so after he had fulfilled all of the obligations imposed on a Benedictine by everyday life: he had participated in the canonical hours, specifically vespers and compline. Bishop Severus of Prague buried him in the church which Procopius had built.[49] The bed mentioned in the legends would have been in the wooden building that an archaeological survey has identified as the first building to serve as the abbot's house, located in the northwest corner of the Sázava courtyard, on the site of today's parsonage; in accordance with the Rule of St Benedict, a separate residence was provided for the abbot. The fact that the abbot stipulated a burial in his church is also credible. It fits very well to the feelings of a Benedictine abbot and a monastery founder to wants to be buried in his church.

Procopius' funeral was certainly a major event in Bohemia. This is evidenced by the fact that the bishop of Prague himself came to bury the abbot. The ritual probably took place in the presence of other important figures and a crowd of the populace from the vicinity. The funeral rites took place in a simple wooden church that would have fit into today's parish church several times over, was far from monumental, and would have accomodated only a few people. South of this church was a simple building that was the dwelling of the members of the convent. The grave of such an important figure, an object of local veneration from the very start, was most likely situated in the interior of the church, in front of the main altar.

The wooden church gave way to a new building during the reign of Bozetech, the last abbot of the Slavonic convent. At a certain phase of the construction (most

[48] We know this from the pope's negative response: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae* I, Nr. 81, pp. 87–88.

[49] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 142–146.

likely in 1093), Procopius' relics were raised from the grave and placed in the new chancel, as recorded in manuscripts C and S of the Old Bohemian Annals.[50]

Procopius' grave became an object of public veneration in both the first Romanesque basilica and the new Gothic church, the construction of which extended through the entire fourteenth century. Just like the old basilica, this new church had a crypt, but that was never finished. Only a long choir for the monks and the south nave with a tower were completed. The new Gothic tomb of the saint was probably again in the choir (near the choir?), accessible for veneration.[51]

Thus, from the time of his death the abbot of Sázava became the focus of a local cult, which was the prerequisite for canonization. According to the appendices of the *Vita minor* and the *Vita maior*, this was achieved in 1204, in a complex political situation in which Otakar I Přemysl was moving between two simultaneously elected kings of the Romans (the Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia and the Welf Otto of Brunswick) and Pope Innocent III, who was pursuing his own aims in this constellation. At the beginning of 1204 (indisputably in connection with his strengthening position with the pope), Přemysl requested that Innocent III raise the Prague bishopric to an archbishopric. The pope at first refused the request, but finally consented. Neither initiative can be understood in isolation. It is likely that a component of the petition for an archbishopric was also a bid for a new saint who would come with the metropolitan see. While the first part of the project collapsed, the second became apparently reality.

According to the *Vita minor* (which was adopted without change by the *Vita maior*), Procopius' canonization process was as follows. Abbot Blasius of Sázava was to travel to Rome in the spirit of Procopius that desired canonization. This desire was formulated in 1203 with the condition that the abbot should compile evidence of Procopius' miracles witnessed by sovereigns, bishops, and important secular and religious figures. This corresponded to the practice of the Curia for canonization processes, which had been made stricter since the time of Alexander III in the 1170s.[52] Blasius and two brothers from Sázava arrived in Rome with

[50] MS XIX C 19, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague and MS V E 43, Library of the National Museum in Prague. In this context, it is very interesting that in the versified Latin breviary Procopian officium preserved in manuscripts of the fourteenth century, it is said that Vratislaus II tried to enforce the canonization of Procopius with Pope Urban II (1088–1099). Apart from the possible connection with the report of the Old Bohemian Annals, it is noteworthy that the officium completely overlooks the year 1204 as the date of the official canonization. Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 211.

[51] Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, pp. 173–182.

[52] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Heilige Päpste – päpstliche Kanonisationspolitik", in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn, Vorträge und Forschungen

the necessary documents. After a year of trying, when Blasius had run out of finances and the whole project seemed to be lost, the combative spirit of Procopius visited Pope Innocent, threatened him with a thrashing (or bestowed it upon him), and the pope understood that canonization was unavoidable. After this decision, Innocent celebrated Procopius' mass in the presence of thirteen cardinals, drew up the relevant bull and sent Guido, the cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere with the title of St Callixtus, to Sázava to conduct the canonization ceremony there on 4 July 1204. Over time, Procopius' feast day appeared in a number of Czech calendars, finding a place in common Czech liturgical practice, a process evidenced by the legends of St Procopius and the Czech calendars[53].

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Until recently, the dating and characterization of the Procopian texts described above was generally accepted, but they have been subject to substantial criticism by Petr Kubín,[54] who has stated that both their existing posteriority and dating are incorrect. This conclusion also led him to question the historicity of the personality of the founder of the Sázava Monastery, Abbot Procopius. In summarizing the reasons for his claims, he based his conclusions on the following.

According to the above described, generally accepted consensus, the oldest surviving Procopian legendary text is the *Vita minor,* and the *Vita antiqua*, the *Vita maior* and a number of other hagiographic sources are derived from it. However, according to Petr Kubín, the *Vita minor* is not the oldest text, which is rather the *Exordium Zazavensis monasterii*, a typical *historia fundationis*, a writing that provided additional justification for the foundation of a monastery and its property, which was given to the monastery for use at a time when such acquisitions were made without documentary confirmation. For this purpose, the *Exordium* was to

XLII (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), pp. 73–100, Here especially p. 76, note 16 and further; Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht, Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter*, (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 28), (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau,2004), pp. 203–243; Gábor Klaniczay (ed.), *Medieval Canonization Processes. Legal and Religious Aspects* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004); Petr Kubín, "Přechod k papežským kanonizacím" [Transition to Papal Canonisation], "Procesní podoba středověkých kanonizací" [Medieval Canonisation Procedures], in *Sedm přemyslovských kultů* [Seven Přemyslid Cults], (Praha: Togga 2011), pp. 35–42, 43–47.

[53] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, pp. 158–161. The feast of Procopius on 4 July was first listed in the *Codex Gigas* of the Monastery in Podlažice from the first third of the thirteenth century: Beda Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte* (Brno: Winiker, 1852), p. 416.

[54] A summary of his views: Petr Kubín, "Saint Procopius of Sázava between Reality and Fiction," *Revue Mabillon* 88 (2016), p. 49–81.

be created around the middle of the twefth century (at the time of Abbot Silvester), when the Premonstratensian convents were experiencing their first flowering in Bohemia and Moravia. For some time now a part ot, the Czech historiography has been suggesting that this was the time of the first existential clash between the Benedictines and the new dynamic orders of the Premonstratensians and Cistercians[55]. The *Exordium* can therefore be seen not only as a defence of the Sázava property, but also as a tool to prevent the dissolution of Sázava itself. And only the *Exordium*, inserted into the domestic chronicle of an anonymous Sázava author writing between 1173–1178[56], was to become an informative and inspirational starting point for the Procopian legend.

Petr Kubín believes that this explanation is the only one possible, and therefore deletes all previous arguments in favour of other solutions. In addition to a number of factual details, he excludes from the argument the so-called *Prologues*, the opening hagiographic texts addressing Bishop Severus of Prague and the reader.[57] These *Prologues* are preserved in only two manuscripts of the *Vita maior* legend from around 1400, but date back to the eleventh century. A number of historians consider them authentic and agree that they may have been written for the Old Slavonic legend they refer to, which also may have been the beginning of the Procopian legend.[58] According to the traditional assessment, the Old Slavonic legend was translated (and possibly redacted) into Latin after 1096, during the liquidation of the Old Slavonic convent of Sázava, into the form of the *Vita minor* legend, including both *Prologues*. Petr Kubín, however, rules out this possibility and considers both *Prologues* to be plagiarized only in connection with the *Vita maior*.[59] He also uses the argument that the *Prologues* are not preserved in any text of the *Vita minor* and therefore cannot be related to this legend. This can easily be

[55] Václav Novotný, České *dějiny* [Czech History] *I/3*, (Prague: Laichter, 1913), p. 921, 923, in this connection emphasizes the different role of the above-mentioned religious institutions in their attitudes towards the current papal schism. Cf. also Václav Chaloupecký, in Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské,* passim.

[56] Václav Novotný*, Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde II. Der Mönch von Sázawa*, Sitzungsberichte der der königl. Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie 1910/5, Prag 1911.

[57] Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské,* pp. 129–131.

[58] The Prologue "*Ad lectores"* says of the Vita minor that it is: "... de slavonicis litteris in latinitatem translata, cuius materiam succinte adoriar explicare." Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, p. 131. Marie Bláhová, "*Písemná kultura přemyslovských* Čech*"* [The written Culture of Premyslid Bohemia], in *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík, Josef Žemlička (Praha, 2009), p. 511, 640, note 15. p. 640, note 15.

[59] Kubín, "Saint Procopius of Sázava", pp. 62–64.

disputed, however, since the extant manuscripts testify the state of the source base, but not its original content.

Good arguments also successfully challenge the hypothesis (and it is only a hypothesis) that the *Exordium* originated as a Sázavian self-defence against the Premonstratensian danger, for it is clear that this danger was not nearly so formidable as Kubín presented it. In the middle of the twelfth century, the Premonstratensians actually took over the originally Benedictine monastery of Hradisko near Olomouc, thanks to the personal commitment of the bishop of Olomouc, Jindřich Zdík, who was an admirer of the Premonstratensian community of monastic canons. Nothing is known, about the immediate cause of his decision.[60] The second case of a takeover of an older Benedictine monastery by the Premonstratensians is connected with Želiv, a convent among the oldest Premonstratensian houses, established in the 1140s. The monastery in Želiv was founded by Benedictine Reginard of Metz, who became the abbot of Sázava in 1162. It is presumable that he came from the Sázava monastery and that this monastery supported the foundation of Želiv.[61]

This was done in a way that is characteristic of Benedictine founding activities in early medieval Bohemia. A capable organizer was sent to the designated area and began to prepare and cultivate it. In almost all cases he was characterized as a hermit around whom a group of followers gathered. After a preparatory phase, a new convent was then established on the site in due course, as the culmination of the founding efforts. This was not a completely legal method: apart from Želiv it can be observed in Police and Metují (here the founding personality was the deacon Vitalis), in Broumov and perhaps in Opatovice. The same procedure can be found in the Moravian Hranice (hermit Jurik) and finally in Sázava itself (hermit Prokop). Prokop's Sázava beginnings fit very well into the picture of the founding Benedictine strategy. The activities of the hermit Gunther, who founded the convent of Rinchnach under the direction of Niederaltaich, or Sturmi, the founder of Fulda and Hersfeld under the direction of Bishop Boniface, provide equally good examples.[62]

Reginard, who founded Želiv, was therefore doing nothing more than applying traditional Benedictine foundation tactics. The foundation took place on a territory under princely administration, probably with the monarch's consent.

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[60] *The Benedictines and the Central Europe*, eds. Dušan Foltýn, Pavlína Mašková, Petr Sommer (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2021), p. 340.

[61] For an analysis of the conditions of the foundation of the Želiv monastery, see Petr Sommer, "Želiv" in *The Benedictines and the Central Europe*, pp. 375–376.

[62] Petr Sommer, "Benedictines in the Early Bohemian State", in *The Benedictines and the Central Europe*, eds. Dušan Foltýn, Pavlína Mašková, Petr Sommer (Praha 2021), p. 137.

However, this situation began to change in 1148, when the local area came into the possession of Bishop Ota of Prague. He was still favorable to Reginard's activities, but this ended under his successor Daniel I, who did not want to concede the bishop's property to the Benedictines and, probably as a result of the developing dispute, expelled Reginard and his people. However, Reginard had already done a considerable amount of work in Želiv – apart from cultivating the landscape, he built a large part of the church and the cloisters – so it was clear that the new users should be from a monastic background. Therefore, Daniel chose the Premonstratensians in his search for new users[63]. As their home testimony shows, the monks were not happy with this solution, but they gave in. In any case, it was not a question of downgrading the Benedictines in favor of the fashionable Premonstratensians, but rather of resolving a property dispute between the Bishop of Prague and the Benedictines.

This is also why the Želiv case cannot be used as an argument for changing the filiation of the Procopian and Sázava texts. It was not about threatening the Sázava monastery, but about resolving a dispute over an illegal monastic founding enterprise. The whole dispute did not have long-term consequences. Reginard became abbot of Sázava in 1162, with the consent of Bishop Daniel himself.[64] The previous disputes were forgotten, and no source indicates that Sázava feared any hostile action, although it could not prove the right to its activities in Želiv. Moreover, if Sázava really would have felt threatened by the Želiv case, it would only be logical that it would have sought to legitimize its presence in Želiv in the first place. This probably did not happen because the local competence and property dispute had no hope of a favourable outcome for the Benedictines. Indeed, even in the case of the transfer of the Benedictine Hradiště to the Premonstratensians, a very probable hypothesis has been put forward that Henry Zdík did not expel the Benedictines because of his affection for the Premonstratensians, but because the convent in Hradiště behaved too independently,[65] which is probably a direct analogy to the Želiv case.

If the argument of the Sázava-Beneditines defending themselves from abolition falls, the basic reason for the whole change in the assessment of the Procopian legends and the Sázava sources, which is the greatest weakness of Kubín's

[63] Sommer, "Benedictines in the Early Bohemian State" p. 375–376.

[64] *Monachi Sazavensis continuatio Cosmae*, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptorum Series, IX, ed. Rudolfus Koepke, (Hannoverae 1851), p. 162.

[65] Martin Wihoda, "Benediktinská kapitola v dějinách kláštera Hradisko u Olomouce" [Benediktiner in der Geschichte des Klosters Hradisch bei Olmütz], in *Ve stopách sv. Benedikta*, ed. Libor Jan, Petr Obšusta (Brno 2002), p. 37.

thesis, also falls. Almost all his other arguments are based on the contemporary pressure to hand over the Benedictine monasteries to the Premonstratensians. Another reason could also have resulted from the visit of the papal legate Guido de Castellis, as a result of which the reigning abbot of Sázava, Silvester (1134–1161), was deprived of his abbey in 1143 (i.e., according to Petr Kubín, at the critical time of the beginning of the expulsion of the Benedictines). In the same visitation, the legate also chastised a number of other non-canonical living prelates and priests in Bohemia, but their institutions were not punished. Thus, the supposed devastating punishment for Sázava does not make sense. Moreover, Silvester had already been restored to his position in 1144, thanks to Bishop Henry Zdik, the alleged instigator of the replacing the Benedictines with the Premonstratensians.[66]

Petr Kubín believes that Silvester was plagued by fears of a threat to the Sázava monastery and that in the mid-twelfth century (incidentally at the time of the ongoing construction of Silvester's Romanesque monastery) and that this is why he decided to write the *Exordium*, which was intended to emphasize that the foundation of Sázava had the sovereign's highest support from the beginning. But what would this advocacy through the *Exordium* look like? With the manuscript barely dry, would Silvester rush to the then-reigning Vladislav II and Bishop Daniel? And would such a defence with a document without legal validity be enough for them? In that case, would it not have been far more effective to use the tried and tested parctice of falsifying of missing documents?

The *Exordium Zazavenzis monasterii* is therefore more logically included in the already existing series of legendary texts and is derived from them. These were of course created earlier, as it is impossible that the first domestic attempt to record the events connected with the founding of Sázava and the personality of the founder, Prokop, only appeared in the mid-twelfth century. His grave was venerated in the monastery church and, as in other convents in similar contexts, the Sázava monks certainly sought Prokop's canonization. High medieval sources attest to these efforts very probably as early as the end of the eleventh century. The *Exordium* itself fits well into the series of Procopian and Sázava sources. It is an annalistic text and therefore differs from the legends. For the monastic chronicler, the details of the beginnings of Sázava in the context of the 1030s (the role of the princes Oldřich and Břetislav), and also the dispute with the original owners (*vicini*) of the land in which the Sázava monastery was founded, were more

[66] According to the Monk of Sázava, Silvester was deposed in 1144 and reinstated the following year – 1145. *Monachi Sazavensis continuatio Cosmae*, p. 159. However, the chronicler is wrong by a year; Guido carried out his mission in Bohemia in 1143 and was no longer in Bohemia in 1144. Novotný, České *dějiny,* I/2, p. 792.

important than for the legendist, and therefore he deals with them in a detail not found in the legends.[67]

Petr Kubín further states that all the information about the founder of the monastery is very schematic and that it is derived from the legend of St. Benedict. Everything that is said about Prokop is therefore, according to him, unreliable and additionally fake. This must be so, he says, because in the middle of the twelfth century no specific and authentic memory of Procopius was preserved in the community of Sázava. But this is very unlikely. There was a significant memory tradition in the monastic communities, which could not have been absent in Sázava either, even though the original "Slavic" monastery was replaced by a new "Latin" monastery at the end of the eleventh century. A local chronicler in the 1170s confirms this fact, mentioning that some of the original monks were readmitted to their monastery, so that the continuity of memory could be preserved.

Moreover, it is not true that the legendary Procopius has no individual and authentic features. We learn of his birthplace and that he was a married secular priest probably connected with the centre of the region – the Premyslid castle of Kourim. We also learn that he became a Benedictine monk after a hermit phase in his life, and with the prince's support, founded the Sázava monastery. It has already been mentioned that all these features fit perfectly into the contemporary Benedictine tactics of acquiring new sites and their hinterland. Other details that the *Vita minor* reveals are also very authentic, such as the aforementioned dispute over the use of the site on which the Sázava Monastery was founded with members of its previous users belonging to the local vicinage (*vicinatus*). Very authentic for the time are the references to another hermit who lived in the vicinity of the new monastery and to a female community whose possible existence in the hinterland of the Bohemian male Benedictine house is realistic (if at all) only in the early phase of Sázava. (Can we consider this as an attempt to develop a double monastery?) The fact that Prokop's successor is his nephew, who was succeeded by Prokop's son, is also completely individual and authentic[68]. This enumeration of details could be extended in many ways, and we could always conclude that they are details confirming the early medieval authenticity of the *Vita minor.*

The forging of this legend would have been impossible, and indeed useless, because the medieval reader was not equipped with the tools of historical criticism. He wouldn't have understood how the details of the legend would authenticate the legend. Procopius' personality in the *Vita minor* is therefore very plausible and has many individual and believable traits. The objection that there are too few of

[67] Sommer, *Svatý Prokop.* pp. 119–122.

[68] Cf. also Václav Chaloupecký, in Chaloupecký and Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské,* pp. 71–73.

them does not hold up if we compare it with other Czech legends of the time. How many individual details are conveyed to us by the oldest surviving Ludmil legend, the *Fuit in provincia Boemorum*, for example? And yet, historiography does not doubt its authenticity.

Another important topic that Petr Kubín sees as a clear questioning of the reality of Procopian history is the canonization of Procopius. Because he re-dates and reinterprets Procopian sources, he concludes that the abbot's person is more or less an invention of the authors who defended Benedictine Sázava against the rise of the Premonstratensians. Therefore, and for other reasons, he sees the later addition to the *Vita minor* (Additamentum) as a forgery, intended to attest Procopius' canonization in 1204. But again, many arguments depict Procopius as a credible person from the time of the beginnings of Sázava and there are many source testimonies that Procopius' saintly cult slowly but surely spread throughout the Bohemian lands from the first half of the thirteenth century onwards. Petr Kubín is aware of this, and therefore questions Prokop's papal canonization in particular. He is not the first – Bernard Schimmelpfennig[69] already expressed serious doubts by noting that Innocent III showed great restraint in proclaiming new saints and that canonization bulls were always preserved for the undoubted ones – which is not true of Procopius. Therefore, Petr Kubín believes that only a kind of domestic canonization of Prokop took place in Sázava in 1204.[70] This possibility cannot be completely excluded, but it is unlikely in the Czech environment[71]. As early as the *Chronicle of Cosmas* we find evidence that the canonization was clearly conditioned by papal approval.[72]. The whole matter probably cannot be decided unequivocally, but it is clear that Abbot Prokop was already considered a saint in the first half of the thirteenth century and that considerations about the mere legendary nature of his personality are not sustainable. One can clearly agree with the argument that the *Vita minor* was not suitable for the purpose of papal canonization. Its accounts of a married priest and monk and of other phenomena associated with early Bohemian Christianity would probably not have convinced Innocent III. In

[69] Schimmelpfennig, "Heilige Päpste – päpstliche Kanonisationspolitik," particularly pp. 177–179.

[70] Kubín, "Saint Procopius of Sázava", pp. 77–78.

[71] Cf. note 50, which suggests that even the first effort to canonize Procopius was to be associated with Rome. On the other hand, the text of the officium suggests that in the fourteenth century the commemoration of 1204 may not have been universal in the Benedictine Bohemian milieu.

[72] *Cosmas*, p. 130. Kosmas on 1074 recalls his conversation with a pilgrim who wants to visit the tomb of St. Radim. Kosmas replies: "Quem tu dicis sanctum, adhuc non est per apostolicum incanonizatus…"

any case, this also counts as an argument for dating this legend conservatively to the period to which it refers.

For these reasons, it is still the most logical to evaluate the Procopian legends through a comprehensive analysis, focusing crucially on the analysis of these texts and their insertion into the network of contemporary relations and realities. Petr Kubín's path is based on an attempt to rely on one absolutized hypothesis, which must be sacrificed to a chain of other arguments, but there are many good reasons to reject this attempt.

The classical dating of the Procopian texts to the 1060s is still current, the *Exordium* is joining this series at a later date. Around the 1060s there may have existed an unpreserved Old Slavonic legend. After this the *Vita minor* has its place, from the 1130s at the latest. Its position at the beginnings of the Procopian hagiography rests on the fact that the slice of Sázavian and Procopian history it gives ends in the 1060s with praise for the stabilization of the Slavic convent that returned from its first exile in Hungary. In the case of a translation of an older legend this is explainable, but in the case of a new text created after the dissolution of the Slavonic monastery in 1096–1097 it would be incomprehensible. It is equally significant that the legendist speaks credibly about events and realities that can only be associated with the time of the beginnings of Sázava and the Bohemian early Middle Ages.

PART 4

Report on the Year

REPORT OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2020–2021

Gábor Klaniczay

The second year of my headship and the second year of the Medieval Studies department in Vienna began with new hope: we were ready to take on new challenges in new surroundings. After the long-lasting Covid-19 lockdown of the previous academic year, which cancelled our plans for important conferences, our planned fieldtrip to Slovakia, our usual public defenses, and even the festive public graduation, the virus seemed to retreat during the summer. We started the first fully Vienna-based academic year on August 31 with the successful online PhD defense of Ines Ivić and prepared for the on-site courses, the first cycle fully on the Quellenstrasse campus, for the 9 new and 6 continuing two-year MA students, 12 new one-year MA students, and 5 new PhD students. The Pre-Session was quite disturbed because of a new problem: difficulties with visas for the students coming from outside of the EU. We managed to put together hybrid logistics, although that meant we had to cancel the short fieldtrip at the beginning of the year and start the academic year a week later than usual, but by October onsite courses were filling the classrooms at the Quellenstrasse building.

Teaching programs

We started our twenty-eighth academic year with the Two-Year MA program directed by Daniel Ziemann and the One-Year MA directed by Katalin Szende. She went on sabbatical in the winter term and the position was taken over by Baukje Van Den Berg. Susan Reed was assisting the students in both groups and Alice M. Choyke took care of the PhD cohort.

Our student body this year had the usual spread from East Central Europe – Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, and Romania – with additional students from Italy, Spain, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, the US, Canada, Argentina, Turkey, and India. We also had two "local" students from Austria. The research topics, as one can see from the titles of the defended theses listed in this volume, ranged in chronological terms from late Antiquity to the Renaissance and the Early Modern period, in geographical scope from France to India and the Golden Horde, from

Byzantium and the Ottoman domains to Bohemia. The themes ranged from cultural, intellectual, and language history to family history, social history, and art history and included material culture, archeology, theology, and hagiography.

The Cultural Heritage Studies Two-year MA program, in its seventh year of existence under the direction of József Laszlovszky, welcomed incoming and continuing students from Africa, Asia, and Europe. They also struggled with the visa difficulties of those coming from the "global south."

The combination of the year's courses covered our traditional strengths and a broad chronological range of topics such as "The Great Themes of Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Philosophy," "Space and Sacrality in Medieval and Early Modern Christendom," "Climate Catastrophe, Pandemic and Kangaroo Island: Environmental History of the Pre-Modern World," "Medieval Cathedrals," "Ancient and Medieval Cosmologies," "Digital Humanities for Historical Studies," "The Mongol Empire in Eurasia and its Impact on Central Europe," "Eastern Christians in the Ottoman Empire, 14th–18th Centuries," "Thinking with Things: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture," "Medieval Codicology: The Physical and Intellectual Production and Use of Manuscripts (8th–15th c.)," and "Late Antique and Medieval Theories of Language," to name a just few. Following the practice of the previous year, the Faculty Research Seminar in the Fall Term was connected to the "Introduction to Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies" course led by Gerhard Jaritz, who used this lecture series to build our Vienna contacts. We had memorable lectures on material culture by Elisabeth Gruber (University of Salzburg), a presentation of the genetic research project on early medieval migration by Walter Pohl (University of Vienna) and Patrick J. Geary (IAS, Princeton), insight into computer archiving by Manfred Thaller (University of Cologne), the scope of medieval urban networks by Christina Lutter (University of Vienna), and an overview of environmental history by András Vadas, our Hungarian visiting professor.

The academic year had a promising start; it was a good experience to be in classes with the students, although we felt a bit sorry for those who could not immediately join us and had to follow the discussions online, although we also handled this "hybrid" existence. This "normality" did not last long, however; in November the Delta variant contagion exploded, and the second Covid-19 wave brought a new lockdown, which swept away the remainder of the Fall Term. We had to continue online and cancel our planned Christmas Party, hoping that it would calm down and we could begin onsite in January. The lockdown kept being prolonged, however, first to the end of January, then to the end of the Winter Term.

With the slow passing of the Second Wave, we hoped that after our planned May fieldtrip to western Hungary, we could realize a previous plan of bringing some of the students together to the Budapest campus and hold some of the Spring Term courses there. But in the end the unsure perspectives and menaces of Covid-19 made this impossible. Everything remained online for the entire academic year, including the thesis defences and graduation.

Research projects and academic events

These conditions, while certainly making the lives of faculty members and students more difficult, did not prevent us from continuing to work on several ongoing projects throughout the year. This year saw the end of the major ERC project *OTTOCONFESSION* (Confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire) with Tijana Krstić as Principal Investigator – she summarized the results in a public lecture in May, 2021. The project to edit the correspondence of John of Capestrano, in cooperation with the University of Szeged, funded by the Hungarian Research Fund (NKFI), was proceeding well; the results were presented at the European Academy of Religion meeting in Münster in August, 2021. Other ongoing collaborative enterprises included the *Medieval Animal Data-Network* (*MAD*) coordinated by Alice Choyke and Gerhard Jaritz in cooperation with Ingrid Matschinegg from the Institute of Realienkunde (attached to the University of Salzburg), and the *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns*, coordinated by Katalin Szende as PI and our alumna Magdolna Szilágyi as Research Fellow.

We wanted to hold a large workshop on the campus in Vienna related to a two-year research and student exchange project supported by the German Academic Research Board (DAAD), bilateral cooperation between Heidelberg University (Jörg Peltzer and Julia Burkhardt) and CEU (Katalin Szende) on the theme of *Regions and Regional Exchanges in Medieval Central Europe*. The 2019 events were starting with a workshop in Heidelberg (April 24–25); in Budapest a second workshop entitled *Urban Societies in Border Zones* (October 17–19) enlarged the Budapest-Heidelberg cooperation to a triangle with colleagues in Prague. The third workshop, entitled *Borders and Interactions: Monastic Regions, Cult Centers and Pilgrimages*, however, had to be postponed because of the lockdowns (it was finally held only in November 8–9, 2021.

The rest of the academic year, the first half of 2021, was a period when we had to invest our energies in creating meaningful activity online, not only in teaching but also in our academic events. We continued our Faculty Seminar, for the most part inviting colleagues from Vienna. Tara Andrews spoke on digital models for history; Claudia Rapp on the impact of Christianity in Late Antiquity;

Danuta Shanzer on "clerical masculinity and violence," Pavlína Rychterová on the Hussite reformation, and Philippe Buc on *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* in medieval Japan and medieval Europe. In addition, we relied on our alumni: Ottó Gecser (ELTE) and András Vadas gave talks on plagues and pandemics (unfortunately an actual topic) and Dóra Mérai on "Commemoration in the Court of the Princes of Transylvania."

The Natalie Zemon Davis annual lectures this year were given by Lyndal Roper on "Manhood, Revolt and Emotion: The German Peasants' War 1524–6." We feared that the online mode would reduce the impact, but we experienced the contrary. These lectures had very broad audiences; many of our alumni and colleagues were able to join us and take part in the discussion, which otherwise would have been limited to those in Budapest or Vienna.

Another important event, originally planned for the previous academic year, was the fourth large conference of the Medieval Central European Research Network (MECERN), organized this time by the University of Gdansk on 7–9 April. (For the detailed program see https://www.mecern.eu/index.php/biennial-conferences/).

From May through July we also had as a guest in our department the second winner of the fellowship bearing the name of János Bak (established on his 90th birthday), Susan Miljan, an expert on court records in late medieval Slavonia. Her public lecture in June, 2021, was memorable. It was arranged at a time when onsite lectures were possible, but because of chaotic bus connections between Zagreb and Vienna, she could not arrive in time and had to start her lecture for the gathered public online from her Iphone, but she arrived at the Quellenstrasse lecture room by the end of her lecture, for the Q&A part.

A small consolation was that the MA theses written in these difficult conditions were still of good quality, as can be seen in the chapters selected to be published in the present *Annual.* Another consolation was that since by the end of June the Delta wave of Covid-19 diminished, we were able to organize a nice open-air end-of-the-year picnic in the Schweizergarten. We hoped then that the pandemic would soon be over, and this made us optimistic – we could not foresee the coming of the third wave brought by Omicron.

Faculty and Staff

This report has to conclude with praising our staff: our two coordinators, Zsófia Göde and Csilla Dobos, tirelessly complied with the administrative duties and program organizing tasks of the MA and the PhD programs. Beside the usual burdens of managing the courses, public events, recruitment, and the student

selection process, they had an unusual and very demanding task. After long drawn-out discussions with the Rector and the Provost I managed to convince them that the Medieval Studies Department needs a replacement for the position of the late Marianne Sághy, also in view of imminent future retirements, and we were able to advertise a search for an Assistant Professor position.

The call, issued in April, made a huge impact; we had 153 applications, which reassured us of how widely our department is known and how many excellent young medievalists would consider joining our work and our institution. It was also an important experience for the search committee and the whole department; we had to clarify important questions of our identity and academic standards. The selection procedure had several phases: "long list," "short list," lectures by the candidates, discussions with faculty and students. The outcome was that we selected Éloïse Adde (Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellow, Saint-Louis University, Brussels), an expert on late medieval chronicles and the discourses on 'nation' in Bohemia and Brabant. Welcoming this new colleague was the nicest conclusion to the academic year.

It was also the conclusion of my third, and last, headship. In May 2021 the department elected Daniel Ziemann to this position – all good wishes for him, and ourselves.

ABSTRACTS OF MA THESES DEFENDED IN 2021

Between the Literal and the Literary: Social Background, Linguistic Competence, and the Bible in the Late Antique Latin Translations of the *Vita Antonii*

Aleksandar Anđelović (Serbia)

Thesis supervisors: Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar, György Geréby
External readers: David Movrin (University of Ljubljana),
Mark Edwards (University of Oxford)

The present study explores verbatim biblical quotations in the two fourth-century translations of the Greek *Life of Antony* into Latin produced by an anonymous translator and Evagrius of Antioch, respectively. Careful comparison of these translations of the biblical material that was clearly identified as the word of God and thus unlikely to be the subject of a free and creative approach on the part of the translators yields new insights not only about the contrasting approaches taken by the two translators but also about their respective literary, linguistic, and theological backgrounds. By offering evidence that the anonymous translator was familiar with the Greek Bible but unacquainted with contemporary Latin versions of the Bible, this study demonstrates that the text of the Bible regarded as authoritative by him was not in Latin but in Greek. Moreover, the study further argues that the anonymous translator's mechanical and mirror renderings of several specifically Greek syntactical structures suggest that he was not a native speaker of Latin. His word-for-word approach was, thus, not the result of his conscious decision to be "accurate," but rather a reflection of his insufficient command of the language into which he was translating. In addition, this study shows that, unlike his anonymous counterpart, Evagrius used for his translation a Latin version of the Bible for which textual parallels can be found in other late antique Latin works, and that he rhetorically embellished and stylistically upgraded the language of the Bible in Latin available to him at the time. This study also provides evidence that Evagrius made use of the older, anonymous translation of the *Life* in producing his own version.

The Issues of Hostageship in Late Medieval Bohemia and Poland

Matěj Čermák (Czech Republic)

Thesis supervisor: Balázs Nagy
External reader: Martyn Rady (UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies)

This thesis aims to analyze and compare institutions of hostageship in the customary law of late medieval Bohemia and Poland, which has been long overlooked by modern scholarship. Hostageship became an important institution in its time – it shaped the life of kings, aristocracy, and clergy as well as townsmen for several centuries. It is a pity that so little is known about its development in Central Europe and this thesis intends to shed more light on this forgotten institution.

For the Bohemian part, the main source of the present research is the epistolary of the House of Rožmberk, based on the best-preserved archive pertaining to the nobility in fifteenth-century Bohemia. As for the Polish part, mostly municipal law books, such as the judicial books of Łęczyca from 1386–1419, are examined. They contain many records of disputes about hostageship and their potential settlements.

The objective of this study is twofold: first, I aim to elucidate and compare the individual terms that appear in the Bohemian and Polish documents concerning hostages, and second, based on case studies, I analyze how the institution of hostageship worked in practice, with an emphasis on the issues of aristocratic honor in late medieval settings.

A Mighty Fortress is Our God: Understanding the Geospatial Logic of Fortified Churches in Transylvania

Liam Downs-Tepper (United States)

Thesis supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External reader: Beatrix F. Romhányi (Károli Gáspár University)

Fortified churches loom over Transylvania, heavy walls built for defense. But against whom? And why are there so many of them? Through careful review of relevant literature, this thesis identifies ten theories that seek to explain the density and/or placement of fortified churches. Six concern density and locations, broadly speaking: fear of the Mongols, fear of the Ottomans, fear of Wallachia and domestic unrest, following in the footsteps of the Teutonic Knights, Saxon pride, and "peasant fortresses" for the common people. The remaining four theories

address location more specifically: placement upon hills, among foothills, as strategic watchtowers, or as part of a bigger chain of defenses. A new database was built for this project, enabling the use of geospatial analysis to probe the veracity of each theory. This research sheds new light on the fortified churches of Transylvania, highlighting the role of local community decisions in their development, and demonstrates how geospatial analysis can complement other methods to advance research in topics of history.

***Le latin mystique*: A *Fin-de-siècle* Mystical Interpretation of Church Latin**

Karen Andrea Gallegos Ceballos (Mexico)

Thesis supervisor: György Geréby
External readers: Marco Rizzi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano),
Jean-Yves Tilliette (Université de Genève)

Remy de Gourmont (1858–1915) places Christian Latin poetry at the center of *Le latin mystique*. In doing so, Gourmont makes common cause with the artists of this period who were sympathetic to Catholicism, one way or another, and whose works are awash with nostalgia for the Middle Ages. The primary objective of this thesis is to analyze the two main concepts encoded in the symbolism of *Le latin mystique*: idealism and mysticism. Furthermore, this study also aims to identify points of similarity between Gourmont and other contemporary authors in order to form a comprehensive view of the conventions of *fin-de-siècle* mysticism. Weaving together themes of late nineteenth-century medievalism, medieval and modern mysticism, and different poetic elements and forms, the present research is dedicated to capturing the interplay between Gourmont's symbolist background and the text of *Le latin mystique* within the broader context of nineteenth-century mysticism.

***Agape*: Social Aspects of the Early Christian Love-Feast**

Misel Gara (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: György Geréby
External rReader: Marco Rizzi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano)

The present thesis examines the social aspects of the early Christian love-feast. Following the social-historical contextualization and critical analysis of written

sources about the love-feast that survived from the first three centuries CE, the thesis attempts to refute the widespread misconception in contemporary scholarship that a main cause of Christianity's success was the love-feast's charitable nature towards non-Christians. After presenting the love-feast's relation to the Eucharist, and through the examination of basic early Eucharistic theology, the thesis argues that the meal's primary function was to establish the "Holy Communion" by the spiritual bond of *agape*, the metonymically-identified divine love. Upon the examination of the social-religious functions of the pagan sacrificial meal, the thesis argues that, in the pagan paradigm, *koinonia*, or communion, is not merely a key concept spiritually but, most importantly, a necessary precondition for citizenship in the Hellenistic legal tradition. By drawing a parallel between the Hellenistic concept of citizenship and the Christian concept of "heavenly citizenship," the thesis argues that in the Christian understanding, the concept of *politeia* in itself denoted the principle of social care within the community. Therefore, the love-feast was not simply the platform of Christian social care, but the rite was meant to delineate the cultic boundaries of the community, which provided the social basis for political unity and solidarity among Christians.

A Study on Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî's *Mirror of the Worlds* (*Mir'atü'l-Avalim*): Patronage, Politics, and Millennial Anxieties at the Court of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595)

Müberra Kapusuz (Turkey)

Thesis supervisors: Günhan Börekçi, Tijana Krstić (second reader)
External reader: Kaya Şahin (Indiana University Bloomington)

This thesis is a historical study on *Mir'âtü'l-Avâlim* (*The Mirror of the Worlds*), an oft-overlooked treatise written in 1587 by the famous Ottoman historian and bureaucrat Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali. The *Mirror* was commissioned during the reign of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595) by Governor-General Doğancı Mehmed Pasha, who was the sultan's chief royal favorite and a power broker between 1584 and 1589. It is my contention that the *Mirror* gives us important insights into the patterns of royal patronage as well as the new dynamics in court politics during the sultanate of Murad III. I further argue that the content of the *Mirror* explicates late sixteenth-century apocalyptic expectations at the Ottoman imperial court and capital in relation to the impending first Islamic Millennium in the year 1000 AH (1591–1592 CE). Accordingly, through a historical and contextual analysis of the *Mirror*, I aim to demonstrate how some literary works produced under

royal patronage during this particular period of Ottoman/Islamic history served as instruments of political fashioning for the Ottoman sultan's messianic/millennial image, which had been a salient feature of pre-modern Ottoman rulership since the late fifteenth century.

In his *Mirror*, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli raised his suspicions about the narrative of the End of Times, which Muslims had expected to happen in the year 1000 AH. Moreover, as I aim to show, Âli's critical stance vis-à-vis contemporary political and social developments played a significant role in the composition of his work, which ran counter to the millennialism of his time. In short, the thesis aims to bring to the fore a short treatise by a famous sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual and to explore the questions of how and why the *Mirro*r was written in the late 1580s.

Apprenticeship in Šibenik and Rab in the Fifteenth Century: A Comparative Analysis

Tea Klarić Jerčić (Croatia)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External reader: Patrick Wallis (London School of Economics)

The main objective of this study is to examine the position of craftsman apprentices in Šibenik and Rab in the fifteenth century with a focus on the following aspects: similarities and differences in apprenticeship contracts, the apprentices' age, the duration of the apprenticeship, commitment, and emotional relationship between the apprentice and the master, the number of apprentices per master, the apprentices' origins, further life trajectory, and their material culture.

The study is based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of published and unpublished apprenticeship contracts from Šibenik and Rab. In this context, comparison means independent t-test analysis on the duration of apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering a craft. Furthermore, correlation analysis has been employed to determine the relationship between the duration of the apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering the craft. The results were also compared with Croatian and European historiographical studies on the subject, particularly the communal state laws and notary records from the medieval cities of Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, and Zadar.

The research provided rich findings for all the questions about the social position of apprentices, except in two cases. Namely, it turned out that there were no female apprentices in the analyzed period. Furthermore, the records provided very little information about the material culture of these apprentices. Venetian

influence on the notary records is certainly significant, as similar patterns of making apprenticeship contracts are followed in all the communal towns.

Johannes Filiczki as a Renaissance Man: Identities and Self-fashioning

Sebastian Krasnovský (Slovakia)

Thesis supervisor: Marcell Sebők
External reader: Pál Ács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Johannes Filiczki (c.1580–1622) was a humanist nobleman, teacher, and poet born in the Kingdom of Hungary. The objective of this thesis is to examine primary and secondary sources concerning Filiczki's life and works to offer a more comprehensive picture of his career and to explore the ways in which he was represented by later scholarship, his contemporaries and peers, and finally, by himself. The research is focused on an in-depth analysis of sources, such as poems, correspondence, disputations, and, most importantly, Filiczki's *album amicorum*. Since Filiczki's career was primarily connected with his travels abroad, the thesis examines which theoretical conceptions of so-called "learned travel" (*peregrinatio academica*, *Kavalierstour*, Grand Tour) fits his case the best, and explores Filiczki's attitude towards the phenomenon. The *album amicorum*, a unique testimony of his travels, serves not only as a basis for a better understanding of the social aspect of *peregrinatio*, but also provides a new insight into Filiczki's poetics through a novel visual analysis. Finally, the thesis takes a closer look at a previously neglected yet invaluable source, the paratext of Filiczki's *opus magnum*, that is, *Carmina*, and investigates how he fashioned his image as a poet in his social milieu.

The Canonical Status of the Iberian (Eastern Georgian) Church during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

Shota Matitashvili (Georgia)

Thesis supervisor: István Perczel
External reader: Stephen Rapp (Sam Houston State University)

The eastern Georgian Kingdom of Iberia converted to Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century. One of the most important questions regarding the Christianization of Georgia was the relation of the Church of Iberia with other

neighboring churches. The canonical status of the Georgian Church is one of the major problems in this context.

What was the canonical status of the eastern Georgian Church of Iberia during the late antique and medieval periods? What was the place of the Iberian Church in the ecclesiastical system of the Christian East? There is a great variety of scholarly opinions about this vexed issue. According to one of the most widespread theories, after Georgia's conversion to Christianity, the Church of Iberia fell under the jurisdiction of Antioch. Another theory claims that the Iberian Church was under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Church. However, as it appears, neither of these theories are supported by any compelling evidence.

In my study, I argue that the most important ecclesiastical centers for the Church of Iberia were Constantinople and Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Only in the context of the relations with the Byzantine and the Persian Churches can we clearly understand the place of the Georgian Church among other eastern Christian communities during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

Christianity's Judicial Voice: Elements of Roman Private Law in Latin Christian Sources (2nd–5th Century CE)

Glenn Mills (United Kingdom)

Thesis supervisor: György Geréby
External reader: Marton Ribary (University of Surrey)

This thesis explores the rhetorical use of the terminology and concepts of Roman private law by the early Church Fathers and Patristic authors during the period spanning the late second to the early fifth century CE. Other scholars have studied the intersectionality of Christianity and Roman law but have tended to focus on the ways in which Christians contributed to the development of Roman law and, later, Canon Law. Less attention has been paid to the use of Roman law in a purely metaphorical, analogous, or explicatory capacity as it appears in certain theological sources. This thesis looks at three areas of private law (contract law, property law, and family law) in relation to three Christian case studies (Tertullian, Augustine, and Lactantius). In each case, it is argued that these authors invoked Roman private law as a tool for explaining the relationship and obligations between man and God. It is argued that Roman law constituted a readily available hegemonic apparatus, the use of which could consolidate Christian arguments during a period in which the prosperity of the faith was far from certain.

Making an Island: The Transformation(s) of Rhodes under Early Ottoman Rule (1522–1560)

Fabian Riesinger (Germany)

Thesis supervisors: Günhan Börekçi, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External reader: Elias Kolovos (University of Crete)

From 1310 to 1522, the Knights Hospitaller, the Order of Saint John, had their headquarters on the eastern Mediterranean island of Rhodes. After an unsuccessful siege in 1480, the Ottoman Empire conquered the island and the eponymous city-fortress in 1522. This thesis explores three perspectives on the transformations that followed the Ottoman takeover of Rhodes. First, examining contemporary historiography allows for an approach centered on the individual participants in the siege. I have identified them in Ottoman *fetih-nâmes*, conquest diaries, and the Venetian *Diarii* of Marino Sanuto. Second, during the early Ottoman period of Rhodes, the island changed in tangible ways. To investigate this, I have surveyed the architectural transformation of the city of Rhodes from the sixteenth century onward. New and restored structures served the logistic but also spiritual accommodation of the new arrivals. Finally, the changing position of Rhodes in the eastern Mediterranean networks of power has been reconstructed from the surviving *mühimme* registers of the 1550s and the 1560s. These documents sent from the Porte to local officials provide us a glimpse into both the military-political use of the island and the lives of those who inhabited it.

The Ambitious Mystic: Public Sanctity and Its Pitfalls in the Case of Magdalena De La Cruz

Eszter Sajni (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External reader: William A. Christian Jr. (independent scholar)

This research focuses on the figure of Magdalena de la Cruz, a once revered holy abbess from Córdoba, who lived in the sixteenth century and was condemned as a heretic. Scholars have previously shown that Magdalena strategically constructed her image as a living saint, implementing motifs from the lives of esteemed female mystics, such as Catherine of Siena. Following these theories, this thesis provides a

comparison of Magdalena with two of the most successful female mystics, Catherine of Siena and Bridget of Sweden, as well as another mystic who, just like Magdalena, was once admired for her divine gifts but was eventually accused of feigning her sanctity, Lucia Brocadelli da Narni. The thesis has a three-fold aim: to draw a clearer picture of what episodes from the life of Catherine of Siena were made use of, to see if the alleged mystical pregnancy was modelled after Bridget of Sweden, and to analyze what aspects led to the downfall of Magdalena and Lucia. The first chapter lays the theoretical foundations and introduces the objects of comparison. The second chapter starts with an account of Magdalena's life, both her successful career and her eventual downfall, then presents a comparative analysis with the aforementioned female mystics. In my research, I argue that some of the miracles claimed by Magdalena show similarity with episodes from the *Legenda maior* of Catherine, but not without modifications; such inspirational connections cannot be identified regarding the mystical pregnancy. Similar patterns can be found also in the downfall of Magdalena de la Cruz and Lucia Brocadelli da Narni.

The Mongol Invasion of Slavonia and Dalmatia: Were the Mongols as Cruel as the Sources Say?

Domagoj Smojver (Croatia)

Thesis supervisors: Balázs Nagy, József Laszlovszky
External readers: Antun Nekić (University of Zadar),
László Veszprémy (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

The Mongol invasion of 1241–42 resulted in King Béla's call for strengthening the Kingdom of Hungary with new forts. Many lords and counts received royal privileges, granting them land, jurisdictional power, or the right to exert power over certain areas in the kingdom. These charters were a way of expressing gratitude to regional lords for their financial and military aid in times of need. The king took refuge in many cities throughout Slavonia and Dalmatia over the two years, often changing forts to avoid capture or worse, death. This thesis follows two military powers. The first one is led by King Béla, trailed by his royal and ecclesiastical entourage, sometimes supported by local noblemen. The other one is the invading force led by two army commanders: Batu and Qadan. With the use of modern tools that enable us to reconstruct routes and the movements of military troops, this study provides an overview and in-depth analysis of Mongol activity in Slavonia,

which was bordered by natural dividing lines, like the rivers Drava and Sava, and the Danube. Moreover, it traces the progress of the Mongols from Slavonia to Dalmatia, through the Lika region, backed up by relevant archaeological findings, where such remains exist. Popular scholarly theories on major battles, minor clashes, and raids carried out by the Mongols are reassessed with a focus on the Croatian historiographical tradition. The king managed to escape the Mongol threat, safely hidden behind stone walls. Major battles did not occur in the northern Adriatic region; rather, they took place in the south, near Trogir, Split, and Šibenik. The extent of the Mongol raids in the Dalmatian hinterlands is disputable. The conclusions are based on a combination of critical analysis of medieval sources (Thomas of Split, Master Roger), reflections on secondary literature, and supplementary recent historical and archaeological publications.

Per Vim et Metum: Coercion to Marriage and Monasticism in Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary for Central Europe (1431–1503)

Olha Stasiuk (Ukraine)

Thesis supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Gábor Klaniczay
External readers: Kirsi Salonen (University of Turku),
Peter Clarke (University of Southampton)

The Apostolic Penitentiary was a special tribunal in the Catholic Church and one of the key papal offices in the late Middle Ages. The institution granted absolutions from the most severe sins (such as violence against clergy) and issued declarations that let the petitioners avoid certain Canon Law restrictions and punishments. Since 1983, the registers of the Penitentiary have been open to scholars, and many historians have used it to study violence, marital relationships, ecclesiastical institutions, etc.

The thesis aims to analyze the cases of forced monasticism and marriage in the registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary for Central Europe between 1431 (Pope Eugene IV) and 1503 (Pope Alexander VI) to highlight tendencies of coercion in medieval society and possible strategies of protest using Canon Law and the Penitentiary. The research reveals the patterns of coercion in the identities of the victims and oppressors, the means of force, the ways to protest, and questions of gender. Through the comparison of Canon Law, medieval social practices and

the registers, the thesis shows that the proclaimed consensuality of marital and monastic vows was widely violated by family members and religious and secular authorities, and it took many years and great effort for the petitioners to escape and free themselves through the Penitentiary. The narrative strategies of the petitioners were based on Canon Law regulations, and their main instrument against coercion was relating their case in a particular manner in the supplication.

Backstage at Camillo's Esoteric Theater

Judita Uremović (Croatia)

Thesis supervisors: Marcell Sebők, György Endre Szőnyi
External reader: Dávid Molnár (Eötvös Loránd University)

This thesis aims to provide an insight into the esoteric purpose behind the Theater of Giulio Camillo Delminio, based on an overview of the philosophical schools, theories, and concepts that inspired him in the development of his *Idea of the Theater*. Camillo was among those Renaissance scholars who promoted scientific inquiry committed to deductive reasoning, and he was also deeply interested in the nature of the human soul. His main intellectual influences included Christian Kabbalism, Hermeticism, and Renaissance Neoplatonism. Camillo's Theater has been the subject of various scholarly interpretations throughout the centuries: it has been analyzed from rhetorical, encyclopedic, and, in recent times, also from iconographic perspectives, but its esoteric aspect remains relatively neglected. The present study intends to uncover the hidden meanings behind Camillo's images, which relate to the process of the soul's transmutations. This approach marks a shift in the interpretation of the Theater from the "art of memory" to the "art of recalling," in the Neoplatonic sense, and highlights the specifically Neoplatonic sources of Camillo's archetypes, such as Porphyry, Proclus, and Macrobius.

To better understand the formative elements in Camillo's system, I offer a comparative analysis between him and some of his contemporaries, mainly Francesco Giorgi, Pico della Mirandola, and Henry Cornelius Agrippa, with regard to their conceptions of supercelestial and celestial influences. Ultimately, the examination of Camillo's intellectual background as well as the sources of his inspiration lead us backstage, as it were, where we can glimpse its esoteric purpose.

The Role of Nogai in Eastern Europe and the Late Thirteenth-Century Golden Horde: A Reassessment

Jack Wilson (Canada)

Thesis supervisors: Balázs Nagy, József Laszlovszky
External reader: István Vásáry (Eötvös Loránd University)

For the late thirteenth-century Golden Horde, the figure of Nogai (c. 1237–c. 1300) is usually presented in secondary literature as an all-powerful kingmaker who actively appointed and deposed khans at will from 1270 until 1300. Generally presented as controlling the khans, clamoring for independence, declaring his own autonomous kingdom, or otherwise deliberately undermining the khan, Nogai often appears as the dominant figure of Golden Horde politics in much of the scholarship. However, this depiction does not align with the primary source materials, which show Nogai uninvolved with any of the successions except for the overthrow of Tele-Buqa Khan in 1291. I offer a suggestion to the origins of this khanmaker image, and a reinterpretation of the events of Nogai's life without the khanmaker dynamic, ignoring the common depiction of the secondary literature to focus, instead, on the surviving primary source material. Instead of the primary power broker of the Golden Horde, I found Nogai to largely have worked in cooperation with the khans of the Golden Horde, usually more concerned with his own affairs and not seeking independence or to undermine the khans. Only once Nogai is threatened by the reigning khan do the primary sources depict him taking part in his removal, a far more limited role than ascribed to him by the scholarly literature of the last century.

"Earnest Penny of Heaven": Idioms of Work, Wealth, and Exchange in Middle English Devotional Literature

Faeza Yuldasheva (Russian Federation)

Thesis supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External reader: Sylvain Piron (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

The present study explores economic thinking in three works of Middle English devotional literature – *Our daily work*, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, and Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*. It is built on the premise of the embeddedness of medieval economic thinking in ethical and religious matters and traces the interpenetration between ideas of economy and theological messages in the selected

religious texts. The categories of work, wealth, and exchange were chosen as points of departure for this enquiry; they are explored in each chapter in the context of a particular source. The findings of this study show the uneasy engagement of Middle English religious writers with the ongoing discussions on social organization, the value of work, and the virtue of poverty. Their responses included a reappraisal of labor through its spiritualization and, conversely, we can observe the "laborization" of spirit in *Our daily work* and *Revelation*, and the peculiar absence of work from *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Poverty, in turn, explored from a distance by Julian and Margery, is notably absent from the exhortations of labor in the purportedly Rollean account. All three texts outline in some form an economy of salvation, gift-based in the case of Julian and exchange-based for Kempe and the author of *Our daily work*.

PHD DEFENSES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2020–2021

Venetian Istria in the Nascent *Dominium* (c. 1381–c. 1470)

Josip Banić (Croatia)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External readers: Nella Lonza (Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences),
Darko Darovec (University of Maribor)

The study explores the effects of Venetian transformation from *Commune* into *Dominium* using Istria as a case-study. Namely, between the end of the War of Chioggia in 1381 and Venetian official assumption of the mantle *Dominium Veneciarum* in 1462, the Republic of St. Mark underwent seminal changes of its institutional framework and its territories drastically increased, spanning from north-eastern Italy, across the eastern Adriatic all the way to Aegean See. This was also the era in which Venice divided its state into two constituent parts: the *Terraferma* in the Italian mainland and the *Stato da Mar* on the islands and coasts of the Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Sea.

Istria, a region whose principal cities and towns were subjected to Venice already in the thirteenth century, did not pertain exclusively to either of the two newly constituted Venetian realms. Thus, it is very often the case that both the studies that deal with *Terraferma* as well as those researching the *Stato da Mar* ignore the Istrian peninsula. The thesis closes this gap in historiography by approaching Istria as a case-study of Venetian state-building during its momentous transformation into a *Dominium* and contextualizing the Peninsula with both the mainland and maritime macroregions.

The case is approached through the analyses of state's impact on the region in matters of governmental politics, jurisprudence, social stratification and identity building. Through the examination of judicial documents, notarial registers, rectors' proclamations, communal statutes and charters issued by the Venetian government and Istrian communal bodies, sources that deal with a variety of topics ranging from official governmental politics to everyday behavior, the study investigates

whether the introduction of the Istrian case into the body of existing scholarship pertaining to Venice casts new light on the processes of state transformation that transpired in the region during this fateful transformation from *Commune* into a *Dominium*.

The thesis is divided into three analytical chapters, each furnished with its own theoretical and methodological framework: first, Istria is analyzed in the broader political context of Venetian fifteenth-century expansion both in the Adriatic as well as on the mainland of *Regnum Italicum*; second, the scope of analysis narrows to local communities in their daily interactions with the capital, analyzing processes of collective-identity perpetuation, the functioning of communal institutions, and social stratification; finally, the third chapter narrows the focus even further to individual men and women in their relations with the Venetian delegated rectors and the capital's institutions by studying the main building-block of Venice's statehood: the administration of justice.

First chapter approached Venetian attitudes towards Istria and the place of the Peninsula within the larger context of Venice's foreign affairs through the conceptual lenses of performativity of the geographical scale, in this case the regional scale. The analyses have shown that throughout the period in question Venice was regionally integrating its subject centers in Istria, mainly in military matters. Moreover, Venice was also intervening both in the neighboring Patriarchate of Aquileia and, consequently, in the Margraviate of Istria as well, a micrioregion formally under the jurisdiction of the Aquileian patriarchs that neighbored Venetian possessions on the Peninsula. This intervention progressed from indirect (1380s) to direct (1410–1420), until it finally resulted with territorial subjection of the entire ecclesiastical principality of the Aquileian Church. Finally, with the annexation of the entire ecclesiastical principality of the Aquileian patriarchs, Venice completely erased any distinction between the two microregion of Istrian peninsula – Venetian and formerly Aquileian – subjecting the large part of the newly conquered *Marchionatus* to Koper, their richest and largest subject center in Istria. This process, it is concluded, was the beginning of the long transformation of Koper into an undisputed capital of Venetian Istria, a process that ended only on the 4th of August, 1584, when the Commune Iustinopolis became the appellate jurisdiction of all Istrian communities subjected to Venice: the birthdate of Venetian *Provinicia dell'Istria*.

The second chapter demonstrated that the dominant level of collective identification was that of belonging to a local community and that Venice did much to promote these local identities, primarily by way of strengthening local communal institutions and upholding the communal statutes. At the same time,

however, Venice imprinted itself on the majority of identity-bestowing symbols, most prominently by overlaying a winged lion of St. Mark over them. Even civic religion – also promoted by Venice – was influenced by Venice with the reliquaries' of patron saints being adorned by Venetian symbols and coat-of-arms. The chapter also showed that Venice influenced social stratification processes, supporting the civic elites and asking their support in return, thus creating a particularly effective mechanism of local government that, once constituted, was simply maintained by protecting the *status quo*.

Finally, the chapter on justice administration demonstrated the centrality of this aspect of Venetian sovereignty. Venice fashioned itself as the bastion of impartial justice administration and the Republic indeed took great care to maintain this image among its subjects. Even though the delegated Venetian rectors were given large discretionary powers in adjudicating criminal cases, they were nonetheless obliged to respect the local laws and customs. The verdicts promulgated by Venetian rectors were regularly milder than those prescribed by the communal statutes and the fines for everyday petty violence were mostly symbolic and followed a set tariff. Although many elements of community participation in justice administration were still discernable, Venice moved more towards the so-called state law or hegemonic justice as it changed from Commune to Dominium, following the judicial maxim "not to let any crime go unpunished" (*ne crimina remaneant impunita*).

In the end, Venetian Istria emerged as a regular case-study in the context of *Quattrocento* Venice: it was a region very much comparable to Dalmatia, the Dogado, and the Trevigiano. Even Istrian apparent uniqueness in not belonging exclusively to either of the two realms of the Venetian dominion was easily explained through simple modification of the existing interpretative paradigm: as *Terraferma* was likened to Italy and *Stato da Mar* to Venice's old maritime possessions, Istria could effectively belong to both parts as the peninsula had been seen as *regio Italiae* since the times of classical antiquity (1st century CE, that is). Nevertheless, the thesis firmly positioned Istria in the contemporary scholarly discussions within Venetian studies and as such it hopefully ushered in a new era in historiography regarding late medieval Dominium Veneciarum, one where the Istrian peninsula would no longer be lost in the artificial chasm separating the maritime from the continental realm.

Italian Traders in Poland 1300–1500

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External readers: Beata Mozejko (University of Gdansk),
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This thesis presents the story of two-hundred years of Italian trading interests in Poland, illuminating the lives of the over one hundred Italian tradesmen who travelled to Poland between 1300 and 1500 - their families, economic success and failures, and how they influenced and were influenced by, the itinerant political, social, and economic factors at play in the region during the period. The need for such a study comes from the general lack of research on the topic since that of Jan Ptaśnik over a century past, necessitating a revaluation of the source material in light of new methodologies and evidence.

Chapter one covers the various places of origins of the Italians who made their way to Poland. While it is clear that Genoese predominated in Poland for much of the fourteenth century until the 1380s when Italians from other regions began arriving. Debunked is the proposal that the first Genoese to settle in Poland did so due to their interest in trading with the Italian colonies lining the Black Sea ports. The evidence instead suggests that the first Genoese who settled in Polish territory entered from the west through Silesia, part of a more general trend of Italians seeking ever wider trade horizons and the leveraging of the skills to rent royal monopolies abroad. Italian settlement patterns in Poland can not be said to have been dominated in waves by groups from different origins. While the Genoese were the first to arrive, they were later joined by Milanese, Florentines, Venetians, and the occasional individual from Lucca, Bologna, or Pavia, but the Genoese never disappeared and no single group became dominant. Indeed, when looking at the numbers present in the kingdom overall, which might include a maximum of twenty individuals at any given time, the term 'wave' or even 'group' appears rather ridiculous. The Italians who appeared in Poland during the Late Medieval period are characterized most of all by their small numbers. This isolation from members of their individual communities appears to have fostered or perhaps forced upon them, a sense of community, of being an 'Italicus' before Genoese or Florentine, as the identifiers they are granted in the sources frequently demonstrate. For this reason, we repeatedly see in Poland Italians of various origins working in concert far more often than in competition. Why Italians arrived in Poland in numbers never large enough to reach the critical mass required to form a stable population

that might develop multiple *nations* as occurred in other regions, was due to a number of factors. Poland simply did not match with most of the criteria looked for by Italian merchants when contemplating a new trading post. It's climate was not considered salubrious, it was sparsely populated, at constant war with itself and its neighbours, and poorly monetized. On top of this, geographically, it was far from Italy, and more critically, centred a good distance from any body of water where Italians dominated.

Chapter two offers both an overview of the political history of the period as it impacted Italian trade in Poland and the various routes used by merchants to transfer goods. Politics, war, and geography had an enormous effect on where and when Italians traded across Poland. Very few Italians can be found moving along the northern route that ran through Poland to the Baltic Sea for example. The lack of Italians following this route can be explained by the near constant state of war which encompassed it, as the Teutonic Knights fought the Kingdom of Poland for supremacy in the region and the strength of the Hanse trading consortium which sought and largely succeeded in preventing Italians from poaching on their territory. The route headed South meanwhile, was used primarily by Italian traders interested in the mineral wealth of Upper-Hungary. Some textiles and salt also made their way across the border in Italian hands, but the road through the Carpathian mountains was hard and at times dangerous, so it was not as popular a path as one might otherwise expect given the much larger Italian presence in the Kingdom of Hungary. Apart from Krakow, the Polish Kingdom's de facto capital, Italian interest was primarily centred on Lviv, and the roads that ran to the east through Tartar lands and Wallachia to the Italian colonies dotted along the Black Sea coast. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire through the fifteenth century caused major repercussions in Italian trading efforts in the region. For a brief moment, the Ottoman domination of the Dardanelles post 1453, led to an increase in overland trade by Italians through Polish territory that was encouraged by King Casimir Jagiełło. As the Ottomans continued to advance across the Black Sea however, sacking Italian costal colonies they were forced to retreat from the region until by the end of the fifteenth century much of the trade in the area had fallen into the hands of local Armenian, Jewish, and Polish merchants. Trade to the west meanwhile, ran mostly through Wrocław, which had a strong Italian presence dating as far back as the late thirteenth century. Wrocław's trade oriented towards Venice and the *fondaco dei Tedeschi,* as did that of Nuremberg whose merchants stood as both rivals and partners to Italian and Polish traders alike. The close cultural and economic ties between Krakow and Wrocław saw Italians moving goods between them.

Chapter three describes the types of goods Italians involved themselves in dealing. Traders in Poland had access to a number of desirable natural resources, cochineal dye, furs, salt, and lead were all products native to the region. Copper meanwhile, while originating in Upper-Hungary was a valuable commodity which was transit good through the Kingdom of Poland to the Baltic. Precious textiles, wine, fruits, alum, and spices from the east were imported from the Italian Black Sea ports along routes which ran through Lviv. These goods might be sold within the kingdom or carried through to be sold in markets even further west. Slaves were the posterchild for this type of commerce as they were valuable commodities in other parts of Europe, but not frequently employed within Poland itself. The final section of the chapter is dedicated to the movement of money and banking and it puts to bed the persistent myth that it was the presence of papal collectors in Poland who first drew Italian interest to the region by demonstrating that Genoese merchants were active in the kingdom separately from the papal tax officers. Indeed, rather than acting as a vanguard to a wave of Italian immigration, papal collectors approached Italians already resident in Poland, seeing their connections with Italian banks abroad as a useful means by which to move papal funds faster and more safely. The truth of this is underlined by the fact that schemes to introduce Italian banks to Poland, for the Bardi and later the Guadagni and the Medici, were brief and met with very limited success. Italian banks did not see Poland as a good investment given its low level of monetization and the general trade imbalance between North and South that affected all of Europe preventing Italian banks from demonstrating much interest in opening branches north of the Alps.

Chapter four consists of a set of sixteen case studies describing Italian individuals and one family group who traded in Poland. These personages were selected in an attempt to give as broad a range as possible to the origins and experiences of Italians in Poland during the Late Medieval period. The types of Italian merchants who arrived in Poland can be broken into three basic categories - those who passed through briefly leaving only a small blip in the sources as they took part in perhaps a single trading mission, those who settled permanently, and those who operated as factors or were heirs to settled individuals. Those who found permanent success in Poland, frequently established families, either bringing their spouse from Italy or marrying a locally into noble families.

Chapter five analyses the legal status and court disputes entered into by Italians in Poland together with initiatives by Italian polities to assist their citizens abroad through letters of recommendation, letters of complaint, and *rappresaglia* – legally sanction acts of reprisal. As a rule, Italians appear to have made great use of these courts and found themselves satisfied with the results. On a few occasions

however, most notably when a long-distance business transaction involved direct contact with an Italian polity, the case was moved to an Italian court.

The dissertation is accompanied by an Appendix composed of a prosopographical dataset which includes details on every Italian considered in this thesis. The individuals are listed in alphabetical order by personal name and a brief synopsis of each primary source record they were involved in organized in chronological order. This listing stands as the foundation upon which the rest of the thesis is built. While many of these individuals are featured throughout this work, some are mentioned only in passing and many of the details of each individual life are glossed over in the primary text. For those interested in greater detail or a specific individual, the appendix is for them.

In conclusion, this thesis has continued the work of Jan Ptaśnik, begun over a hundred years ago, by providing a fuller and more detailed image of the lives and activities of the Italians traders who travelled to Poland during the Late Medieval period. While the number of Italians who arrived in Poland during this time were relatively small in number, their outsized place in the sources speaks to their importance. This thesis contextualizes their lives through an explanation of the large-scale forces that shaped the environment in which they traded and their reactions to them.

The Birth of a National Saint: The Cult of Saint Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia

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In this dissertation, I study the veneration of Saint Jerome (c.345–420), a Church Father, in the Eastern Adriatic Coast during the Late Middle Ages, with the focus on the veneration in the Dalmatian communes during the fifteenth century. There, the saint gained great prominence around the middle of the fifteenth century when he started to be celebrated as a patron saint of Dalmatia, and when his image became ubiquitous in the main urban centers of the region. His feast day started to be celebrated officially in Dubrovnik (1445) and Trogir (1455). The "heavenly lineage" between Dalmatians and Jerome was also expressed in the monumental reliefs representing the saint, executed in Šibenik (1465–1468) and Trogir (1467). The main reason for such strong appropriation of the saint lies in the belief that

Stridon, Jerome's birthplace – once was on the border of the ancient provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia – was on the territory of Dalmatia. From the end of the fifteenth century, with the emergence of the proto-national ideas in the patriotic narratives of the Dalmatian and Croatian humanists, Jerome has been elevated to the rank of a national saint, expressed in the visual and the literary production, such as in Georgius Sisgoreus' *De situ Illiriae et civitate Sibenici* (1487) or Vinko Pribojević's *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (1532), and the monumental fresco decoration in the Roman church *San Girolamo degli Illyrici* executed in the sixteenth century.

However, unlike other national saints, Jerome's position was a bit unusual. He is a national saint without a state. The period of the fifteenth century when his cult started to spread in Dalmatia and beyond, has been particularly turbulent. From the one side, it is one of the culturally and artistically most productive periods of the Croatian history, on the other side, in the political terms, it was a breaking point for the subsequent history of Croatian lands, with the incorporation of Dalmatia in the Venetian Republic in 1420, and the direct Ottoman threat after the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463. Between the intellectual progress and the direct threat to the existence of the Croatian Kingdom, an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary, the first ideas of the common ethnic or proto-national belonging started to emerge within the Dalmatian-Croatian *republic of letters*, where the saint was appropriated as Dalmatian, Croatian, Illyrian or Slav.

Although the role of Saint Jerome as a national saint during the Early Modern Period has been largely discussed in the scholarship, the evident gap on the beginnings of veneration and the development of the regional particularities of the cult has been noted. For that reason, this study has focused on the implementation of the cult of Saint Jerome in the urban centers as the focal points of changes, supported by the urban intellectual elites, clerical and humanist, in the process of the adoption of the Italian manifestations of the cult, but also by its subsequent adaptation to reflect Jerome's prominent position among those who considered him a compatriot.

Unlike the previous scholarship which gave precedence to the Glagolitic tradition, which from the thirteenth century nurtured special devotion to Jerome due to the belief in his alleged invention of the Glagolitic letters and the translation of the Bible into the Slavonic language, this thesis identifies the humanist appropriation as the main transformative force of Jerome's cult in Dalmatia. Due to the general popularity of the saint in the period, Italian manifestations of the cult – devotional literature and the particular iconographic types-have been adopted and subsequently adapted to reflect Jerome's Dalmatian origin. By focusing on the

visual sources as the historical evidence of the period in which they were made, this thesis opens a window in the different segments of the society which saw Jerome as their special saintly advocate, portraying the cultural, devotional and political atmosphere in which formation of Jerome as Dalmatian happens. This thesis presents different traditions of veneration, which have developed out of the belief that saint's birthplace was somewhere on the territory of Dalmatia, already mentioned Glagolitic tradition, the veneration in the Franciscan province of Dalmatia whose patron Jerome was since 1393, and the humanist one.

The initial assessment of the thesis has directed the research into exploring how these three traditions intertwined and contributed to the formation of Jerome as Dalmatian and as a national saint of Dalmatians or Croatians, Slavs or Illyrians, depending on the denomination expressed in the sources. However, the analysis of the visual and written sources, together with different expressions of devotion to the saint, private and public ones have shown that regardless of initially being driven by the natural progress of adoption which came out from the close cultural and ecclesiastical connections between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea, Jerome's transformation was not straightforward and centralized, but involved and polycentric. Different factors influenced the transformation of the cult and different actors promoted it – from educated individuals, humanist circles, and communal governments to migrant communities, cathedral chapters, local bishops, and even the Roman Curia. The complex process of transformation of Jerome's image of a Church father into a Dalmatian has occurred in three phases – adoption, adaptation and confirmation – and it reflects different progressive aspects of the society in which it happens from intellectual, devotional and more importantly cultural ones. Due to the ramifications of the cult, the reach of the cultural environment in which it takes place, and the involvement of the bearers of regional renaissance cultural production, higher social strata – humanist nobles and church dignitaries – the transformation of the renaissance cult of Saint Jerome into regional and national saint can be characterized as the most significant undertaking of the Croatian Renaissance.

Although this thesis is focused on the adoption of the Italian manifestations of the cult and its subsequent adaptation, it was necessary to present the other parallel traditions which have nurtured devotion to Jerome, based on the belief he was born in Dalmatia. The *Chapter 2*, thus presents the only segment of Jerome's cult in medieval Dalmatia and Croatia that has been researched so far. In it, I reviewed the reasons for the veneration of Jerome among the monastic communities, who praised the saint as the inventor of the Glagolitic script and examined the historical circumstances which led to the formation of this myth.

I have focused only on those aspects necessary for understanding the adoption of the myth of Jerome's being the inventor of Glagolitic letters into the literary narrative of national history by Dalmatian humanists in the sixteenth century. However, I am bringing new conclusions on the perception of the Glagolitic letters as a miraculous intervention, and with that, the possibility of Glagolitic written liturgical production being perceived as a secondary relic of the saint. Importantly, by presenting the liturgical sources of Glagolitic provenance, I have argued and concluded that they do not attest to the existence of Glagolitic tradition in the urban centers of Dalmatia, as they do in medieval Croatia.

The chapter 3 *The Patron of the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia,* explores the adoption of Jerome in this role from the end of the fourteenth century. Due to the many under-researched segments of Franciscan activities, especially those concerning the implementation of the Observant reform whose rise is parallel to the rise of Jerome's cult in Dalmatia, I have focused only on the artistic production of Franciscan provenance presenting the saint, questioning whether Jerome's role as the patron saint of the province has resulted in the formation of the specific iconography of the saint. Through the comparative analysis with the Italian production of Franciscan provenance, I have concluded that the iconographic type "Saint Jerome as a cardinal" with or without a model of the church in his hand, does not represent regional particularity as it was often perceived. Furthermore, I have positioned Jerome in the broader context of Franciscan veneration, drawing the typology between Saint Francis and Saint Jerome, underlining the importance of the Franciscan adoption for the general development of the cult.

The fourth chapter *Jerome Between Humanism and Private Devotion* observes the manifestations of private devotion to the saint in Italy, mainly Florence and Venice, in their social, religious, and cultural context, in order to establish the pattern of devotional practices. Such elaboration is necessary to understand the contemporary practices of Dalmatian humanists as a reflection of the growing popularity of the saint among their counterparts in the Apennine peninsula, adopted through the spread of humanism and the Renaissance. Although it summarizes most of the already discussed segments of Jerome's cult, it brings a new perspective on the personal devotion to the saint and his image in the popular piety, pointing out the under-researched aspects of Jerome's veneration in Italy.

The fifth chapter *The Adoption of the Renaissance Cult in Dalmatia* analyses the visual manifestations of the cult in Dalmatia where they are presented as commodities of exchange between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea that have spread with the development and expansion of humanism and the Renaissance. This is demonstrated by presenting the early adoption of the cult, already at the

end of the fourteenth century among the Zadar merchant elite, and focusing on the numerous renaissance artworks in Trogir, "the cradle" of the renaissance devotion to the saint in Dalmatia, mainly executed by Niccolò Fiorentino and his workshop. Through an analysis of the iconography, their original location, commissioners and the reasons beyond the commission, and its positioning in the overall artistic production of Jerome's cult at the period, I discussed that not every artistic representation of Jerome in Dalmatia should be considered only as the expression of his privileged status among his compatriots.

Even though such ideas could be contained in them, the initial framework through which they should be analyzed is one of the civic cult and the private devotion of the individuals. This chapter positioned the Dalmatian production within the context of the Italian Renaissance, bringing valuable conclusions on the circulation of the artistic motifs and the styles, and sets the foundation for understanding the particularities of veneration in Dalmatia, pointing out the presence of Niccolò Fiorentino in Trogir, as one of the main actors in the adoption of the visual manifestations of the cult, equivalent to those in Italy.

Chapter six, *The Institutionalization of Jerome's Cult*, presented the first step in the formation of Jerome's image as a Dalmatian, through the inclusion of his feast day in the official communal calendars in Trogir, Dubrovnik and possibly Šibenik, whereby the civic cult received its public expression. Furthermore, it outlined the existence of the ecclesiastical network of the Dalmatian bishopric seats as the polycentric impulses promoting the cult. The promotion that was correlated with the appointment of several bishops by Pope Nicholas V who granted permission to the *Schiavoni* members in Rome to found a national church of Saint Jerome in the Eternal city in 1453. Additionally, the chapter looked at the example of the confraternity in Venice, where Jerome's cult started to develop among members from 1463, pointing out the connections between it and the Zadar cathedral chapter and exploring the manners of communication within the mentioned network of institutions and their contribution to the establishment and the promotion of Jerome's image as a Dalmatian.

The seventh chapter *The Visual Formation of Jerome as a Dalmatian* focuses on the transformation of Jerome's public image in the examples of the reliefs in Trogir and Šibenik, marking their execution as the turning point in the perception of the saint in Dalmatia. The chapter offers a detailed iconographic analysis placing these two compositions within the renaissance production of Jerome's image. Special attention is put on the relief of Trogir, due to its unique composition and iconography, proposing it as the invention of the Trogir humanist circle led by Coriolano Cippico and bishop Jacopo Turlon, based on an adaptation

of examples of private piety in Venice. I have proposed that the iconographic reading of the relief is based on the apotropaic Psalm 90 where the protective features of the psalm were translated into Jerome's image as a primary heavenly protector. In this chapter, I have offered a different methodological approach to the Dalmatian renaissance production, observing the artistic production beyond its stylistic features, opening the questions beyond the iconography, which can be read embedded in the visual representation. I have emphasized the importance of the unstable historical context in which such commissions happen, that of the anticipation of the Ottoman conquest which has made the people living in the Eastern Adriatic Coast to turn to the heavenly aid asking for the protection and the intercession of the saint in the unstable period, when the Dalmatian communes were already weakened due to the several plague outburst during the period of 1460s.

The last chapter, *From Sainthood to Myth: Jerome in the Humanist Literary Production* observes the humanist written production of Dalmatian provenance in three main genres: devotional literature, national history, and polemical essays on his origin. In this chapter, I have argued that by the end of the fifteenth century, Jerome's image as Dalmatian has been undoubtedly accepted by those who consider him a compatriot, seen in the polemical essay on Jerome's origin by Marko Marulić, and discussion on a matter present in the works by Georgius Sisgoreus, Vinko Pribojević and others who felt an obligation to defend Jerome from any possible, primary Italian appropriation. By analyzing the original Dalmatian devotional literature composed in the Croatian vernacular language I have presented that by the end of the century, together with the imported Italian devotional literature, the local humanist circles have produced the original devotional material to the saint by the adoption and translation of Italian works, like it was with the *Florentine* and *Trogir life of Saint Jerome*, or the unique devotional poem *Angelic Virtues*. Furthermore, I have questioned the correlation between the humanist and the Glagolitic tradition, and the way the Glagolitic myth has been used in defense of Jerome's Dalmatian origin, concluding that the reason why Jerome was promoted to the rank of national saint did not lie in the alleged invention of the Glagolitic letters, but in his saintly image of a Church Father and a theologian who has done so many important things for the Church, and was known to the whole Christian world, as it was emphasized several times in the sources.

Eucharistic Imagery in the Late Gothic Wall Paintings of Transylvania (c. 1440–1530)

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External Readers: Zsombor Jékely (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary),
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Focusing on the Late Gothic wall painting decoration of Transylvanian churches, in this dissertation I explore to what extent and how images adorning liturgical spaces serving for mass celebration – the chancel area, sites of side altars, and chapels – were connected to the liturgy and cult of the Eucharist.

The analytical part of the dissertation is conceived as a series of case studies grouped into five thematic chapters focusing on different types of representations: the single Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, Veronica's veil, Passion cycles, and images of saints with sacramental allusions. In addition to an exploration of iconographic features articulating their Eucharistic meaning, visual strategies employed to engage the viewer, and compositional sources and analogies, wall painting compositions are analysed in the context of their placement within the church interior, in relation to other themes of the iconographic program and pieces of liturgical furnishing, as well as in the historical contexts of patronage and devotional practice, as far as they can be outlined based on available sources. The Catalogue part of the dissertation contains basic information on the fourteen wall painting ensembles under study, including their description, a discussion of their architectural context and dating, a compilation of relevant written sources, and a brief overview of earlier research.

While particular image types in the focus of each chapter could all be taken to refer to the body of Christ present in the sacrament, they display different patterns in their placement within the church interior, modes of representing the body of Christ and engaging the viewer, and potential meanings and associations.

The five surviving examples of single Crucifixions discussed in Chapter 1 show a remarkable iconographic variety and suggest the recurrence of this theme in the decoration of chancel walls or as the main image over an altar located in the nave or in a chapel. The analyses of Crucifixion scenes point to various visual strategies aimed at merging the boundaries between a biblical past and a liturgical present, and to a large variety of secondary figures associated with the Crucifixion in addition to participants described in the Gospel narratives. Both

features distinguish single representations of the Crucifixion within the material under study from Calvary scenes depicted as part of Passion cycles, which display less iconographic flexibility.

A study of surviving representations of the Man of Sorrows and the related image type of the *Notgottes* in Chapter 2 points to a frequent spatial association of these images with the altar and the sacrament niche, with representations of the Suffering Christ painted either directly above these structures or on a neighbouring wall section. Images of the Man of Sorrows – alive and atemporal, inviting the viewer to behold his wounds which he is displaying – present a different mode of representing the *Corpus Christi* than the Christ of the Crucifixion scenes or Passion cycles. The two different modes are sometimes contrasted within one ensemble through a juxtaposition of the Man of Sorrows with the Calvary (in the parish church in Sibiu) or a Passion cycle (in the Saint Michael's church in Cluj).

The act of display – this time by Saint Veronica or figures of angels – is also emphatic in depictions of Veronica's veil analysed in Chapter 3, with praying figures of identification sometimes providing an example for the viewer in the adoration of the Holy Face. The Veronica has been described in earlier research as a multivalent image; the analyses of case studies confirm its adaptability to various iconographic and functional contexts. Its recurring placement in a Eucharistic context – above the sacrament niche, or else in an association with the liturgy performed at the high altar –, its occasional formal resemblance to a host wafer, and the motif of angels clad in liturgical vestments appearing in some of the representations point to a conscious use of Veronica's veil as a Eucharistic theme in Transylvanian wall painting.

Passion cycles – placed typically on the northern wall, often in an association with the sacrament niche – were another recurring element of chancel decorations. While visual narratives of Christ's sacrifice in their entirety could have been seen as relevant to the mass celebrated in memory of the Passion, the examples analysed in Chapter 4 suggest – in line with the results of earlier research on Passion cycles – that individual episodes differed in their potential to convey a Eucharistic meaning. The scenes of the Crucifixion and the Last Supper sometimes highlighted through their size and placement are at the same time the episodes most relevant to the mass sacrifice from a theological point of view. Representations of the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment centred on the helpless, tortured body of Christ stripped of his clothes and bleeding from his wounds also had an increased Eucharistic potential, their sacramental associations being sometimes underscored by specific iconographic solutions, as demonstrated in the case of the representations in Suseni and Mărtiniș, both known today from watercolour copies.

From among the representations of saints depicted on the chancel walls within the material under study, nine compositions from five churches were selected for examination in Chapter 5 based on their sacramental connotations. The analyses demonstrated two patterns in which figures of saints were associated with the Eucharist in their iconography. Single figures of saints could acquire Eucharistic attributes based on their vita (Saint Paul the Hermit, Boian), their intercessory powers related to the Sacrament (Saint Barbara, Sighișoara), through a reinterpretation of a model (Saint Valentine, Sibiu), or an association presently unaccounted for (Saint Fabian, Cluj). In addition, some representations of saintly martyrdoms – most markedly that of Achatius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs – carried the potential to evoke Christ's sacrifice on the cross through specific iconographic details. As opposed to the other image types discussed in the thesis, these representations were less suited to connote the Eucharistic body of Christ in themselves; their sacrificial meaning would have been activated primarily through a typological juxtaposition with a representation of Christ's sacrifice and their spatial association with the altar.

In line with the results of earlier studies on medieval wall paintings in a liturgical context, the analysed examples confirm an evident interconnection between the function of spaces dedicated to mass celebration and the iconography of their wall painting decoration. Without reducing them to simple illustrations of liturgical texts or theological concepts, the analyses suggest that representations comprising the visual environment of the Eucharistic liturgy often paralleled through pictorial means the words of the celebrant, or reflected essential ideas connected to the mass and salvation. In particular, it appears that wall paintings were well suited to represent concepts which, while evident theological truths and expressed in different prayers of the mass, were less palpable throughout the ritual, such as the true essence of the Eucharist as the body and blood of Christ, imperceptible under the species of the bread and wine, the identity between the sacrifice of Golgotha and that of the altar, or the connection of the earthly and the heavenly spheres throughout the Eucharistic ritual. Besides contributing to the structuring of liturgical space, distinguishing spaces serving for mass celebration, wall painting representations of the *Corpus Christi* conceived to resonate with the Eucharistic liturgy as a whole, or with its specific moments, were presumably a defining feature enhancing the experience of the mass.

The dissertation is a contribution to the study of Late Gothic wall paintings in Transylvania through their examination in the context of the ritual which was the primary function of the churches and chapels they decorated, and also to research on the visual culture of the Eucharistic cult and liturgy through the inclusion of lesser-

known new material into its study. In addition to confirming connections between wall paintings adorning liturgical spaces serving for mass celebration and the ritual performed here, the research has yielded new insights regarding the potential of the various representation types to convey a Eucharistic meaning, the various ways wall painting was employed to visually enhance the immediate or broader environment of the altar, interconnections within the iconographic programs and patterns of decorating the church interior, and contributed to a mapping of the Central European connections of Transylvanian artistic phenomena.

Negotiating Catholic Reform: Global Catholicism and Its Local Agents in Northern Ottoman Rumeli (1570s–1680s)

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In my dissertation, I examine the plural manifestations of Catholicism in seventeenth-century Ottoman Europe, with a focus on Bosnia, Slavonia-Srem, and the Banat – regions to which I collectively refer as northern Ottoman Rumeli. My work engages with a number of research questions that have been central in the international scholarship on early modern global Catholicism, but which so far have rarely been asked in the context of Ottoman Europe. These questions include: What did it mean to be a Catholic in different contexts throughout the world in the early modern period? 2. What were the criteria according to which someone was regarded as belonging to one denomination or the other in the eyes of religious authorities? and 3. How did global, local, and microregional variants of Catholicism interact and shape one another?

While I address these issues and analyze the complexity of the regional variants of Catholicism in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli, in the process I also situate the area in the history and historiography of early modern Catholic missions. My work specifically focuses on how the sacramental reforms of Trent were received and negotiated in the religiously and legally pluralistic context of these areas. Within this interpretative context, I primarily analyze two topics, *marriage* and *baptism* in the context of communities where people with various ethnic and denominational backgrounds lived in close proximity. At the same

time, I also examine the multilayered local contexts and multi-confessional agency that could create such local variants of confessional meaning-making. Thus, while I demonstrate what it meant to be a Catholic missionary as well as a Catholic subject in early modern northern Ottoman Rumeli, I introduce other, non-Catholic actors who also shaped the impact of Tridentine reforms in this region, in particular the Serbian Orthodox clergy and the local Ottoman judges (*kadi*s). With this approach, I shed light on heretofore less explored interactions between Catholic missionaries and other local communal representatives. At the same time, I bring various groups of people in the center of analysis, who were the catalysts of these interactions, but who, in the traditional institutional history of the missions, figure as rather 'passive' participants.

The timeframe of the dissertation encompasses the period between the second half of the sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth century. In terms of primary sources, I draw primarily on published and unpublished Catholic missionary letters and reports and cross-read them with other types of primary sources of mainly Ottoman provenance. In particular, my analysis focuses on different missionary expressions of doubt regarding the local practices of administering the sacraments, i.e., on questions that were addressed to the congregations of the Roman Curia and which are commonly referred to as *dubia circa sacramenta* in canon law. In terms of methodology, the dissertation engages with recent research questions and debates from the fields of early modern global Catholicism, confessionalization, theology, Ottoman studies, anthropology of religion, and Eastern Christian studies.

The doctoral thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, I discuss the conceptual framework, historiographical background, territorial focus, terminology, sources, as well as the theoretical and methodological background that inform and underpin my analysis. In terms of historiography, I have sought to bridge the gap and mitigate the disconnect between the international and regional scholarship on early modern Catholic missions within as well as outside of Europe and at the same time situate my research in these historiographical traditions. Moreover, I have also addressed a number of pressing research questions in current Ottomanist historiography regarding the Ottoman politics of managing religious diversity in the confessional age. In terms of history, I devoted special attention to present the peculiar historical evolution and geopolitics of the analyzed regions, mainly focusing on the history of the medieval polities encompassing Bosnia, Slavonia-Srem, and the Banat, the ethno-religious composition and demographic transformations of these regions, the nature of the Ottoman conquest, and the concomitant population migrations across the Balkan peninsula during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The second chapter introduces the main agents who were involved in the local realization of Catholic missionary endeavors in seventeenth-century northern Ottoman Rumeli. In the first part of the chapter, I discuss the issue of protecting and representing various Christian communities throughout the Ottoman realm and what this process and ideal of protection would actually entail in a specific local context, such as northern Rumeli. I have especially focused on the 'safeguarding' role of the Franciscans of Bosnia, on the repercussions of the consolidation of the Serbian Orthodox Church for the local Catholics, and the role local *kadi*s could potentially assume in the everyday lives of Christian communities. In the second part of the chapter, I present the motivations that informed and underpinned the papacy's missionary reform program in the analyzed regions and the factors that circumscribed Rome's understanding about the number and nature of Catholic communities in this part of the Ottoman realm. At the same time, I also discuss the local dynamics of these areas and the interactions between various agents that decisively shaped and complicated the course of Catholic missionary activities and the implementation of Tridentine sacramental reforms in this region.

In the third chapter, I examine the inter- and intra-communal dynamics of various forms of illicit and invalid marriages and analyze these phenomena from a comparative perspective and both on local and trans-imperial levels. First, I provide a background analysis of the theological and legal development and understanding of the institution of matrimony in Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Islam. Then, I present the ways in which Catholic missionaries active in northern Ottoman Rumeli as well as local Catholics made sense of the new marriage regulations of Trent, and occasionally, made them more agreeable to their own needs. At the same time, this part of the dissertation seeks to reevaluate the function of Orthodox priests and Ottoman *kadi*s in Catholic matrimonies, approaching them not merely as confessional rivals with whom the missionaries always had to compete but as agents active in shaping local articulations of what it meant to be a Catholic. The chapter, thus, sheds light on the ways in which Catholic missionaries and local Catholics interacted not only with one another but also with other 'religious and communal brokers' and groups in a particular local context, where they were part of the complex religious and legal economy of the Ottoman Empire.

In the fourth chapter, I analyze the problem of mixed marriages and baptisms in seventeenth-century northern Rumeli. In the first part, I provide a short introduction about the Catholic impediments of the disparity of cult as well as mixed religion that circumscribed the understanding of Catholic-non-Christian and Catholic-Orthodox mixed marriages, respectively in the analyzed period. Then, I illustrate how Catholic-Muslim as well as Catholic-Orthodox

mixed marriages would create distinct constellations of religious coexistence and reconfigure confessional boundaries. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss how the sacrament of baptism was molded and contested in various Orthodox-Catholic encounters. At the same time, I also tackle the issue of how baptism was occasionally appropriated by Muslims and what were the potential motivations that would prompt various Muslims to seek Christian baptism.

Overall, the dissertation demonstrates that the implementation of Tridentine reforms in the analyzed areas was informed, circumscribed, and complicated by a range of factors, including local demography, geography, the specific nature of the local communal and religious leaders as well as the peculiar dynamics of their interactions, and not least, the local articulations of communal as well as denominational belonging. Accordingly, the shaping of different decrees eventually became a sort of 'power game' among Catholic missionaries,the Roman congregations, Orthodox clerics, Ottoman judges, and various local groups and individuals (Catholics as well as non-Catholics) on the ground.

The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia: The Cases of Split, Trogir and Zadar (1270–1420)

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This dissertation deals with analyzing changes in the episcopal personnel and management of the episcopal sees of medieval Croatia-Dalmatia by closely observing the figure of the medieval bishop. My approach to the topic is both power-oriented, with emphasis on social-power relations with the bishop and his episcopal office being placed at the center of research. For this purposes, I have compared developments in the archdioceses of Zadar and Split, as well as the diocese of Trogir, the suffragan of Split, all three comprising much of the territory of medieval Croatia-Dalmatia. These bishoprics were largely selected due to their specific ecclesiastical position, the quality of the available source material and the prestige enjoyed by their contemporaries and in modern historiography, all which enables me to carry an in-depth comparison between the researched dioceses.

Since these bishoprics were relatively small and located on the fringes of Latin Christendom, their position offers an opportunity for a more in-depth research of the episcopal office and the person of the bishop. I was, therefore, interested in

exploring whether there was any change in the type of person who was selected as bishop over time and how their personal qualities and connections played a role in allowing them to obtain this high episcopal position. Were changes in the episcopal office possible due to reforms conducted by the bishops from within or from outside of the diocese?

The region of Croatia-Dalmatia, where these dioceses were located, was often fragmented between various political powers, which had effect on the relationship between the communities and their bishops. These bishops operated in a multi-jurisdictional environment encompassing various ecclesiastical (cathedral chapter, other prelates, pope) and secular (city government, rural nobility, ruler) centres. Therefore, I was interested in observing if the episcopal authority was changed and how through the interactions that the bishop had with different institutions and groups of people.

The dissertation is divided into five major parts tracking the episcopal developments over a span of 150 years and involves analysis of 36 individuals who became, or strived to become, the archbishops of Split or Zadar or the bishop of Trogir. It deals with the bishopric itself, the person of the bishop and with general issues connected to the episcopal authority in Croatia-Dalmatia during the period between 1270 and 1420. In the chapters I consider how the episcopal office was influenced by the personal qualities of the individuals holding the office. What was the role played by the intricate relations between the bishops and various local and regional institutions of the medieval society? These interrelations are closely analyzed within the context of the institution of the Church. While these questions can be applied to Christendom in its entirety, I am primarily interested here in observing the local experiences and changes which may in turn be used in the future to contribute to a broader comparative research of ecclesiastical regions.

Each chapter is preceded by a historical overview which contextualizes the major developments during the observed period by looking at the actions of the popes, rulers and other institutions and individuals in the region. In the first chapter I analyze how the social context in which the dioceses have been established helped to define the late medieval bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia and what the role played by various local and broader-ranging institutions in the selection of bishops was. In the second chapter I seek to identify the most important pillars of episcopal authority and the patterns of the bishops' behavior toward important ecclesiastical institutions in the diocese as well as the changes – if any – introduced by the bishops in their everyday episcopal governance. The third chapter connects the internal changes in the bishoprics with the role played in these developments by lay institutions, primarily the commune, the rural nobility and the rulers, and

the gradual centralization of power over the ecclesiastical hierarchy by the pope. For the fourth chapter, I have selected three members of the higher clergy, each from one of the researched bishoprics, in order to analyze the challenges that were encountered by the fourteenth-century bishops. The selected prelates are Archbishop Nicholas Matafari of Zadar (r.1333-67), Bishop Bartholomew of Trogir (r.1349-61) and Archbishop Hugolin of Split (r.1349-88). In this chapter I track these three episcopal careers from beginning to end by observing how these individuals obtained their positions, the challenges they faced during their time in office and the consequences of their administration on the general development of their dioceses. The last chapter observes how the ecclesiastical and political turmoil at the turn of the fourteenth into the fifteenth century affected relations between the bishops and their dioceses by concentrating on the contacts between these prelates, the Apostolic See and the secular rulers. These areas of analysis and subsequent opinions are summarized in the conclusion which considers the different features of the person of the bishop and also combines these aspects with the gradual changes in the office and position of the bishop. Since the information collected for this work is not available elsewhere in a systematically arranged form, provide a short summary of each of the presented individuals. These descriptions include the bishops' career and family connections as well as basic information about their time in office. The work also includes images, family trees and maps relevant to the period and the bishops themselves.

A Model To Decode Venetian Senate Deliberations: *Pregadi* "Talk" On Albanian Territories (1392–1402)

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In this dissertation, I propose a model to classify the entries preserved in the volumes of the miscellaneous and secret *Deliberazioni* of the Venetian *Consiglio dei Pregadi* ("the Council," later called Senate). During this period, the Senate was Venice's most important organ of power, yet no attempt has been made to produce a systematic account of the conventions whereby scribes codified the discussions resulting from the *pregadi*'s meetings. I propose that, irretrievable in any other way, some aspects of the *pregadi*'s "talk" (the Senate's decision making-process) became codified in the *Deliberazioni*. The critical importance which the *pregadi*

assigned to any given issue is one of those aspects and the central focus of my study. Scholars have singled out a limited number of entry types (primarily commissions, provisions, and – occasionally – elections) to reflect on the kind of information contained within the *Deliberazioni*. Such view of recorded entries may derive from the tacit assumption that headers served as the scribes' primary classification mechanism. Instead, the model I propose suggests that scribes consistently used the entries' incipit as classification tool. According to patterns I identified in the entries' incipit, the model is made out of fourteen distinct realms of Council activity. More than 99.9% of the total of 4,871 extant individual entries for the period between 1392 and 1402 can be placed into one of those categories. I analyze entries belonging to three discrete realms of Council activity, all of which codified the most important matters of state. I use the Venetian progressive control of four Albanian cities (Shkodra, Drisht, Lezhë, and Durrës) from 1392 to 1402 as main case study to exemplify how recording practices codified such importance.

I rely on the "contextual approach" of John Pocock and Quentin Skinner to address the relationship between Venetian socio-cultural conventions ("langue" and the entries within the *Deliberazioni* ("parole"). In the Introduction, I offer a critical summary of the scholarly traditions which have weighed into the study of Venice's political culture: the "myth of Venice," the humanist movement, and the historiographical tradition of chronicles and political diaries. While I consider that the influence of the myth and of the humanist movement have partially hindered the understanding of the Council's *Deliberazioni* as political texts, I view Venice's historiographical tradition at the turn of the fourteenth century as appropriate ground to understand the state developments taking place during the period I analyze. In the Introduction, I also offer an overview of "Albanology" as a field of studies. In Chapter 1, I detail the theoretical considerations which allow me to present recorded entries as "linguistic acts": they embody the scribes' intention to convey specific meaning. Additionally, I explain the aspects of Pocock and Skinner's "contextualism" which help me account for what individual entries *do* in relation to any given realm of Council activity. I describe the process by which Senate discussions were turned into recorded entries and, lastly, this chapter contains my proposed model. Rather that aiming at completeness, this model hopes to be a starting point for further research. Chapter 2 analyzes the *pregadi*'s cultural realities of their environment outside the Senate. I focus on three fundamental aspects of Venetian society: Venice's rigid social classification, the intersection of politics and merchant activities, and Venice's record-keeping tradition. These "languages" allow me to describe social realities (relating to age, prestige, economic interests, and familiarity with the production of state documents), all of which, albeit indirectly,

surfaced in Senate discussions. Chapter 3 offers a summary of Venice's rationale behind its interest in controlling Albania. I propose that, during this period, the nature of Venice's domination in Albania can be understood as a polycentric system of "power units" which combined semi- autonomous decision-making agents: Albanian noble families, the local communes, and Venetian officeholders. I also offer a description of the geographical setting of the Albanian territories I discuss in chapters 4 and 5, and present the Albanian main protagonists. Chapters 4 and 5 scrutinize in detail the recording conventions of the three entry types which recorded important matters of state. I survey entries dealing with a number of geographically distant locations, but focus on Venice's involvement in Albania as case study. Based on my methodology, I follow a strict chronological order, and account for events day by day, month by month, and year by year. Chapter 4 analyzes in detail entries belonging to the realm of Council activity referring to crisis management (category 14 of the model). I use *newsworthiness* as a means to classify events defined as crises. Entries which described these events (N-entries) contain "noua" or "nouitates" in their incipit. While "propter noua" signals an event of salient importance with serious, long-lasting outcome were the matter not resolved immediately, "nouitates" refer to troublesome events with a "secondary degree" urgency. Within the recorded entries examined in this study, these expressions had a technical meaning which differ considerably from the meaning they took on generations later. *Noua* and *nouitates* in an entry's incipit were not intended to convey reception of information, but rather the presence of a crisis situation. Out of the total of 4,871 recorded entries, only 58 entries (1.2%) include the words *noua* or *nouitas* in their incipit. Although I favor Albania as the story's protagonist, I account for all occurrences of what the *pregadi* perceived to be situations of crisis from 1392 to 1402. N-entries allow me to show that during pivotal political events in 1392, 1395–1396, 1399, and 1401, discussions about Albania became crucial to the state because the region's significance was inextricably linked with that of Venice's main foe – the Ottomans. With a stronger focus on Albania, Chapter 5 analyzes entries which recorded official pronouncements directed to "outsiders," codified in a twofold manner according to two situations: as responses (R-entries) following proposals and petitions from ambassadors (category 13 of the model), and as instructions (I-entries) whenever a development abroad demanded an executive pronouncement by the *signoria* (category 6 of the model). First, I present the standard template of R-entries (which scribes used whenever an issue was considered straightforward). R-entries recorded controversy and critical importance in the following way: if a proposition caused controversy or disagreement among the body of *pregadi*, scribes (for the most part) followed the standard template, but

preserved those opposing motions to record the memory of the disagreement. If, however, ambassadors presented issues deemed critical to the state, the formulation of those R-entries was either turned on its head or incorporated sections (such as executive decisions or instructions) which flouted the standard template entirely. Secondly, I explain why the presence of a lengthy instruction section is in itself a mark of state importance. According to these conventions, I determine that in 1396 and 1400, ambassadors from Albanian cities confronted the Council with proposals and decisions deemed critical. On the other hand, aside from some I-entries in 1392 and 1393, the *pregadi* did not consider that developments in Albanian territories merited further official pronouncements. Chapter 6 functions as an epilogue: I rely on Antonio Morosini, who was a contemporary to the events described in chapters 4 and 5, to test whether the *pregadi*'s discussions had a resonance which ventured beyond the closed and secretive rooms in which the Council met. I focus on Morosini's role as curator (rather than as author) based on the fact that, for this period, Morosini's work was composed with the help of relatively short chronicles relating to specific events. Yet Morosini's selection of events to describe the decade from 1392 to 1402 attests to the impact of the *pregadi*'s "talk": Morosini described Venice's history from 1392 to 1402 in fifteen events, and 93.3% of them are reflected on entries within the *Deliberazioni*. The events Morosini echoed are the same high points of the *pregadi*'s talk which the recording conventions I uncovered also marked as important. The Conclusions summarize the findings of Chapters 4, 5, and 6 (above). Here, I also emphasize that the recording conventions performed by scribes were well-established and consistent. These conventions did not suddenly appear in 1392, and thus I briefly point at possible areas of further research. More importantly, I hope that the contextual approach which, to the extent of my knowledge, has never been applied to this source material, will serve as starting point to uncover additional aspects of the Council's secretive discussions.

The *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, more than any comparable annual, accomplishes the two-fold task of simultaneously publishing important scholarship and informing the wider community of the breadth of intellectual activities of the Department of Medieval Studies. And what a breadth it is: Across the years, to the core focus on medieval Central Europe have been added the entire range from Late Antiquity till the Early Modern Period, the intellectual history of the Eastern Mediterranean, Asian history, and cultural heritage studies. I look forward each summer to receiving my copy.

Patrick J. Geary

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