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Lectori Salutem

We are pleased to present the academic audience the first issue of *Historical Studies on Central Europe* (HSCE), a double-blind peer-reviewed scholarly journal published by the Faculty of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University. HSCE is a new historical periodical which considers the yearbook *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae Sectio Historica* as its first series. Between 1957 and 1993, this earlier series was published by the same university in French, English, German, and Russian (issues are available at the following link: <https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/handle/10831/44176>), with prominent historians on its editorial board. Whilst the *Sectio Historica* was attached to the Institute of History, it was decided that HSCE should be launched by the Doctoral School of History. According to its multidisciplinary character, HSCE is dedicated for contributions from various fields of historical scholarship in a broad, interdisciplinary spirit, including ethnology and archaeology.

In accordance with its name, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe: a region of crossroads and meeting points, where throughout the centuries diverse ethnic groups, confessions, traditions, and political entities have interacted in a very special way. As the definition of the region varies by age and discipline—it may mean the Habsburg Empire, the territory ranging from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic Sea, or from German-speaking areas to the Balkans—, HSCE offers a forum for reflective interpretations of this region. Besides studies that specifically address the region's history, the editors welcome papers that bear methodological and/or theoretical relevance to the study of historical processes.

According to the editorial board's concept, each issue consists of three to five thematic blocks, with two to four studies in each. The HSCE is also open to publish individual papers. The first issue includes a thematic collection of papers about Western historiographic approaches applied to Central Europe, as well as two further blocks related to the early modern period, one about life paths of the nobility, and the other about local religions. The editors are committed to establish a review column with shorter and featured book reviews, as well as review articles critically approaching recent scholarly publications. Furthermore, we aim to publish regular reports on current research projects for disseminating information about ongoing projects in Central Europe. The first issue introduces the HistoGenes project funded by the European Research Council Synergy Grant.

HSCE intends to build an interdisciplinary platform for enhancing the dialog and disseminating new findings on Central Europe, a region, whose research results have limited circulation in international scholarship due to language barriers, and in addition, research is heavily influenced by national narratives. This aim is supported by the fact that HSCE is an open-access journal published twice a year and is available in both printed and online formats.

Judit Klement and Balázs Nagy

Editors-in-Chief

Remarks on the Question of the So-Called Monastic Schools of Architecture

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Abstract. The hypothetical interpretation of the beginnings of monastic architecture in Hungary in the eleventh century as corresponding to the Italian origin of the clergy cannot be proved, and the beginning of the dominating role of a three-apsidal, axially organized basilica in Hungary cannot be traced earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century.

The dominance of the type, which has been considered in Hungarian art history since the nineteenth century as a “national” building type, can be dated as of the last quarter of the eleventh century. It is not only the problem of monastic architecture, because the same typology—in other dimensions—is also characteristic of other church buildings—cathedrals and provostry churches.

However, it is apparent that both in the case of monasteries and in other genres of church buildings, the Hungarian solutions are minimal and less complicated. There is an important written source concerning the value of the patronage of church buildings. The so called *Estimationes communes iuxta consuetudinem regni* (i.e. common estimations) go back to Romanesque times and they were still accepted in 1516 by the printed edition of *Decretum tripartitum* by István Werbőczy. The classification of ecclesiastic property was governed by two criteria: the value of the building and the possession of the right of sepulture.

The architectural heritage of the Cistercians appears as a rather uniform stylistic phenomenon. This uniformity was interpreted in the art historical literature as a contribution by the order supposedly having an own building organization. But the hypothesis that the workers, the *conversi* of the order were among the other craftsmen and builders of churches and monasteries of the order has been revealed as a legendary interpretation of art history.

The most active period of the Hungarian Cistercians began with the privileges given by King Béla III to the Order and with the foundation of three abbeys in the 1180s. The very rational and well-organized building activity of the Cistercians and also the effective control coming from the top of their centralized organization has been presumably considered as unusual by contemporary observers.

To prevent the excessive influence of secular people and to improve the education of the monks, the centralized organization was proposed for the Benedictines too. This reform was initiated by popes of the time about 1200, Innocent III and also Honorius III. It seems that the necessary reform

as well as the solution of the problems by adopting the experience of the Cistercians influenced the spread of the regular monastery building under the evident intention of imitation. Quadratic interior courts framed by open galleries and surrounded by the most important common rooms, including the chapterhouse and refectory of the monastery, appear evidently from about 1220 in Hungarian Benedictine architecture.

The Praemonstratensians, a reform order, was a nearly contemporary parallel to the Cistercians. In the twelfth century and also at the beginning of the thirteenth they were in fact in a straight contact with the Cistercians, who exercised a kind of control over the order, whose rules were not derived from the Benedictine rules but were based on the rules of St Augustine. Mainly the centralized organization of the order could correspond to the Cistercian model. The main difference between these reform orders concerned their patronage. While the Cistercians in Hungary were mostly under royal patronage (mainly after the visit of a delegation of Citeaux to the Court of Béla III in 1183), the Praemonstensian constructions were mainly foundations by private patrons.

It seems that contrary to partly surviving hypotheses and forgeries in old art historical literature, no royal court and also no monastic order was practically involved in architecture or building praxis, including schools of architecture. Their relationship was different, corresponding to their liturgy and to the representation of their self-image.

Keywords: monastic orders, Benedictines, monastic reform, centralized orders, Cistercians, Praemonstratensians, choir structure, right of sepulture, cloisters with regular shape

The art and architecture of the Middle Ages were discovered in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century as corresponding to regional, local and at last, national characteristics. The romantic observer conceived of the warm and emotional culture of medieval art as opposed to the universal regularity of classical art. Later in the nineteenth century the concept of nationally colored various decadences of Antiquity gave way to the universal historical epoch of the Romanesque, the dominating universal phenomenon being reunited with Christianity and its institutions. Mainly monasticism was identified by art history as such a connecting link. The theory of Viollet-le-Duc can also be mentioned, according to which two basic types of mentality dominated medieval art: the earlier *esprit monastique* as the foundation of the Romanesque style, replaced on the climax of urban development by *esprit laïque* of the towns. In the course of history, not only individual monastic institutions, but also diverse alliances of monasteries united by different reforms of monasticism played an important role. Monastic reforms produced different organizations, liturgical customs and regulations of the everyday life, as well as chains of associated monasteries, such as the members of the congregation around Cluny or Hirsau in South Germany and also the Scottish congregation in Germany, among others.¹

1 Some selected works from the immense literature: Evans, *Romanesque Architecture*; Conant, *Cluny*; Mettler, "Die zweite Kirche [1909/1910]"; Mettler, "Die zweite Kirche [1910/1911]";

Today, speaking about medieval architecture in Hungary we mean architecture determined by the above-mentioned factors of monastic life. Unlike in Western and Southern Europe, Hungary as well as its East European neighbors did not have a long past of the Christian Church around the year 1000, as they had just converted to Christianity. The beginning of the Hungarian Romanesque architecture can be considered as an exemplary case.² According to the tradition, the first Romanesque in Hungary reflects the Italian and monastic origin of the Church. The monks of the first Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma, founded by duke Géza before or in 996 the latest and consecrated in 1002 under King Stephen, came from Italy, and the connection was also expressed by the relationship between the Hungarian monastery and its supposed model, the church of SS. Alessio e Bonifacio on the Aventine Hill in Rome.³ The church of Pannonhalma monastery, a product of three medieval construction periods is a rather modest building measured to bigger and more complicated contemporary buildings such as the nearly parallel built Burgundian St Benigne in Dijon belonging to the immediate circle of Cluny, or the eleventh-century church of Abbot Desiderius in Monte Cassino, head of the Benedictine order. Apart from their basilical structure with a nave and two aisles and a crypt, there is no similarity between the Hungarian and the Roman churches. Even the wide apse of SS. Alessio and Bonifacio is missing in Pannonhalma and up to the transformation in the early nineteenth century the entrance to the Hungarian church was not directed axially. A western apse above a crypt was built in Pannonhalma, which was first discovered on a measured drawing of the eighteenth century and then also by excavation. So, the fact that the Pannonhalma church belonged to the church buildings of Ottonian Germany shaped with double apses could be proved. Even in the third building of the early thirteenth century the western choir above the crypt was rebuilt and only went into oblivion in the nineteenth century.⁴

It is thus unsubstantiated to trace the beginnings of monastic architecture in Hungary in the eleventh century to the Italian origin of the clergy, and also the dominant role of a three-apsidal, axially organized basilica in Hungary can only be

Hoffmann, *Hirsau; Schürenberg*, “Mittelalterlicher Kirchenbau,” 23.

2 Cp. Marosi, “Bencés építészet,” 131–42.

3 Levárdy, “Pannonhalma építéstörténete. I.,” 27–43; Levárdy, “Pannonhalma építéstörténete. II.,” 101–29. here: 101, 103. f.; Levárdy, “Pannonhalma építéstörténete. III.,” 220–31; cp. Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori emlékei*; Dercsényi, “A honfoglalás,” 20. f.. For the hypothesis of a Benedictine style, see: Ipolyi, “Magyarország középkori emlékszerű építészete,” 37. ff.

4 Tóth, “A művészet Szent István korában,” Fig. 117 and 8.; Concerning the building type, see note 47. and also note 45.; The results of the archaeological investigation: László, “Régészeti adatok,” 143–69; about the hypothesis of a Western transept see Takács, “Pannonhalma újjáépítése,” 176–84 and Fig. 16.

supposed as of the last quarter of the eleventh century. Surprisingly enough, instead of uniformity, a relatively rich variation can be observed. Pannonhalma had no entrance on the west facade similarly to e.g. the Salian Hersfeld or the reform building of SS Peter and Paul in Hirsau, but it is also possible that this western apse was bound to a transept *more romano*, as in St Michael's in Hildesheim. Apparently, crypts had an important role in the early monastic architecture in Hungary. If Pannonhalma had two crypts from the start, one of them could be the place of the cult of relics and the other, on the east end served perhaps another liturgy. Under the elevated choir of the monastery church of Feldebrő dedicated to the Holy Cross, there was a fully developed architectural system of the crypts with a western wall with windows giving insight into it as in a Roman *confessio* arrangement and it was also enlarged by an adjoining tomb chamber.⁵ It is interesting that this western liturgical system was sometimes combined with a central shape of the Byzantine type, like the Szekszárd monastery church dedicated to Our Saviour and built earlier as the funerary church of King Béla I.⁶ It seems likely that the rich variations of the monasteries were connected to the phenomenon of the *Eigenkirche*, target of vehement struggles between Papacy and Empire in the first Investiture controversy. The monastery of King Andrew I in Tihany,⁷ a relatively well-dated building of the 1060s with an axial shape and a still extant three-aisled crypt, seems to be rather characterized by western orientation, while the monastery of Palatine Otto in Zselicszentjakab⁸ is more like a Byzantine building. The type of the three-apsidal basilica without a transept even appeared in monasteries where kings and high nobility were buried from the late eleventh century. Whether they had or had not a crypt⁹ was perhaps decided by the fact that at the Council of Guastalla the ambassadors of King Coloman declared in 1106 the renunciation of the right to investiture and other ecclesiastical privileges. Thus, the beginning of the dominance of the type identified in Hungarian art history as a “national” building type since the nineteenth century is to be dated to the time beginning with the last quarter of the eleventh century. The spread of this types was attributed to the Benedictine order and later not only the transmission of

5 As a modern history of Benedictine Romanesque architecture in Hungary is lacking, we cite the short monographical articles of different authors (the major part of them by Imre Takács and Sándor Tóth) in the exhibition catalogue Takács, *Paradisum* as well as the critical catalogue of the monasteriology of the Hungarian Benedictine communities by Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 476–547; Feldebrő: Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 541.

6 Tóth, “Szekszárd,” 339–41; Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 541.

7 Tóth, “Tihany,” 335–38; Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 513–14.

8 Tóth, “Zselicszentjakab,” 341–46; Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 527–28.

9 Somogyvár: Papp and Koppány, “Somogyvár,” 350–53; Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 509–11; Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek): Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 490–92; Rakovac (Dombó): Tóth, “Dombó,” 359–67; Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 487.

the building types but also the execution of the buildings was thought to have been the work of monastic workshops.

This is not only the problem of monastic architecture, because the same typology—in other dimensions—is also characteristic of other church buildings: cathedrals and provostry churches. In 1956 Dezső Dercsényi illustrated his text about the importance of the three-aisled basilica without a transept and with a double towered western part with plans drawn on the same scale.¹⁰ Modern synthetic studies could only be illustrated by drawings on an approximate scale. I can show a collection of the Romanesque building types in question published by my colleague Béla Zsolt Szakács nearly twenty years ago.¹¹ As dimensions play an important role in this problem, I have to point out that my comparisons are not based on exact measurements, but only on approximate proportions.

However, it is apparently true of both monasteries and other genres of church buildings that the Hungarian solutions are minimal and less complicated. The donors seem to have looked for the cheapest possible solution in terms of both construction and the costs of the maintenance of these churches. The number of the inhabitants of the Hungarian monasteries was small; it was not higher than one or two dozen even in bigger royal monasteries such as Pannonhalma or Somogyvár, and there were only a few people in monasteries of the noble families. According to the calculations of the late Elemér Mályusz in his monography of the ecclesiastic society in Hungary,¹² Pannonhalma could be inhabited by about forty persons in the thirteenth century, which number gradually sank to about ten at the end of the Middle Ages. Small monasteries housed originally four or five monks, and only one or two about 1500, which cannot be called “monastic life”. In most of the cases it was impossible to pursue a real spiritual or scholarly life, maintain a *scriptorium* or a monastic school of higher importance from the foundation date on. It is not the same as in the big monasteries of Western Europe built for many hundreds of monks in several cases. It is characteristic enough that a lot of Hungarian monasteries devastated by the Mongols in 1241–1242 did not have economic power enough to restore their normal state and activity, and at the end of the Middle Ages, long before the Reformation, a number of monasteries of different orders were already in a state of total material and also moral desolation.

There is an important written source concerning the value of the patronage of church buildings.¹³ Contrary to the law based on the example of the holy kings,¹⁴

10 Dercsényi, “A pécsi műhely kora,” 32 (Fig. 17); Dercsényi, “A román stílusú művészet fénykora,” 93 (Fig. 66).

11 Szakács, “Állandó alaprajzok,” 25–38.

12 Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 212–16.

13 Cp. Marosi, “Pfarrkirchen,” 201–21.

14 The law is already cited in St Stephen’s *Legenda minor: percipiensque laboriosum fidelibus*

but following their activities as founders,¹⁵ the existence of such valuation expressed in different sums of money is in itself antithetical to the principle of refusing private property in the church as simony.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the late medieval legal practice shows the use of lists differentiating churches by their values in estate processes. The so-called *Estimationes communes iuxta consuetudinem regni* (i.e. common estimations) go back to Romanesque times and they were still accepted in 1516 by the printed edition of *Decretum tripartitum* by István Werbőczy. The classification of ecclesiastic property was based on two criteria: the value of the building and the possession of the right of sepulture. The most expensive category was that of *a Monasterium sive Claustrum, sepulturam patronorum & aliorum specialium Nobilium habens*, estimated to hundred Marks of silver. If the possession of the rights of patronage was combined with the right of sepulture, the building might cost the double of a church without this right. Even the lowest category of wooden churches was worth five Marks with sepulture and only three Marks without it. Besides monasteries there was also a second category of churches under the patronage of noblemen, which had two (bell?) towers like monasteries (*ecclesia cum duabus pinnaculis, ad modum Monasterii fundata*). These towers could be *ante et post vel in medio* i.e. in front, behind or in the middle. The third category of patronage churches valued at twenty-five Marks of silver referred to buildings with a single belltower which did not belong to a monastery and were not built like a monastery.

The nobleman in possession of the right of patronage could be content with the right of sepulture for himself and for his family inside of the church and with a relatively monumental west facade with two towers. The remnants of the small monastery found in an archaeological campaign in Kána, close to Budapest, was a simple church like a parish church of a village but with a more complicated west part.¹⁷ As the influential French family of the thirteenth century, the Aynards came

esse, si illuc ab exterioribus locis ad missarum sollempnia confluenterent, iussit, ut decem villarum populus ecclesiam edificaret, ad cuius diocesim pertineret, ne tedio affectus minus religionis sue officium curaret, Szentpétery, Scriptores, 396.

Cp. the text of the “Decretum S. Stephani” II, I. *De regali dote ad ecclesiam. Decem ville ecclesiam edificant, quam duobus mansis totidemque mancipiis dotent, equo et iumento, sex bubus et duabus vaccis, XXX minutis bestiis. Vestimenta vero et coopertoria rex provideat, presbiterum et libros episcopi*, Závodszy, *A Szent István*, 153.

15 Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 15–18.

16 Fügedi, “Sepelierunt corpus,” 50, with data of 5 lists from the fifteenth century: 59. f.; Earlier: Bónis, “A somogyvári formuláskönyv,” 127; Cp. Mezey, “Autour de la terminologie ecclésiastique,” 381. Based on these publications, we have already considered the rights of patronage as elements of the wealth of a nobleman in: Marosi, *Magyarországi művészet*, 115.

17 Hollné Gyürky, *A Buda; Györffy, Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. 4, 571; Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 532.

to Zsámbék, they found on the site a little rural church, which they used for the burial of a woman, mother of the most active family members. A small west part was also added to the first church, and the great church with a complicated west part containing a gallery and two side rooms (chapels?) was built over the aisles. A remarkable monastery church emerged, the estimated value of which corresponded to the category of hundred Marks of silver.¹⁸

On the other side, the provostry church in Felsőörs was perhaps a good example of the twenty-five-Mark category. Its single tower with the altar upstairs, dedicated to Saint Michael in the 1230s by the Bishop of Veszprém, was probably preceded by the nave. In the vaulted entrance hall, under the staircase leading to the altar upstairs, there is an *arcosolium*-grave, that is, a monumental burial site of one of the patrons.¹⁹ It seems that the western parts under the patronage of secular persons were often dedicated to the representation of the founders.²⁰ We can also suppose the existence of other towers near the sanctuary, in the oriental part of the nave in several cases. The abbey church of Acâș (Ákos) seems to have had even two pairs of towers, two—maybe unfinished—towers on the east and a monumental pair on the west.²¹ This arrangement has parallels among the Romanesque cathedrals of the country, in Eger or even in Esztergom, where the east towers were still depicted as late as in 1730. The common forms between monastic buildings, secular provostries and cathedrals were not limited on a few traits: there was no Benedictine school, but different centers contributed to a varied Romanesque architecture, which was specified by regional and chronologically determined phenomena, rather than by *consuetudines* of the monastic orders. Besides, the liturgical *ordo* did not show any specific features as the order's peculiarities, which is to be ascribed to the fact that except Pannonhalma and the royal monasteries, which had the privilege of exemption from the diocesan bishops, all Benedictine monasteries were subordinated to episcopal legislation. They were more bound by the culture and tradition of the regions, than by the country. In that age, patriotism was meant participation in the community of a region or diocese.

Acâș monastery belongs to the few church buildings that are characterized by the tradition of twelfth-century architecture. The pure geometric forms, prismatic pillars and very strict geometric construction, the avoidance of richer

18 About the stylistic situation of the great monastery church, see: Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik*, 124, 155–58. The unearthing of the earlier church: Valter, “Újabb régészeti kutatások,” 24–28.

19 Tóth, “Felsőörs,” 26; Tóth, “A felsőörsi préposti templom,” 53–76.

20 About types and functions of Western parts of church buildings, see: Entz, “Nyugati karzatok,” 130. ff; Reconsideration in a Central European framework: Tomaszewski, *Romańskie kościoły*; Cp. Entz, “Még egyszer a nyugati karzatokról,” 133–41.

21 Ákosmonostora: Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 538; Boldva: Hervay, “A bencések és apátságaik,” 540; Cp. Tóth, “A 11–12. századi,” 255–58; Szakács, “Ákos,” 86–91.

ornamental and figural decoration all belong to a circle of influences coming from South Germany. The Scottish Benedictine church of St James in Regensburg can be cited for its style and its east towers, and also as a model for this architecture. The construction date of Acâș can only be based on stylistic observations. Another Benedictine church, the one in Boldva which was already restored in the early thirteenth century, can be dated with more probability to the twelfth. Here, too, the pure and ascetic prismatic forms represent South German monastic traditions. Despite multiple reconstructions, the relatively small church conserved very important traits of its liturgical arrangement. The east towers were opened with wide arcades onto the choir quadrant of the church. Access to the galleries was ensured by staircases in the thickness of the wall. The singers of the monastery had to start in the nave to ascend to the gallery, where they represented the angelic choir.²² These boys' choirs had an important role in dialogic chants on the feast of the Nativity and also during the *Triduum* before Easter. They represented the shepherds and the Wise Men of the Orient in the play entitled *Tractus Stellae* as well as sang the parts of the liturgy from the Adoration of the Cross through and the Holy Sepulchre to the Resurrection.

In the rigorous simplicity of the church buildings in the tradition of the German reform movements the ornamental and also figural decoration was concentrated on the sanctuary. Not only the Benedictines, but also their ecclesiastic contemporaries installed their choirs (*chori majores*) as places of the monastic community at mass but also for the chanting of the Psalms. The continuation of the liturgical choir, often closed westward by roodscreens separating the clerical community from the secular people, was named in more complex monasteries *chorus minor* or *schola cantorum*. Naturally, the use of boys' choirs in the liturgy depended on the existence of schools, which was rather exceptional among Hungarian monasteries. From the eleventh century on, when St Hadrian's in Zalavár, a foundation of St Stephen got its white marble choir furniture, remnants of very rich decoration on separating walls of the choirs witness the presence of the most important styles. The common use of these sculpted and also painted decorations show the same parallel evolution as other phenomena of architecture. About the end of the eleventh century, the Byzantine ornaments of the choirs gave way to early figural sculptures. The latter can mainly be found among the carved fragments of the iconostases of Rakovac (Dombó) monastery in today's Serbia. The rich sculptural arrangement of the royal provostry church of St Peter's in Óbuda was the model for a similar choir furniture in the royal Abbey of Somogyvár about the mid-twelfth century, and a single ornamental sculpture confirms that the same masters were also active in Pannonhalma.²³ At the height of Romanesque

22 Marosi, "Megjegyzések," 88–116, especially: 101–2; Marosi, "A Pray-kódex," 11–24. Cp. Karsai, "Középkori vízkereszti játékok," 73–112.

23 About choir balustrades and rood screens, see: [Zalavár] Mikó and Takács, *Pannonia Regia*,

art two cathedrals, the one in Pécs from the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth-century church in the Transylvanian bishop's seat Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) display the highest standards of figural elements originally belonging to choir ensembles. The type and form of the choir enclosure in Pécs is one of the most problematic questions.²⁴ The subjects represented in the relief series only constitute a little part of a rich composition. The original choir in Alba Iulia was perhaps separated from the nave by a rood screen, which was decorated by relief tables secondarily used over the counterforts of the new choir of the cathedral after the mid-thirteenth century.²⁵

The most striking feature of Romanesque architecture in Hungary concerned the scale of its dimensions—not only those of monastic architecture, but of the cathedrals too. Comparisons of ground-plans do not only indicate differences of dimensions, but also suggest a reduction to the minimum of the liturgical functions of the Hungarian private monasteries. One of the richest private monasteries, that of Ják appears small in comparison with both the already quoted Bavarian monastery of St James in Regensburg and its apparently immediate artistic model, the cathedral in Bamberg. A thirteenth-century series of late Romanesque structures with a tendency to receive early Gothic structural solutions are characterized by the use of octagonal piers in their nave. All churches concerned were probably built in the first three decades of the thirteenth century: the Praemonstratensian church of Ócsa and the Benedictine churches in Arača (Aracs) and Vérteszentkereszt. Ócsa, which was already mentioned in the so-called *Ninive* catalogue of Praemonstratensian communities in 1234, indicates that the framework for these buildings was not given by a monastic order, but by a common artistic relationship. The early Gothic character of these constructions with Gothic vaulting can be proved by still conserved or reconstructed sections of the naves. Among these monuments the Benedictine monastery church was the smallest. Digging for the twelfth-century roots of the common architectonic system of this series, we find Laon cathedral as the general model and its German reduction in St George's in Limburg an der Lahn as a link of transmission. The Limburg Cathedral can approximately correspond to the core building of Laon in its original form, but it is not more than about a third of its size. Arača was about half as long as Limburg and also its four-stories elevation was simplified. The comparison of the ground-plans may indicate the reduction in scale, while the interiors can show a more intricate relationship in the solutions of the vertical structures.²⁶

Cat. No. I-23, 24, 80–82; [Dombó] Stanojev, "A dombói," 383–428; Tóth, *Román kori kőfaragványok*, 11–38, 39–42; [Óbuda] Mikó and Takács, *Pannonia Regia*, Cat. No I. 56, 110–11, Tóth, *Román kori kőfaragványok*, 85–91; [Somogyvár] Mikó and Takács, *Pannonia Regia*, Cat. No I-57, 58, 111–15.

²⁴ Tóth, "A pécsi székesegyház," 123–45; Marosi, "A pécsi román kori székesegyház," 549–64.

²⁵ Takács, "The First Sanctuary," 15–43.

²⁶ Cp. Marosi, "Az aracs templom," 19–45, 46–61.

Another comparison can demonstrate that the Hungarian constructions of the Cistercians were adapted to the general plan of their contemporaries from the end of the twelfth century. E.g. the Pilis monastery or that in Transylvanian Cârța (Kerc) on the border of western Christianity, corresponded to the scale of such important and big centers of Cistercian monasticism as the Burgundian Fontenay or Maulbronn in South Germany. Even the small Hungarian abbey church in Bélapátfalva, which is consistent with a typical plan used for colonization buildings e.g. also in Poland, is based on the same scale indicated by a uniform geometric system, though not on the same size.

The architectural heritage of the Cistercians appears to be a rather uniform stylistic phenomenon. This uniformity was interpreted in the art historical literature as a contribution of the order, supposedly thanks to its own building organization. However, the hypothesis that the workers, the *conversi* of the order were among the rest of the craftsmen and builders of the order's churches and monasteries has been revealed as a legendary interpretation by art history. This legend was inspired by the strong tendency for regularity as well as the preference by the order of Cîteaux for the Early Gothic style, which was the style of modern architecture in the most dynamic period of their reform and the intensive spread of the order in Europe in the second half of the twelfth century. Art history has identified Cistercian architecture as an early phenomenon of standardized constructions and a fairly functionalistic trend. It was considered to be a version of Burgundian Gothic or, given that the Burgundian High Romanesque models became simplified in less sumptuous constructions, a reduced style, a "Half Gothic" was developed by the order. The cult of the Cistercians in art history was actually a renewal of the nineteenth-century concept of a style of transition between the Romanesque and the Gothic.

Of course, it was the strongly centralized organization of the order that served as the basis for the uniformity and also for the different rules of construction and mainly for the insistence on simplicity and the rejection of luxurious solutions in their monasteries. Most rules and also restrictions were conceived as decisions of the Cîteaux general chapter. It would be a misunderstanding to find prescriptions for buildings or propagation of stylistic ideals in these decisions. The so-called Bernardine arrangement (mainly ground plan) has been interpreted in modern art historical literature not as a stylistic phenomenon, but as a symbolic factor stressing the identity of the order.²⁷ Matthias Untermann understood it as an expression of a mentality which is often implied in the acts of the general chapters by the words *forma ordinis*. This concept appears as a threefold demand of *uniformitas*, *habitus* and the avoidance of all *superfluum*. This *forma ordinis* had its own history, with the greatest works of the second generation of the order in the second half of the twelfth

²⁷ Krautheimers "Iconography of Architecture" as methodological model: Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography,'" 1–33.

century.²⁸ The most active period of the Hungarian Cistercians began with the privileges given by King Béla III to the Order and with the foundation of three abbeys in the 1180s. This is already the period between 1180 and 1240 which Untermann characterized as an epoch of traditions and innovations, when the Bernardine type was revised and also altered. In Hungary e.g. the abbeys of Pilisszentkereszt and Bélapátfalva adopt the traditional type, and Cârța shows the synthesis of the Bernardine plan with an elongated and polygonally closed choir.²⁹

The Abbey in the Pilis mountain in the middle of the domain of the Árpád-dynasty was built at the same time as the cathedral and the new royal palace of Esztergom. The ruins of the Cistercian abbey founded by King Béla III are situated in the village, which is now named Pilisszentkereszt, and Cârța, the foundation of his son King Imre probably in 1202, survives with high ruins and also a part of the choir still vaulted. Both monasteries show the same style, which is the first Gothic introduced in the buildings of Béla III in Esztergom. In recent art historical literature, it has been proposed that the monastery in the Pilis and the buildings in Esztergom must be considered as works of two separate workshops. This hypothesis is contrary to an earlier conception, according to which the two royal centers were separate. For a long time, a series of decorative stone carvings found in Esztergom were accepted as members of constructions in this royal city, and it has only been recently proved that in the eighteenth-century fragmentary stone carvings from the ruins of the Cistercian monastery were transported to Esztergom for secondary use. The fact itself that decorated pieces from Pilisszentkereszt could easily be considered as identical with those made by masters working in Esztergom testifies that they were not separate workshops but the same work team which finished in Esztergom a long building activity and Pilisszentkereszt was actually a new construction without a predecessor. This group of masons, which can be regarded as a royal workshop, went also to Cârța in Transylvania.³⁰ Obviously, the constructions in Pilisszentkereszt and in Cârța were not the job of the monks but that of the royal founder. It is clear that the job of the Cistercians was to supervise the fulfilment of the prescriptions of the *forma ordinis* in their own construction.³¹

There is a tradition in Hungarian art history according to which the artistic import played an important role in the eleventh century, as the so-called Benedictine type became a kind of national production and fulfilled a domestic evolution. The renewal was attributed to cultural influences coming from the west,

28 Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, 23–40, especially 39.

29 Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik*, 162. The reduced version of the Bernardine disposition as a colonial type, see: Walicki, *Sztuka polska*, 171. ff.

30 Cârța Monastery as a work of royal craftsmen coming from the middle of the medieval country: Marosi, “Die Kathedrale ‘Esztergom II’,” 69–142, here: Excuse, 108. ff.

31 Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, passim.

mainly from France. In Dezső Dercsényi's synthesis of the history of art in the time of the Árpád dynasty these issues are exemplified through churches with transepts. It would be difficult to define why the existence of a transept could be the criterion of distinguishing French influences. Nevertheless, the illustration of the 1956 edition of Dercsényi's text contains two of the cathedrals of the thirteenth century: Alba Iulia, which has no French character outside of some early Gothic traits, and the only basilica with an ambulatory and radiating chapels, the second building of Kalocsa. Above these ground-plans three dispositions with transept are reproduced to indicate the routes of transmission: the Cistercian Bélapátfalva and the Praemonstratensian Ócsa with the Benedictine Vérteszentkereszt in the middle.³² The immense influence of the Cistercians in the early thirteenth is beyond question.

The very rational and well-organized building activity of the Cistercians and also the effective control by the top echelon of their centralized organization were presumably considered as unusual by contemporary observers. Of course, the Cistercian reform was the reform of the Benedictine order. Nobody thought about 1200 and in the early thirteenth century that this reform could be avoided. In order to prevent the excessive influence of secular people, to improve the education of the monks and to govern an order mainly the centralized organization was proposed. This reform was initiated by popes of the time about 1200, Innocent III and also Honorius III. Cistercian models and also advisers played an important role in the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Synod to strengthen the monks' discipline by organizing a central chapter and to hold sessions of the order's provinces in each third year. Abbot Uros of Pannonhalma, who built the third monastery church in the following decade, was among the participants of the sessions in 1215. The practical measures according to the synodal decisions were then issued by Pope Honorius III in his bull of 1225, which introduced a common chapter of the Hungarian Cistercian in the presence of two Cistercian abbots. The Bull of pope Honorius drew an ideal image of the monastery as opposed to the actual situation of decline and disorder. In this allegory the Tower of Babel is in a contrast to Paradise, which is the realm of Wisdom and the habitat of the second Adam. An archaeological exhibition held in Pannonhalma in 2000 on the occasion of the Millenary of the Benedictines in Hungary chose a quotation from Honorius' 1225 bull for its title: *Paradisum plantavit*.³³

It seems that the necessary reform as well as the solution of the problems by adopting the experience of the Cistercians influenced the spread of the regular monastery building under the evident will to imitation. Quadratic interior courts framed by open galleries and surrounded by the most important common rooms, including

32 Dercsényi, "A román stílusú művészet fénykora," 77 (Fig. 50, cp. note 10).

33 The Hungarian translation of the 1225 letter of Pope Honorius III to the prelates of Hungary edited in the catalogue Marosi, "Benedictine Building Activity," 651–58.

the chapterhouse and refectory of the monastery, appear evidently from about 1220 on in Hungarian Benedictine architecture. Pilisszentkereszt or another Cistercian building could provide the prototype which—besides the later transformed part of building—is represented by fragments of the arcades of its wings. In the building complex of the Abbey of Pécsvárad double bases of slender columns as typical structural members witness a similar construction. They represent a cloister which could be partly reconstructed on the north side of the Somogyvár abbey church. This partially rebuilt corner does not correspond in all details to a possible theoretical reconstruction, and it was a bigger mistake to use the very sensitive original sculpture for this demonstration instead of modern copies. The Somogyvár cloister also had a rich figural decoration on its capitals and imposts. The same hands of artists produced a sitting statue of the Holy Virgin, too. It could be placed in the new cloister, but also anywhere in the monastery which was rebuilt about 1200. In those years serious conflicts between the inhabitants of diverse nationalities were reported. In course of the procedure after the dispute it was declared that presumably the Latin (i.e. French) monks could have this single monastery in Hungary, when Greeks had so many houses. Another richly decorated cloister belonged to the abbey of the influential Bár-Kalán family in Pusztaszér. When fragments of statue columns were found in the foundations of a later cloister, the archaeologist of the excavation thought that they were jamb figures of a portal, but even the finding site could prove that the pieces in question were parts of a cloister.³⁴

It could not last longer than only one or two decades, because the monastery was destroyed in the 1241–1242 Mongol invasion. Many Benedictine monasteries could not survive the destruction and had no power enough to rebuild their buildings. The same circumstances, which necessitated a reform: lack of centralization, economic weakness and sporadicity were the main cause of the sudden end of the Benedictine culture flourishing immediately before the invasion.

We already quoted Dercsényi's illustration, in which the ground-plan of Ócsa represents the Praemonstratensians, a reform order, a nearly contemporary parallel to the Cistercians. In the twelfth century and also at the beginning of the thirteenth they were in fact in direct contact with the Cistercians who exercised a kind of control over the order, whose rules were not derived from the Benedictine rules but were based on the rules of St Augustine. Mainly the centralized organization of the order could correspond to the Cistercian model. The main difference between these reform orders concerned their patronage. While the Cistercians in Hungary were mostly under royal patronage (mainly after the visit of a delegation of Cîteaux to the Court of Béla III in 1183), the Praemonstratensians were mainly foundations by private patrons. As canons, the Praemonstratensians had no ascetic ideals but

³⁴ Marosi, "Benedictine Building Activity," 651–58.

exercised practical care and led the life of parish churches. Concentrating on the care of souls, they were preferred in recently colonized regions as e.g. the northern regions of Germany conquered from the Slaves. It seems that they played an important role also in pastoral ministry and missionary work at the beginning of the transformation of aristocratic possessions and in the missionary activities in Hungary. The head of the Hungarian *circaria* of the order was the convent of Váradhegyfok (part of Oradea), founded at an unknown date about 1130 immediately from Prémontré. The other immediate *filia* of Prémontré was the monastery of Leles (Lelesz). Both these monasteries were under royal patronage. Váradhegyfok was the mother of the majority of the Hungarian foundations and the head of the order's province which was described in its nearly greatest extent in the catalogues of the order, namely in that of Ninive in 1234.³⁵

Praemonstratensian architecture cannot be envisioned either as mirroring specific liturgical features like the Benedictine monasteries or being a kind of parallel to the *forma ordinis* of the Cistercians. A simple look at the disposition of some known or conserved buildings shows the lack of a preferred building type, from the little provostry of Gyulafirátót corresponding to a small Cistercian monastery to arrangements of Benedictine character like Majk, Türje and also the impressive and very distinguished Zsámbék. Mórichida (or Árpás) on the river Rába shows a very simple, nearly rural type and this also in a very irregular form. It seems that Ócsa with a transept and the monastery of Bíňa (Bény) with a single nave but with a double-towered west part and also a three-apsidal east part, correspond to the preference of the order for a more ample sanctuary. In Ócsa the recent restoration brought also the foundations of the choir screens into light.

More variations than the choice of building types is evidenced by the monuments of the preserved Praemonstratensian buildings. Two monuments of the early thirteenth century might go back to the royal building activity in Esztergom, without having any connection to each other. In Bíňa, a foundation of the aristocratic family Hont Pázmán, which was provided with donations in 1217 when the patron was leaving for a crusade, there was apparently a mason at work who still knew earlier stylistic phases of the royal workshop. Ócsa is a modern building, having its roots in the early Gothic works in Esztergom and also in the Cistercian monasteries of the Pilis mountains and Cárta. Maybe, it cannot be derived directly from the Esztergom workshop itself but from its filiation at the metropolitan seat of Kalocsa. As no circumstances of the foundation are known, the stylistic and also geographic situation could very

³⁵ For the history of Praemonstratensians in Hungary and its written sources, see: Oszvald, "Adatok," 231–54; Körmendi, "A 13. századi premontrei monostorjegyzékek," 61–72. About the monuments of the Order's monasteries up to the end of the first third of the thirteenth century, see: Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik*, passim.

possibly point to a royal building. Three nearly contemporary churches built by rich aristocrats with important political power in the thirteenth century show that there is no common denominator among the churches under their patronage outside of the style of their architectonic members and decoration. It seems that the Gyulafirátót monastery of the Rátót family as well as Türje monastery were built by a local workshop with its center in the town of Veszprém, seat of a bishopric.

It can be concluded that contrary to partly surviving hypotheses and forgeries in old art historical literature no royal court and also no monastic order dealt directly with architecture or building praxis, including schools of architecture. Their attitude to architecture was different, corresponding to their liturgy and to the representation of their self-image.

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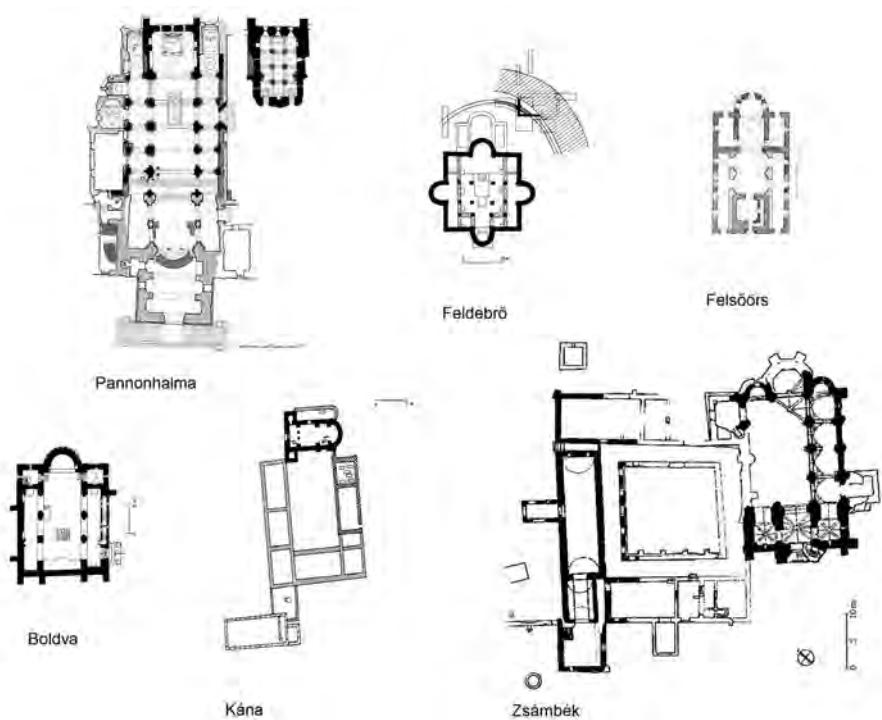


Figure 1 Comparative table of plans of Hungarian monastic buildings

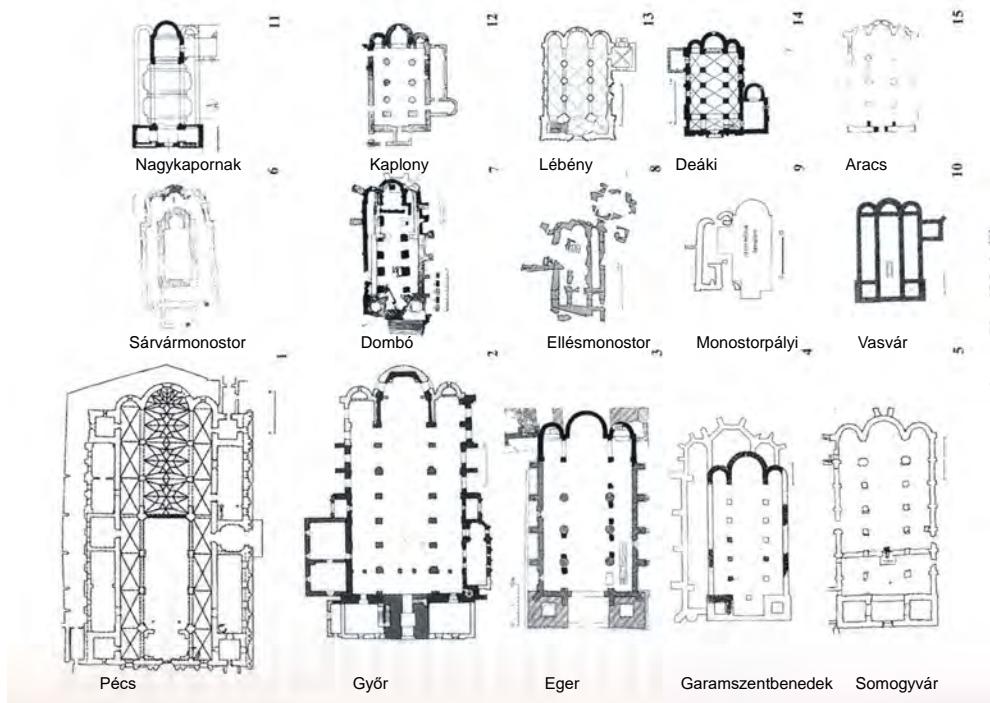


Figure 2 Three-apsidal plans of Hungarian Romanesque buildings (cathedrals and monasteries) – after Szakács, "Állandó alaprajzok."

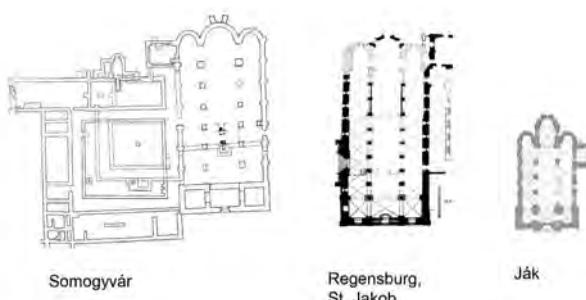


Figure 3 Comparative table of plans of Romanesque monasteries (Somogyvár, Ják and Regensburg, St James)

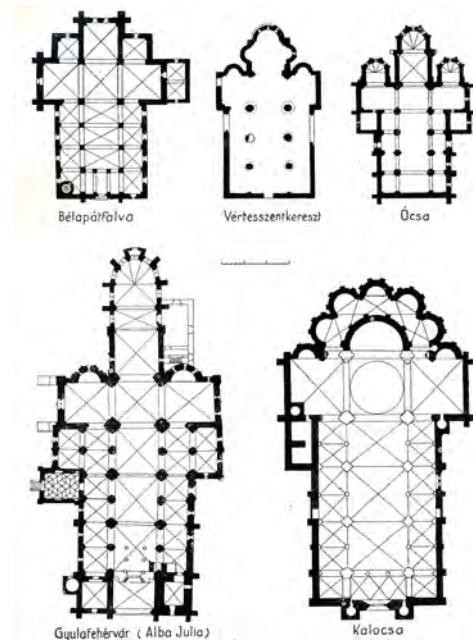


Figure 4 Late Romanesque and Early Gothic churches with transept.
Dercsényi, "A pécsi műhely kora", 77.

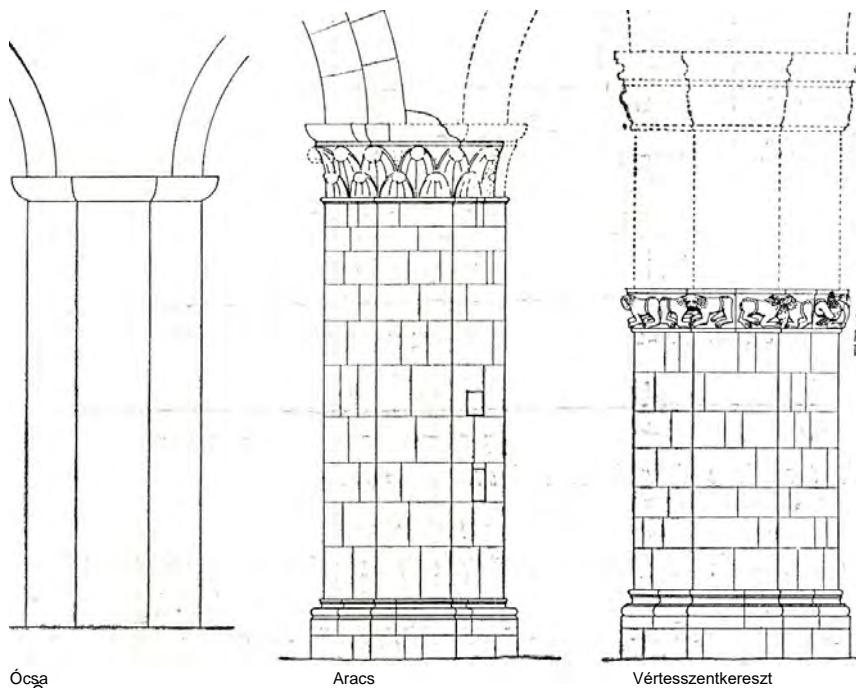


Figure 5 Octagonal pillars in Hungarian monastic buildings

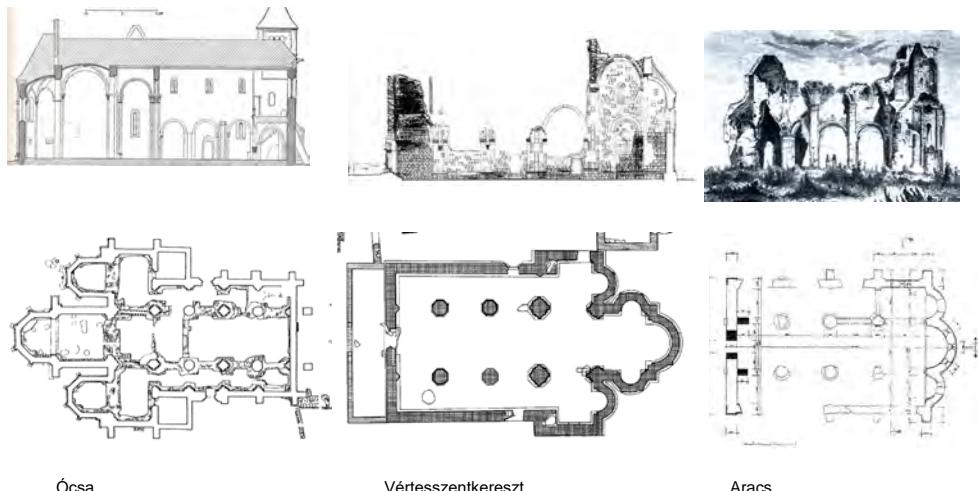


Figure 6 Plans of the monasteries, as on Figure 5

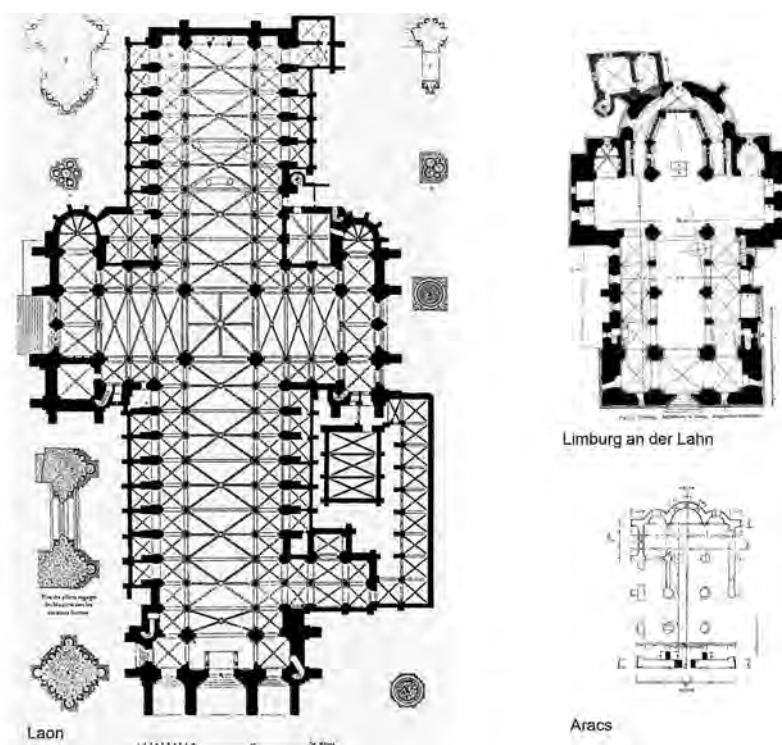


Figure 7 Comparative table of plans of early Gothic buildings in Laon (cathedral), Limburg a.d. Lahn (monastery), Arača (monastery)

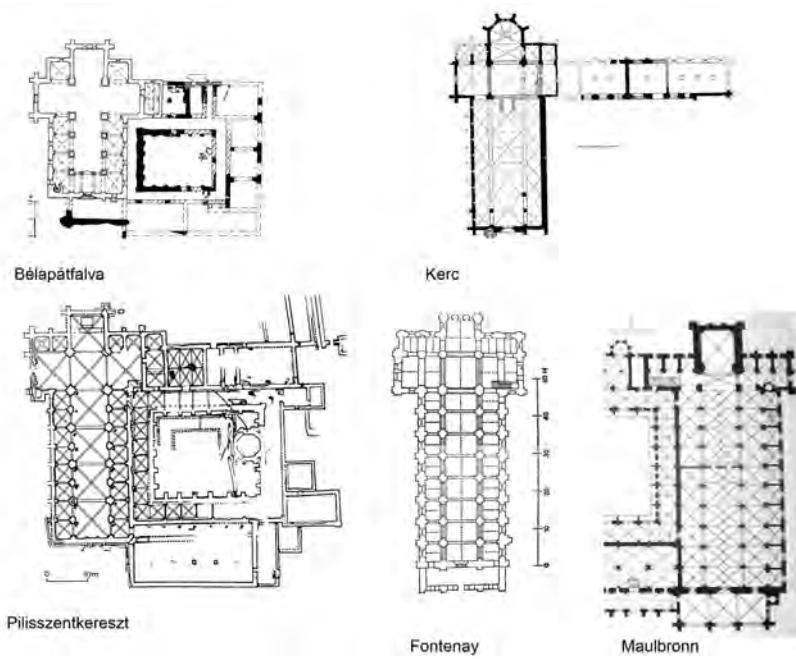


Figure 8 Comparative table of plans of Cistercian monasteries in Hungary and abroad

The Appearance of “Feudalism” and “Feudal” Forms of Property in Medieval Hungary

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Abstract. This paper presents the changes in the concept of feudalism from the end of the eighteenth century to the present day in both general and Hungarian medieval research. The author notes that the concept of feudalism has been losing ground for decades in general medieval research. The system which was previously thought to be feudalism never really took root in Hungary, but certain phenomena close to the European standard can be recognized: *praedium*, *nobiles praediales*, etc. The second part of the study examines the appearance of honour (*honor*) in Hungary, the heyday of which, according to the renowned Hungarian historian Pál Engel, was during the Angevin period. The final part of the study deals in detail with the possible patterns and antecedents of the honour system in the Árpádian period.

Keywords: Hungary, feudalism, historiography, honour, system of honour

In the present study, I wish to explore the issue of a historical phenomenon that, when Marxist ideology was at its apogee, used to be applied as an explanation for the functioning of society as a whole, while nowadays little attention is paid to it: the phenomenon of feudalism. After I examine the changes in the meaning of the term, I propose to summarize the functioning of honour (*honor*) as the institution deemed the most “feudal” in nature by Hungarian research.

As is commonly known, the term *feudalism* originates from the medieval Latin word *pheudum*, which referred to a type of property subject to certain obligations in early medieval Western Europe. Contrary to popular belief, the term created from *pheudum* does not originate from Marxist theory, but was first used in the eighteenth century, the Age of Enlightenment, as a term for the fragmentation caused by the power of oligarchs, and later, during the French Revolution, to describe the *ancien régime* as a whole. In Marxism—one of the most, if not the most, complex influential theories regarding philosophy, history and economics in the mid-nineteenth century—*feudalism* was considered as one of the consecutive social

structures (or to use Karl Marx's term: formations), that followed the slave-owning and preceded the capitalist society. According to this theory, feudalism was the exploitation of the peasantry as a subjugated class, on the basis of land ownership, where exploitation took the form of imposing payments to be made in the form of work, crops and—later—money. It should be noted, however, that neither Karl Marx nor Friedrich Engels—his closest colleague and ideological comrade—developed the theory of feudalism in such a detailed manner as, for example, the theory of capitalism, but only addressed its definition with shorter or longer references. Thus, it was left to posterity to accurately expound and reconstruct Marxist theory regarding feudalism. A fair share of this reconstruction was undertaken by Hungarian scholars: it will suffice to refer here to Ferenc Tőkei, sinologist and Marxist theorist, or to László Makkai, a leading scholar in numerous fields of the history of the medieval and early modern periods, who can also be considered as a Marxist scholar as far as his career after 1945 is concerned.¹

The term "feudalism" was certainly not used exclusively by Marxist historians; however, it should definitely be noted that the term essentially bore two different meanings basically everywhere in European historiography. One of those meanings was the so-called "vassalage" (in French: *vasallité*) that created, according to this view, a social pyramid, a relationship of superiority and subordination in medieval Europe after the Carolingian era (which emerged most clearly in France). The basis of this societal structure was, obviously, the fief burdened with services (*feudum* or *beneficium*, in French literature also: *fief*). The other substantial meaning was the demesne-based structure (*allodium*, in French: *réservé* or *terre seigneuriale*), where demesnes were cultivated by serfs who, gradually, became the fee-paying, land-holding peasantry by the later centuries of the Middle Ages. I do not intend to provide a complete overview of the history of scholarship; however, I will attempt to offer a brief summary of the most influential theories with non-Marxist roots on the issue.

A major theory was introduced in the first half of the twentieth century by the French scholar Marc Bloch, who claimed that the constant element in the feudal society was the demesne, the existence of which preceded, but also survived vassalage as a societal interrelationship. According to Marc Bloch, there was a watershed around the year 1050 in the period that commenced under the Carolingians (in about 900) and ended in the middle of the thirteenth century. Another high-impact theory is linked to the name of the Belgian François-Louis Ganshof, who construed

1 For the definition of feudalism and the prehistory of the concept, see: Györffy, *István király és műve*, 587–600. For the elaboration of the theory of feudalism in Marxism, see: Tőkei, "A feudalizmus alapvető szerkezete," 287–377; Makkai, "Marx a feudalizmusról," 13–48. Ironically, a high-quality university textbook with Marxist approach on feudalism was written at the very end of state socialist period in Hungary: Gyimesi, *Középkori egyetemes történet*.

feudalism in a more restricted way: as a legal and military phenomenon that concerned only the relations of the nobility within the framework created by the concepts of overlord, vassal and military service.²

In French historiography, a theory appeared as early as the nineteenth century (represented by Jules Michelet), and reappeared in the twentieth century with even more weight (represented by Georges Duby, and later Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel), according to which feudal society faced a severe crisis around the year 1000 when the power structures that characterized the Carolingian era ceased to exist, accompanied by the increasing dependency of the rural population (the so-called feudal mutation theory).³

Following such high-impact theories, the “disintegration” of the concept of feudalism applied in Western Europe was observable from the 1970s onwards. First, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, a medievalist from the United States, criticized the fact that the term “feudalism” was used to refer to nearly the whole medieval period in Western Europe. Later, well-founded criticism (represented by Dominique Barthélémy of France, and Stephen D. White of the United States) arose regarding George Duby’s theory that the crisis emerged around the year 1000. Susan Reynolds, a British medievalist, even considered that feudalism was merely a term of the jurisprudence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that it never existed in the form elaborated by historians. Representatives of modern German historiography have also commented on the issue: recently, Steffen Patzold disputed the notion that the overlord-vassal relationship became a dominant organizing principle as early as the ninth century, and claimed that such relationships appeared only in a later period.⁴

In Hungarian research, as regards the basic theses, standpoints worth taking into consideration have been formulated in recent decades on medieval economic and social structures—even if nowadays such standpoints might seem outdated in the light of Western European terminology. The aforementioned scholar, László Makkai suggested that the starting point of “feudalism” in Western Europe occurred later (around the year 1000) than the date proposed by Marc Bloch, and also stressed the significance of industrial innovations (e.g. watermills and windmills). Gyula Szvák, an expert in the field of Russian history, highlighted, within the frameworks of a concept of feudalism still considered valid in Russian

2 Bloch, *La société féodale*; Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité?*.

3 Michelet, *Histoire de France*; Duby, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*; Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation féodale*.

4 Brown, “The Tyranny of a Construct,” 1063–88; Barthélémy, *La mutation*; White, *Feuding and Peace-Making*; see also White, *Re-Thinking Kinship*; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*; Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen*.

historiography, that the developments which occurred in Russia differed from those in Eastern and Central Europe, and pointed out that Russia remained in an early-feudal state until the seventeenth century.⁵

Thus, it is apparent that the terms “feudal” and “feudalism” essentially lost the meaning previously assigned to them. Nonetheless, in the long-established Russian historiography, for instance, earlier definitions have still endured.

The issue of the existence of feudalism (vassalage) in Hungary has attracted considerable controversy in domestic historiography. Firstly, Gyula Szekfű, a notable historian of the first half of the twentieth century, should be mentioned. In one of his famous early works entitled *Serviensek és familiárisok* [*Servientes* and *familiares*], he considered *familiaritas* (i.e. the phenomenon of the servant nobility entering the service of a lord), which appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century, as the Hungarian equivalent of vassalage, even though he denied the existence of a Hungarian feudal land structure. In the high-quality research on medieval history conducted in the Horthy period, major researchers like Bálint Hóman, Ferenc Eckhart or Eszter Waldapfel (a student of Hóman) argued for the existence of the characteristics of vassalage in Hungary (the existence of beneficial properties, the obligation on court dignitaries and of warriors to provide military service),⁶ while other renowned parties to the discussion (Péter Váczy is particularly worthy of note) rejected all such arguments, considering the lands granted by St Stephen as hereditary *in proprium* donations, rather than *beneficium* properties.⁷

Elemér Mályusz, who was influenced by the sociology developed by Max Weber, referred to the characteristics he considered as typical of vassalage in a rather inconsistent manner: he named Church properties as having such characteristics at certain points, and the king’s escort at others. In fact, he construed the period between the issuing of the Golden Bull (as explained below) and the middle of the fifteenth century as the era of vassalage in Hungary. György Bónis—also influenced by Max Weber—who wrote his monograph directly after the Second World War, made more well-founded statements. In his view, neither vassalage nor beneficial rights existed in Hungary; it was merely that more loyal service was expected in return for the donated property. Bónis believed that the characteristics of the Hungarian structure were rather archaic, or patrimonial. It should be noted

5 As regards Makkai’s observation and the high-level debate that followed it (with contributions by such as Zsigmond Pál Pach and Jenő Szűcs), see: Makkai, *Az európai feudális rendszer genezise*; Szvák, “O rannefeodal’nom,” 52–58.

6 Szekfű, *Serviensek és familiárisok*; for a useful summary of his results, see: Almási “Familiaritás,” 210–12; Hóman and Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 230; Eckhart, “Jog- és alkotmánytörténet,” 312–19; Waldapfel, “Nemesi birtok jogunk kialakulása,” 134–67, 259–72.

7 Váczy, “A hűbériseg szerepe,” 369–92.

though, that he nonetheless considered the Church nobility and the local nobility (i.e. *not* the national *nobilitas*) as exhibiting some characteristics of vassalage.⁸

Obviously, Hungarian historiography after 1945—heavily influenced by Marxism—did believe in the existence of feudalism in Hungary. Emma Lederer, a professor at Eötvös Loránd University, even dedicated a whole monograph to the development of the phenomenon in the country; however, in a not particularly well-written book, she provided more of an overview of the society and administration of the Árpádian period—considered nowadays as completely outdated—than an exploration of the two branches of feudalism (vassalage and the demesne-based structure). The scholars developed the periodization of the period in question by the end of the 1960s, which—paradoxically—can be best learned from the concise articles of a lexicon published after the changes of 1989–1990. According to this, the period that commenced at the turn of the tenth and the eleventh centuries and ended in the middle of the thirteenth century, characterized by manorialism, by the absence of towns and by strong royal authority, was named *early feudalism*, and the period that lasted from the thirteenth century until approximately 1440, reaching its peak under the Angevins and characterized by the production of goods, the general use of money, free movement of agricultural population, the appearance of peasant holdings and the progress of urbanization, was named *mature feudalism*. Nevertheless, dissenting opinions were also articulated: György Györffy referred to the “feudal” era in Hungary (until the civil transformation) as the *era of the jobagionatus*, and attributed the characteristics of vassalage to certain provinces established at the foundation of the state, as well as to the lands held by the castle warriors [*jobagiones castri*] (as explained further below).⁹

Following the regime change in 1989–1990, the concept of “feudalism” lost ground in Hungary as well. Moreover, a debate attracting widespread attention took place in the 1990s between Pál Engel and Gyula Kristó, two great historians of the period. Engel suggested the application of the concept of *demesne-based structure* [Hung.: *uradalmi rendszer*], since political feudalism (i.e. the pyramid created by vassalage and property burdened by service) was not present in Hungary, while Kristó was not averse to the use of the earlier terminology, since it primarily bore the meaning of a social structure that lasted until the emergence of the capitalist system, and was a determining factor also in Hungary. Nonetheless, András Kubinyi, an expert on the Late Middle Ages, cautioned against linking *familiaritas* with vassalage, since the former phenomenon was also present in Western Europe,

8 Mályusz, “A patrimoniális királyság,” 18; Mályusz, “A karizmatikus királyság,” 32–33, 40–41; Bónis, *Hűbériségek és rendiségek*, passim.

9 Lederer, *A feudalizmus kialakulása*; Varga, *Vita*; Kristó, “Korai feudalizmus,” 368–69; Petrovics, “Érett feudalizmus,” 196–97; Györffy, *István király*, 591–92, 598.

under the name of *bastard* or *contractual feudalism*. Thus, the existence of a specific phenomenon present also in the West cannot be construed expansively, i.e. cannot be deemed as evidence of the existence of vassalage in Hungary.¹⁰

I will now summarize my own beliefs with regard to the existence of Hungarian “feudalism”. Firstly, I wish to briefly address the beneficial character attributed by many scholars to the property of castle warriors. Simon of Kéza wrote the following regarding this social group in his well-known work, penned in the middle of the 1280s:

“Castle warriors [iobagiones castri] are persons of noble condition but small means who approached the king and were granted land from the lands belonging to the castle, on the understanding that they should guard the castle and its fiefs [pheudacastri] in time of war.”¹¹

As we can see, in the quoted text, *pheudum* is not directly related to the possessions of castle warriors. In fact, as regards castle warriors, it is not the legal status of the lands they received in usufruct that is remarkable, but the legal status of the social class itself. This class started to develop by the end of the eleventh century when a person’s freedom (*libertas*) was not necessarily complete, but could lead to the dependency of the individual concerned. This is what happened to the majority of the class of *miles* of the age of St Stephen, who joined the castle structure and, thus, the once free warriors became possessions of the king, although their social prestige remained for centuries. Having regard to the foregoing, there are no traces of the phenomenon of Hungarian “feudalism” to be sought here.¹²

It is much less frequently pointed out—although stressed by István Szabó, the great agrarian historian and foremost expert in the issue—that the *praedium*, i.e. the lord’s medieval “agricultural holding” cultivated by serfs was, essentially, the equivalent of the *villa* or *réserve* in *Western Europe*, mostly referred to as demesne [Hung.: *uradalom*] or manor [Hung.: *majorság*] in Hungary. This form of production, even though it had started to disintegrate by the beginning of the thirteenth century, was similar to its counterpart in *Western Europe* which had existed centuries earlier.¹³ Thus, it must be noted that there existed an institution in the frameworks of production, i.e. not an institution of nobility, that was perfectly equivalent to European models.

10 Engel, *Beilleszkedés Európába*, 24–26; Kristó, *Magyarország története (895–1301)*, 148–49; Kubinyi, “Szekfű Gyula,” 62–63.

11 Veszprémy and Schaer, *Simonis de Kéza*, 182.

12 As regards castle warriors, see: Zsoldos, *A szent király szabadjai*.

13 Szabó, “A prédiuum,” 51–122, as regards stressing the Western models, see: Szabó, “A prédiuum,” 57, 59–60, 78.

My third observation, which is not novel either, is consistent with a factor stressed by György Bónis: several special noblemen (the Church *praediales*, castle noblemen, *fili iobagionum*, the noble pikemen of Szepesség, part of the nobility of Slavonia, and, for a certain extent, the Romanian *knez*) did hold properties burdened with service, more precisely, with military service. Taxes were also levied on them; however, they had judicial self-governance, and were present for a fairly long period in Hungarian society (until the civil transformation). Certainly, it is mostly their property burdened with service that make such noblemen similar to certain Western European phenomena; yet no chain of vassalage existed into which they could have integrated, and they possessed no prerogatives deemed typical in Western Europe.¹⁴ However, it may not be coincidental that both institutions similar to Western European models—i.e. the lord's “agricultural holding” and the noblemen owing service—can be related to the same term, whether used as a noun (*praedium*) or in its adjectival form (*praedialis*). It seems that this term was meant to indicate the Hungarian social-economic phenomena that were equivalent to European models.

One further institution existed in Hungary that was similar to European standards, even more so than the *praedium*: the fief granted with office, i.e. the honour (*honor*). It should be noted as regards the environment of the history of scholarship in which the concept of honour was developed, that the last decades of the twentieth century witnessed numerous crucial events affecting Hungarian medieval research. The history of many unknown, hardly known or misinterpreted institutions was revealed in this period, despite the fact that medieval studies was merely one of the “tolerated” branches of scholarship—and some essential auxiliary sciences (for instance genealogy) were not even tolerated—, and ensuring the continuance of the training of researchers was dogged by many difficulties at the scholarly universities both in Budapest and in other cities. Among such discoveries, specific significance can be attributed to the exploration of the problematic features and dual image of the “castle counties” [Hung.: *vármegye*] and “castle districts” [Hung.: *várispánság*] by Gyula Kristó, as well as to József Gerics's development of the models and operation of the Hungarian estate system at its early mature state, i.e. at the end of the thirteenth century. However, the most widespread attention was beyond doubt attracted by the exploration of vassalage or fief related to office—i.e. honour—by Pál Engel, the great medievalist, at the beginning of the 1980s.

Engel's theses are to be found in a few publications in English, where the following main claims were made. In the fourteenth-century Hungary, the importance of castles and the demesnes linked to them increased. Essentially, following the disintegration of the castle counties established under the Árpáds, castles

14 Bónis, *Hűbériségek és rendiségek*, 183–216, 331–65; Engel, “Praedialis nemes,” 556–57; Solymosi, “Egyházi nemes,” 181–82.

provided the basis for the governance of the country. Engel found confirmation of his claims in twentieth-century German historiography, where the connection between castles and political power was established.¹⁵ After demolishing the power of the oligarchs and provincial lords¹⁶ who had paralyzed the state during the late Árpádian and early Angevin periods, Charles I, the able Angevin ruler who came to Hungary from Naples, divided up the administration of the country on the basis of fiefs granted with office, i.e. the so-called honours. Obviously, this required the recovery of royal property and castles, which meant that approximately 150 stone castles were retained as royal assets until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Honours were essentially counties or castle areas linked to offices held by the barons of the realm or by others (for instance, the family most loyal to the ruler. For example, the Drugets, who held the office of palatine, were granted the counties of North Eastern Hungary, while the respective judge royal [*iudex curiae regiae*] held the castles in the northern part of Trencsén County for an extended period). The person to whom the honour was granted held the territories entrusted to him "as honour" (*pro honore possidere* or *tenere*) "during the good pleasure" (*durante beneplacito*) of the king. The most significant elements of those territories were, in line with the above, the castles and their demesnes. The holder was entitled to all revenues related to the honour (with the exception of the gate-tax), and, in return, he—with his family and *familiares*—handled the administration and kept order within the territory of the honour, which might have been as large as one or more counties (within this territory, every issue—from the management of economic life to jurisdiction—fell within the scope of the office-holder's powers). The subordinates served the count holding the honour—who, as noted above, might have been a national dignitary—as vice-count (*vicecomes*) or as castellan (*castellanus*). The honour was most probably handed over to its holder orally, since no written sources concerning the process remain. However, a part of an account book from the year 1372 offers an insight into the everyday life of the honour of Benedict Himfi, count of Temes, by revealing the "budget" of a few months' duration regarding the honour granted with his office. The Hungarian name for the term "honour" was presumed by Engel to be "*becsű*".

The honour system did not cover the entire country: many counties were never governed in such manner, and its role effectively ended during the reign of Sigismund (1387–1437) due to the donation of royal properties, with a few

15 The two works most frequently referred to by Engel: Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft*; Ebner, "Die Burg," 11–82.

16 In Hungarian medieval research, the terms "oligarch" and "provincial lord" were used as synonyms for many years. For discussion of the significance of the difference between them, see: Zsoldos, *A Druget-tartomány*, 11–36.

extraordinary territories left as exceptions (such as the territories under the authority of the count and castellan of Bratislava). The erudite historian mentioned above revealed the European background of the honour in detail, and stressed that, in Europe, honour constituted an early system, observable throughout the continent prior to the development of hereditary fiefs. However, curiously enough, Engel did not elaborate the background of the honour in Hungary. He made references to the fact that the territory of the Voivodate of Transylvania and of the Banate of Slavonia were functioning as honours already in the Árpádian period, and also referred to a relevant article in the Golden Bull; however he left the exploration of the prelude to the development and establishment of the honour system to posterity.¹⁷

Even though nowadays it is largely forgotten, the fact is that the theory of the honour structure, at the time of its presentation, was criticized by a major scholar of medieval political history and power structures, Erik Fügedi. It is clear to me that Fügedi had no truly decisive arguments against the theory; in particular, he did not deny the close relationship between castles and the exercise of power in the relevant period, he merely disputed the development of honour territories. As Fügedi saw it, the most significant actors of the Angevin state, as regards politics and power—apart from the national dignitaries and the counts of county (*comes comitatus*), or even preceding the latter—were castellans (*castellani*) who were authorized to administer military, economic and judicial issues in the castles and their demesnes.¹⁸

A deeper exploration of the honour system was carried out only several years after Engel's works were published. Several studies were written on the economic role of honour territories,¹⁹ but the observations of Attila Zsoldos—who started examining the Angevin era after his research into the Árpádian period—can be considered as the most significant. In a brief study, he explored the events following the death of Demeter Nekcsei, which occurred in the year 1338. Zsoldos established that after the demise of Nekcsei, who had held the office of the master of treasury (*magister tavernicorum*) and was granted the counties of Bihar and Trencsén as honour (*pro honore*), the administration of these territories was provisionally taken over by the palatine. This does not seem to have been an isolated case but represents a general tendency, a theory which is supported by two other cases that occurred under Charles I and another under Louis I.

Recently, in a separate monograph, Attila Zsoldos explored the background of perhaps the most prestigious honour, that held by the Druget family, which lasted from 1315 to 1342 in northern Hungary. The Drugets, who arrived from Naples

17 Engel, "Honor, castrum," 91–100. See also: Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 151–53.

18 Fügedi, "Királyi tisztség," 483–509; Fügedi, *A középkori*, 9–11; Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok*, 196–206, 247–49.

19 Haraszti Szabó, "A 14. század eleji megye," 133–59.

with Charles I, held the palatinate throughout his reign. The province administered by them—which encompassed a significant part of the country and was basically created in order to monitor and counteract the oligarchic territory of Matthew Csák, who died only in 1321—exhibits several similarities, as well as several differences compared to the territory of the Voivodate of Transylvania and the Banate of Slavonia, both of which had been established earlier. At first, William Druget exercised powers as judge royal (*iudex a domino rege deputatus*) (which phenomenon is comparable to the development of the Banate of Macsó), and later he and his relatives as successors managed the vast honour basically irrespective of the palatinate held by them. Such provinces had separate *magistri tavernicorum* and judges, whose seat was in Vizsoly, the center of the province, and whose activities ceased definitively only in 1341. As regards the differences between this territory on the one hand, and the Voivodate of Transylvania and of the Banate of Slavonia on the other, no one was ever appointed as formal deputy of the Drugets. Zsoldos stressed that the development of the Drugets' province also had political reasons (Matthew Csák), as did its termination (the change of ruler, and the intention to reduce the influence of the Drugets).²⁰

For my part, I only attempt to make a humble contribution to the issue of the honour. That is, in the present paper, I wish to collect the studies that seem to be related to the antecedents and development of the honour system of the Árpádian period, whether these studies were intended to address the issue of the honour or were undertaken regardless of it. To the best of my knowledge, no such collection has yet been presented.

Firstly, I wish to refer to the research by János Horváth Jr., who was a renowned philologist of medieval Latin texts in the mid-twentieth century. In a voluminous study published in 1966, he attempted to justify the knowledge of the Greek language of the *gesta* author (P. master) (whom Horváth believed to be Peter, bishop of Pécs), as well as the multi-faceted relations with the Byzantine Empire of the same author. As one piece of evidence, Horváth brought up the fact that Árpád, in recognition of his merits (*pro beneficio*), appointed chieftain Bors the count (*comitem constituit*) of Borsod, a castle in northern Hungary, and *curam sibi condonavit* he whole territory. Horváth claimed that this Latin expression (*curam alicui condonare*) was the calque of a Byzantine Greek expression applied as a term of constitutional and public law, i.e. πρόνοιαν αναθέτειν/άναψιθένειν. In Byzantium, *pronoia* was a kind of property granted with office that appeared in the twelfth century, through which tax revenues were granted to leading officials until they were revoked. If Horváth was right, and we prefer not to choose the expression "entrust the care of" as a translation of the said Latin term, the translation becomes relatively

20 Zsoldos, "Üres honor," 455–77; Zsoldos, *A Druget-tartomány*, passim.

difficult. For my part, I would perhaps choose the paraphrase “entrusted to him with office”. This would imply that a type of property quite similar to the honour appeared by the end of the 1210s in Hungary—at least as a *gesta* author strongly influenced by his own times, the reign of Andrew II, perceived it.

Horváth’s suggestion was criticized several years later by István Kapitánffy, an expert on the history of Byzantium. Kapitánffy believed that the expression *curam alicui condonare* was not equivalent to the aforesaid Greek expression. According to him, the proper Latin translation of that term would be *providentiam imponere/ superponere alicui*. Kapitánffy stressed that Anonymus always wrote of eternal donations, not of revenues revocable by the ruler.²¹

A paper written by Árpád Nógrády a quarter of a century ago, which attracted a great deal of attention, is closely related to the polemics of Horváth and Kapitánffy. Nógrády drew attention to the fact that, at the end of the twelfth and in the first third of the thirteenth century, certain counties (Nógrády listed fifteen of them, most significantly Bács, Bihar, Sopron, Bodrog and Pozsony) were chosen to be granted to national dignitaries besides their offices of palatine, *comes curiae regiae* etc. Although we have little knowledge of the revenues assigned to the offices held by the barons and counts at this time, this phenomenon resembles the system observed by Engel in the Angevin period. Thus, properties granted with certain offices (more precisely: linking a county and its revenues to the office of a national dignitary) certainly did appear at the time of Anonymus, in the last years of the reign of Béla III (1172–1196) and under Andrew II (1205–1235). This, however has not been and could not have been taken into account by Kapitánffy when criticizing the arguments of János Horváth Jr.

It should be noted that the honour-like donation of counties was so significantly present in the relevant period, that the Golden Bull, issued in the year 1222, even attempted to restrict the linking of dignitaries and court offices appearing at that time (*magister agazonom, magister pincernarum, magister dapiferorum*) to the office of count of county [*comes comitatus*] (literally, the Golden Bull attempted to restrict the simultaneous holding of two offices). The Golden Bull prescribed that only the most significant barons, i.e. the palatine, the ban (of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia), the *comes curiae regiae* and the queen’s *comes curialis* were entitled to do so.²²

Finally, I wish to refer to the study written by Gyula Kristó in the 1970s on feudal disintegration that has already been mentioned. In the relevant paper, Kristó, late professor of the University of Szeged, not yet aware of Engel’s research, analyzed

21 Horváth, “Die griechischen,” 26–39; relevant lines from the anonymous *gesta* author: Rady, Bak, and Veszprémy, *Anonymi*, 48; for the criticism of Horváth’s claim, see: Kapitánffy, “Die ungarische Anonymus,” 69–76.

22 Nógrády, “‘Magistratus et comitatus tenentibus,’” 157–94; the relevant edition of the Golden Bull in Latin and in Hungarian: Érszegi, *Az Aranybulla*, 32, 33.

in detail the development of the offices of the Ban of Slavonia and of the Voivode of Transylvania, as well as the powers vested in them. Obviously, the monograph, which was written almost five and published four decades ago, is considered partially outdated nowadays (for example, Kristó’s theory that the historical antecedents of the office of the voivode were to be found in the presence of Bulgarians in South Transylvania, which presence was most probably non-existent at the time when King St Stephen founded the state).²³ Nonetheless, the overall picture presented by Kristó indicates that, substantially, both the voivode and the ban administered the properties as honours as early as the Árpádian period (after some time, the voivode appointed the counts of counties subordinate to him, and both the voivode and the ban exercised extensive authority over military affairs, jurisdiction and the economy. For the next one and a half centuries after 1263, the Voivode of Transylvania also held the office of the count of the vast Szolnok county, which, for instance, could serve as a model for the system applied in the Angevin period).²⁴

Obviously, the overview presented above does not answer all the questions that arise with regard to the roots of the system of honour in Hungary. Yet, it might indicate that research, sometimes unintentionally, as we have seen in the case of the chronicle research conducted by János Horváth Jr., indicated the path by which the antecedents of the historical institution of Hungarian honour—explored with great erudition by Engel Pál and accepted by most Hungarian medievalists—is to be (or should be) sought. It is also worth stressing that if the presence of honour in the Árpádian period is later proven, then it will be revealed that there is yet another significant military-administrative phenomenon of medieval Hungary—beside the *banderium* system for instance—that cannot be considered as an innovation introduced by the dynasty that arrived in Hungary from Naples in the fourteenth century.

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²³ On the debates about the characterization of the Kingdom of Saint Stephen, see: Makk, “De l’État de Saint Étienne,” 625–38.

²⁴ Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon*, 84–138. Short summaries: Almási, “Bán,” 78; Kordé, “Vajda,” 707.

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(Un)faithful Subjects of (Un)faithful Rulers

Loyalty in the Earliest Central European Chronicles

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Abstract. This article focuses on the role loyalty played in the relationship between rulers and their subjects in the earliest Central European chronicles, written at the beginning of the twelfth century: *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymous, *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague, and the twelfth-century historiographical tradition of the Hungarian Royal court, which survived as a part of the fourteenth-century compilation called *The Illuminated Chronicle*. Through the comparative study of those narratives this article aims to analyze how authors of those works, closely connected to the ruling elites of recently Christianized Central European polities, imagined bonds of loyalty between rulers and their subjects, by analyzing the questions about their unilateral or mutual nature, accompanying responsibilities, and the consequences of breaking them. Answering those questions reveals common ideological underpinnings of the concepts of loyalty used in Central European narrative sources, which present a vision of loyalty as primarily a reciprocal bond characterized by its negative content. This highlights the ideological message of consensual lordship, which coexists in those narratives with strong ideas about the divine origins of dynastic authority, constituting an important common feature in the political and cultural development of Central Europe as a historical region.

Keywords: loyalty, disloyalty, lordship, social bonds, Central European historiography, Middle Ages

In his seminal work on the *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague, Dušan Třeštík remarked that the author's message about relations between Bohemian rulers and their subjects centered around the "ideology of fidelity."¹ Pointing out the importance of the reciprocal bond between Přemyslids and Bohemians, based on the rule of *do ut des*, Třeštík framed his argument in the "feudo-vassalic" paradigm of fidelity as an ideological institution specific to feudalism.² In formulating his argument the famous Czech historian was following directly in the footsteps of his teacher, František Graus, whose critique of the concept of *germanische Treue* had

1 Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 160–65.

2 Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 161.

an immense impact on the study of the role of loyalty in the Middle Ages.³ Graus argued that there was no continuity between the *fides* of warriors from Tacitus' *Germania* and the *fides* of Carolingian capitularies, and that the legally binding mutual obligation of *fides*, based on the rule of *do ut des*, was a new creation formulated under the decisive influence of the Church in the Carolingian times by the burgeoning feudal society.⁴

While Třeštík's ideas formed a starting point for many inquiries into the ideological message of *Chronica Boemorum*, the explanation of the chronicle's vision of reciprocal bonds of fidelity as an ideological institution of feudal society cannot satisfy a modern researcher familiar with the late twentieth-century debate over feudalism.⁵ Criticism of medieval society as based on vassalage revealed the artificial nature of this category of relationship. Susan Reynolds, one of the key critics of this concept, proved that it was a development of twelfth-century jurisprudence that led to the gradual uniformization of the complicated web of early medieval social relations.⁶ Indeed, a number of studies published since her *Fiefs and Vassals* underscored the point that Graus's concept of feudal loyalty with its legal, normative character only applies to the more literate society of the High Middle Ages.⁷ With the focus shifting away from normative orders and regulations, toward the so-called *Spielregeln*—unwritten rules of behaviors and shared beliefs⁸—a new vision of early medieval society emerged, one composed of multiple overlapping temporal communities held together by personal bonds and common ideals.⁹ This offered a different perspective on the concept of loyalty in the Middle Ages, now understood as a broader phenomenon, underlying not only relationships between lords and their followers, but also between family members or friends.¹⁰

Nevertheless, Dušan Třeštík was certainly right in pointing out that the issue of loyalty was an important theme in the *Chronica Boemorum*, given that much of Cosmas's work focuses on the internal struggle between the members of the ruling

3 Graus, "Über die sogenannte germanische Treue," 155–67.

4 Graus, "Herrschaft und Treue," 8 ff.; For a representative treatment of fidelity as a specific feature of feudo-vassallic relations from Graus's contemporaries, see: Ganshof, *Feudalism*.

5 A good overview is offered in: White, "A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000?."

6 Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 17–34, 475–78.

7 For the links between the increasing use of writing and the creation of narrowly understood *fidelitas* as a legal term of jurisprudence in High Middle Ages, see: Wickham, *Courts and Conflict*; White, "A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000?"; Weinfurter, "Lehnswesen, Treueid und Vertrauen."

8 Althoff, "Einleitung," 13 ff.

9 Cheyette, "Some Reflections on Violence," 259.

10 For example, see: Sonntag and Zermatten, "Loyalty in the Middle Ages: Introductory Remarks on a Cross-Social Value"; Eickels, "Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft und Vasallität."

Přemyslid dynasty. The chronicler bemoaned the state of contemporary politics, full of scheming, treachery and constantly shifting allegiances. In fact, *Chronica Boemorum* shared the turbulent circumstances of its creation with two other early Central European chronicles—*Gesta principum Polonorum* of Gallus Anonymous, and the oldest historiographic tradition of the Hungarian royal court, which survived only as a part of the fourteenth-century compilation known as the *Illuminated Chronicle*, but was probably penned either at the court of King Coloman around 1110 or a few decades earlier.¹¹ Just as Bohemia at the time of Cosmas was for the scene of constant in-fighting between different Přemyslids, Gallus started working on his *Gesta* at the court of the Polish prince Bolesław III Wrymouth, shortly after he had caused a significant political uproar by violently resolving a long-standing dispute with his older step-brother Zbigniew.¹² Meanwhile in Hungary, plagued in the previous century by the conflict between two branches of the Árpáds descended from King Andrew I and his brother Béla I, the 1100s brought another bloody confrontation between King Coloman and his younger brother Álmos.¹³

It is surprising then that the problem of loyalty in the context of the earliest Central European chronicles, despite their copious analyses in Polish, Czech, and Hungarian historiographies, is the subject of relatively few studies. It was only very recently that the renewed interest in the topic fuelled by the new theoretical developments found its reflection in local historiographies. Thus, the question of

11 Some version of the so-called *Primeval Chronicle*, also referred to as *Urgesta* in the Hungarian historiography, must have existed at least by 1110, since a fragment of it was used by Gallus Anonymous. However, given that the Primeval Chronicle is only a hypothetical text which forms the basis of the fourteenth-century compilation of the royal historiographical tradition known as the *Illuminated Chronicle*, its exact date is subject to debate. While a Coloman-period date remains one of the more popular hypotheses, there are also claims that it was composed at the court of King Ladislas (1077–1095) or during the reign of King Solomon (1063–1074). As pointed out by Dániel Bagi, while it is possible that some previous version of the chronicle existed, it is Coloman's version that forms the core of the narrative surrounding Hungarian history from the death of Saint Stephen to the exploits of Saint Ladislas. Thus, it is this part of the *Illuminated Chronicle* that will be treated as the twelfth-century historiographical tradition of Hungarian royal court, contemporary to the first Bohemian and Polish chronicles. See: Bagi, "The Dynastic Conflicts," 139–58; General overview of this problem also in: Grzesik and Bak, "The Text of the Illuminated Chronicle," 7–9.

12 The creation of the Gallus' chronicle is often linked directly with Bolesław III Wrymouth's court's need to present a version of recent events that would serve to relieve the political tensions caused by Zbigniew's torture and death. For this position, see already: Adamus, *O monarchii Gallowej*; Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics*, 5–12.

13 For the legitimization of the victorious sides of these conflicts as one of the main issues concerning the authors of the earliest royal Hungarian historiographical tradition, see: Grzesik and Bak, "The Text of the Illuminated Chronicle," 7–12; Bagi, "The Dynastic Conflicts," 141.

the vision of loyalty in Cosmas's work was only recently revisited in an article by Jakub Razim, who studied *fides* and *fidelitas* within the context of reciprocal bonds between the ruler and his subjects.¹⁴ A similarly framed study of the relationship between Hungarian monarchs and their followers was presented at the very same time by Angelika Herucová and Pavol Hudáček. While it did not focus exclusively on the oldest historiographical tradition of the Hungarian royal court, it is the most relevant study devoted to the loyalty that touches on the subject of its representation in the earliest parts of *Illuminated Chronicle*.¹⁵ The topic of loyalty in the *Gesta principum Polonorum* has not yet been the subject of a comparable, single-focused study similar to the aforementioned examples. This is not to say that Polish historians were not interested in Gallus's depiction of loyalty, but that those inquiries were usually limited and not at the forefront of their work.¹⁶

This article aims to analyze the role loyalty played in the relationship between rulers and their subjects in the earliest Central European chronicles, by answering the questions about its unilateral or mutual nature, accompanying responsibilities and consequences of breaking it. Furthermore, the comparative perspective allows for capturing similarities and differences between the earliest works of historiography from the region. *Gesta principum Polonorum*, *Chronica Boemorum*, and those fragments of the *Illuminated Chronicle* which arguably belong to the early twelfth-century historiographical tradition of the Hungarian royal court, shared not only the time and circumstances of their creation, but also many themes—which led Norbert Kersken to place all three of them in the genera of “national histories” that aspire to tell—through the lens of the deeds of the members of the ruling dynasty—the “national” history of Poles, Bohemians and Hungarians.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this category is broad, and each of the chroniclers pursued his own, distinct ideological goals. This may have resulted in the differences in the vision of loyalty they presented, which makes the proposed comparison an ever more interesting subject of inquiry.

14 Razim, “Věrnost v Kosmově kronice,” 20–21.

15 Herucová and Hudáček, “Verní a neverní královi.”

16 Thus, a short exploration of the reciprocal bond between Piasts and their subjects can be found in: Dalewski, “Władca i możni w Kronice Galla Anonima,” 37–42; A good example of the incidental nature of previous research on loyalty in the earliest Polish chronicle is Marian Plezia's exploration of the meaning of *traditor* in the *Gesta*, which serves to discuss the passage concerning the death of St Stanislaus, see: Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława*.

17 Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der “nationes”*.

Dynastic power and consensual lordship

The legendary times when the ancestors' heroic deeds took place—often coupled with divine intervention—served an essential function in medieval historiography. The depictions of the first rulers were used to portray an ideal vision of their office and to establish the set of norms that govern the relationship between rulers and their subjects.¹⁸ While the complicated nature of the historiographical tradition of the Hungarian royal court makes its oldest depiction of the legendary Árpádian a subject of guesswork,¹⁹ the two surviving twelfth-century representations of the dynastic legends found in Central European chronicles share a similar vision of the origin and nature of sovereign power. The eponymous ancestors Přemysl and Piast were both men of humble origin chosen by God to lead their people.²⁰ Their election and the subsequent status of the Přemyslid and Piast dynasties as *domini naturales* of Bohemia and Poland serves as the basis of their authority. There were twofold consequences that the vision of the sacralized sovereign authority of Central European dynasties brought to the depiction of idealized loyalty in the earliest chronicles of the region. On the one hand, it seemed to create an expectation of loyalty, formulated in an impersonal way toward all members of the dynasty. On the other, it meant that Přemyslids, Piasts and Árpáds had to follow certain standards of conduct befitting a Christian sovereign. However, besides the examples set up in depictions of legendary or idealized ancestors, the first Central European chroniclers seldom made direct statements about the proper way in which rulers should behave towards their subjects, preferring to pass short moral judgments.

This makes Jaromír's speech from the chronicle of Cosmas of Prague even more important. In the oft-cited passage the ruined, blind prince Jaromír arrives in Prague, having learned about the death of his brother Duke Oldřich. He comes not to become a ruler himself, but to enthrone his nephew Břetislav I. In a speech given during the ceremony, Jaromír' instructs both the new ruler and his subjects:

18 Weiler, "Tales of First Kings and the Culture of Kingship in the West," 101–3.

19 Some historians went as far as to suggest that the author of the first Hungarian chronicle did not dwell on the Magyar pagan past or simply ignored it, focusing instead on the establishment of the Christian kingdom by Saint Stephen. See: Kristó, *A történeti irodalom Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1241-ig*, 41–42; Veszprémy, "More Paganismo," 183; For an overview of the discussion about the pagan prehistory in the Primeval Chronicle, see: Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der "nationes"*, 652–54, 670–74.

20 1.5-1.8 in Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 43–48. [Henceforth: *The Chronicle of the Czechs*]; 1.3-1.4 in *Gesta principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, 22–24. [Henceforth: *GpP*].

“Since my fates have not permitted me to be your duke, I designate this man as duke for you and praise him. You should obey him as befits a duke and show him the fidelity owed to your prince. I warn you, son, and again and again repeat the warning: worship these men like fathers, love them like brothers, and keep their counsel in all your dealings. To them you commit burgs and the people to be ruled; through them the realm of Bohemia stands, has stood, and will stand forever.”²¹

This speech about the proper relationship between rulers and their subjects clearly points toward loyalty as a backbone of the Bohemian society, as already noted by Dušan Třeštík. The Czech medievalist also further elaborated on the distinction between *obedientia* owed to the *dux* and *fidelitas* owed to the *princeps*, suggesting that Cosmas may be differentiating here between two roles performed by the Přemyslids: war-time army leaders and peaceful rulers.²² Jakub Razim cautiously argues that the distinction between *obedientia* and *fidelitas* might have lain in absolute, unilateral loyalty between warriors and the commanding *dux* and contextual loyalty of peacetime, based on the *do ut des* principle.²³ Nevertheless, both Třeštík and Razim—like other historians—agree that Cosmas focuses more on the second vision of mutual loyalty between the Přemyslids and the Bohemian elites.²⁴ The rule of *do ut des* very much shapes Jaromír’s speech, who spells out that while the elite should be loyal to Břetislav, he should treat them with familial love, listen to their counsel and rely on their assistance in governing his state. Except in time of war, Jaromír called for a consensual model of rulership in which the Přemyslid duke would cooperate with the elite representatives of the political community of Bohemia, who would participate in his sovereign authority.²⁵

21 1.42 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 107; “Quoniam mea fata non sinunt, ut sim vester dux, hunc assignamus vobis in ducem et collaudamus, quo ei obediatis, ut dignum est duci, et debitam fidelitatem exhibeatis, ut par est suo principi. Te autem, fili, moneo et repetens iterum iterumque monebo, istos colas ut patres, hos diligas ut fratres et in omnibus. negotiis tibi consiliarios habeas. His urbes et populum ad regendum committas, per hos enim Boemie regnum stat et stetit atque stabit in sempiternum”, 1.42 in *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, 78–79. [Henceforth: *Chronica Boemorum*].

22 According to this historian, the differentiation here might have been inspired by Isidore of Seville’s *Ethymologiae* Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 161; Peter Kopal points out that this duality was also reflected in the Indo-European differentiation between aspects of kingship represented by Mitra-Varuna, see: Kopal, “Král versus kníže?”, 365–66.

23 Razim, “Věrnost v Kosmově kronice,” 28.

24 Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 162–63; Razim, “Věrnost v Kosmově kronice,” 28; Kopal, “Král versus kníže?”, 367.

25 Bláhová, “Stát a vláda státu,” 131–36; Wihoda, “Kníže a jeho verní,” 20–29; For a vision of such “consensual rulership” in High Middle Ages, see: Schneidmüller, “Konsensuale Herrschaft.”

The idea of a monarch consulting with the members of the secular and ecclesiastical elite over his most important decisions was a common concept in the medieval ideal of rulership. The *consensus fidelium* before the ruler's actions became, according to Carolingian documents, an important rule of early medieval politics.²⁶ The rulers who neglected to obtain the *consensus* of the ruling elites and disregarded the counsel of advisors risked being accused of tyranny.²⁷ One can see the active role that elites played in the internal politics of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary—either through voicing their support for one side or the other in dynastic conflicts or through serving as advisors—to be an essential part of the relationship between rulers and their subjects. In all three polities loyalty was primarily rewarded by the participation of the most powerful of the subjects in the exercise of the dynasty's sovereign authority.

Proximity to the rulers had many advantages. Just as members of the family or friends feasted with dukes and kings in order to highlight the close bond between them, so did the members of the elite.²⁸ While the *Primeval Chronicle* does not mention this explicitly, readers can assume that during feasts like the one attended by King Solomon and Duke Géza in Chapter 97 of the *Illuminated Chronicle* they were joined by their entourage.²⁹ Cosmas of Prague several times notes feasts which Přemyslid rulers held for their *comites* and *vice versa*.³⁰ Gallus also used the feasts of Bolesław I the Brave to demonstrate the proper relationship between ruler and subjects. The first Polish king, who “loved his dukes, *comites*, and princes as if they were his brothers or his sons”³¹ had twelve friends and counselors with whom he would regularly dine. While the chronicler spends a considerable amount of time describing the lavishly set tables, the redistribution of wealth, food, and drink was not the main attraction of those banquets—participation itself was the main reward for *fideles*.³² Gallus mentions that a person who for some reason became excluded from the common feasts and banished from the presence of the king, even just temporarily, “would feel as though he was dying rather than alive, and not free but cast

26 Hannig, *Consensus fidelium*.

27 Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 103–6; Althoff, “Colloquium familiare.”

28 For the importance of feasts in the Middle Ages in the social context, see: Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 152–59; Banaszkiewicz, “Trzy razy uczta,” 95–97.

29 97 in *The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e codice picto saec. xiv.*, 188–89. [Henceforth: *Illuminated Chronicle*].

30 Just for an example from the work of Cosmas, see: 3.1 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 183; 2.19 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 138.

31 “Duces vero suosque comites ac principes acsi fratres vel filios diligebat”, 1.13 in *GpP*, 58–59.

32 For Marian Dygo, the depiction of Bolesław's feast builds on the Christological vision of the first Polish king—the main reward for faithful service would therefore be admission to a sacred eucharistic community. See: Dygo, “Uczty Bolesława Chrobrego,” 41–54.

into a dungeon until he was readmitted to the king's grace and presence.”³³ The feasts created a great opportunity to reassert one's loyalty and dedication. When returning from the campaign in Rus', Bolesław I and his closest followers become surrounded by a large Ruthenian force, but he remains confident in his victory, trusting the promises made by his soldiers during feasts and division of the booty. The fighters respond that they value triumph over any kind of loot, thus reasserting the opinion that material rewards were secondary for the followers of the Piast monarch.³⁴

Offices and shares in the sovereign authority of the monarch as a reward for loyal service can be also found in the *Chronica Boemorum*. This is made evident in Vratislav II's decision to make his court chaplain Lanzo the new bishop of Prague, instead of his brother Jaromír.³⁵ Cosmas makes the reasons behind the Bohemian ruler's choice very clear—it was because Lanzo “always remained faithful to the duke,”³⁶ and Vratislav himself presents this argument in front of the gathering of secular and ecclesiastical elite that was to participate in the episcopal election, stating that by elevating Lanzo to the office he would set an example for future generations of “how much they ought to be faithful to their lords.”³⁷ While the rejection of this candidate by the gathering can give the impression that Cosmas does not approve of this method of recognizing and rewarding loyalty, one has to take into account that Cosmas's negative opinion of the first Czech king and the broader context of dynastic conflict in which this nomination took place influenced this depiction. A few decades later Břetislav II, whom Cosmas depicted much more favorably than his father, decided to fill the very same position with his chaplain Hermann. His decision was influenced by the wise advice of Wiprecht, his brother-in-law, who recommended Herman, listing among his many qualities the most important ones, saying that he was “constant in the king's service, faithful in the matters entrusted to him, a trustworthy executor of embassies to be carried out.”³⁸

While the Hungarian tradition does not contain any such strong ideological statement on the ideal relationship between ruler and his most influential subjects, there is a small clue within the text that suggests a similar attitude. When, during the Christmas of 1073 King Solomon and *ispán* Vid plotted against Duke Géza, their scheme was foiled because local Abbot William overheard their conversation. We learn that the abbot decided to warn the duke and was faithful to him “because

33 1.12 in *GpP*, 59.

34 1.7 in *GpP*, 44–46.

35 2.23 in *Chronica Boemorum*, 115.

36 2.22 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 140.

37 “ut per hoc discant posteri, quantum dominis suis debeat fideles fieri”, 2.23 in *Chronica Boemorum*, 115.

38 3.7 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 189.

he [Géza] was the son of the founder of his [William's] church.”³⁹ Thus William's allegiance was built on the obligation toward the family of his monastery's founder and patron.⁴⁰ While this does not necessarily show that the *Primeval Chronicle* also contained a strong idea of consensual lordship, it definitely underlines the role of the ruler's generosity in securing the fidelity of his subjects.

This strongly suggests that in the *Chronica Boemorum* and *Gesta principum Polonorum* the position of the Přemyslids and Piasts as “natural masters” did not exclude the idea of consensual lordship—one in which their subjects would participate to some extent in their sovereign authority. Moreover, bonds between Bohemian and Polish rulers and local elites seem to have been based on mutual loyalty guided by the *do ut des* principle. Cosmas states this directly, while Gallus seems to be only suggesting it. Rulers were supposed to respect magnates and dignitaries, consult them and listen to their advice, while expecting their help in exercising authority. Participation in the exercise of the sovereign authority of the dynasty was in itself the main reward for their subjects' loyalty, with material remuneration being—at least for the authors of the chronicles—a benefit of secondary importance.

(Un)faithful rulers

For further exploration of what the bond of loyalty between a ruler and his subjects entailed and what its limits were one needs to turn toward the smaller narratives within the earliest Central European chronicles, in which their authors present their audience with model characters of loyal and disloyal rulers and their servants.

The depiction of King Vratislav II of Bohemia certainly portrayed him as one of those rulers who disregarded the bond of loyalty between them and their subjects, with many of his actions directly contradicting the vision of good rulership expressed in Jaromír's speech. Cosmas recalls how Vratislav enacted his revenge on *comes* Mstiš, who was once responsible for detaining the Přemyslid's wife when young Vratislav fled to Hungary fearing his brother Spithynev II. The *comes*, hoping that his current ruler would not hold a grudge, invited Vratislav to a feast on the occasion of the dedication of the new church Mstiš had built in his burg. Breaking with the traditionally convivial atmosphere of the public meal, Vratislav lets Mstiš know that the castellany of the burg is withdrawn. Mstiš notes that the Přemyslid is “the duke and the lord” and as such he can “do with his burg what he pleases”, but it is clear both for him and for the reader that such an act is not in line with the proper conduct of the sovereign, and can escalate to even more violent transgression. Thus

39 3.7 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 189; 116 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 214–15.

40 Herucová and Hudáček, “Verní a neverní královi,” 15.

Mstíš flees that very night fearing that he will end up losing not only his position, but also his eyes or limbs—an assumption that Cosmas finds, damningly for Vratislav II, completely reasonable.⁴¹

Even more unfavorable is a small but illustrative episode about the king's treatment of one of the Bohemian nobles, Beneda, who having for some reason offended the king in the past and lived in exile in Poland, wanted to return to the Přemyslid's favor. Looking for someone to intercede on his behalf with the Bohemian king, he turns toward Benno, the bishop of Meissen. Thus, when Vratislav enters Sorabia with his army in 1088, he learns that Beneda is in the vicinity and sends for him with the message that "he might come to him under a pledge of faith (*sub fidei pacto*)."⁴² This is just a deception, and when Beneda meets with the king, the monarch takes him aside, attempts to deprive him of his richly encrusted sword, and when the audacious Beneda resists, he deprives him of his life. Moreover the king, "as if he could revenge himself against the dead man", orderes for Beneda's body to be dragged behind a horse.⁴³ The memory of the king's atrocious disregard for the pledge of faith given to the Bohemian noble can be seen in the later *Continuation of the Chronicle of Cosmas by the monk of Sázava*, whose author, drawing from the eleventh-century obituary, called Beneda a just man who died a martyr's death.⁴⁴ It is thus very probable that Cosmas, while not using such explicit language, would agree that Vratislav's casual disregard for his own word was comparable to the faithlessness of the pagan tyrants he listed in his chronicle.⁴⁵

One can see the link between this disregard for the bond of loyalty between Vratislav and his subjects and the king's troubles with his brother Conrad and son Břetislav II. The ease with which a large part of the army—and even those gathered in the ruler's tent—sided with the young prince after a seemingly petty conflict led him to kill king's closest advisor Zderad during the siege of Brno in 1091 might have been influenced by a general resentment toward the monarch, who seemed to listen only to a narrow group of bad advisors.⁴⁶ Vratislav's general attitude toward

41 2.19 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 138–39.

42 2.40 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 166–68.

43 "Sicque iustis vir velut Dei martyr miles Beneda obiit V. Id, Iulii [...]", see critical apparatus of 2.40 in *Chronica Bohemorum*, 145; More on the obituary of Beneda as an ideological counterpoint to Vratislav's reign in: Reitinger, *Vratislav: první král Čechu*, 62–64.

44 For Cosmas's use of comparison with pagan rulers like Nero and Herod, to describe tyrannical behavior, see: Wolverton, *Cosmas of Prague*, 102–9; Antonín, *The Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bohemia*, 146.

45 The underlying reasons for this conflict can be found in the struggle between established members of Vratislav's ruling elite and the younger generation of nobles which grew impatient with the king's long reign, see: Wolverton, *Hastening toward Prague*, 203; Krzemieńska, "Břetislav II: Pokus o charakteristiku," 730–31; On the similar note, although ultimately pointing toward

pledges and promises was best voiced by the closest supporters of his son, who despite the miraculous reconciliation between the Přemyslids chose to leave the country, not believing in the monarch's change of heart.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, Vratislav's rule does not collapse completely due to his history of breaking the bonds between him and Bohemian magnates. The lack of more dire consequences might have resulted from the fact that this part of Cosmas's narrative touched on the very recent past, leaving the first Czech historian little place for creative license. Thus, he had to limit himself to simply presenting his negative judgment of the actions of the first Bohemian king, only referring obliquely to their destructive effects on the bonds of loyalty.

In the story of the rise and fall of King Aba of Hungary, preserved in the pages of the *Illuminated Chronicle*, the anonymous chronicler drew the connection between a ruler breaking the pledges and oaths that the monarch gave to the elites of the realm and the dissolution of the bonds of loyalty even more directly. The rise of Aba was a consequence of the deposition of King Peter Orsolo by the Hungarian nobility. While Peter was appointed as a successor by St Stephen himself, in the text of the chronicle his designation was due to the machinations of the evil Queen Gisela and her accomplice Buda.⁴⁷ Having obtained his throne in such a way, Peter—a foreigner, “cast aside all goodness of royal serenity and raged with Teutonic fury, despising the nobles of Hungary [...].”⁴⁸ He distributed all of the offices and strongholds to the Germans and Italians with whom he surrounded himself, and who—just like the king himself—frequently violated Hungarian women. When magnates of Hungary “by common counsel” asked Peter to stop those of his men who committed such acts, he pridefully ignored them, responding that he would, as long as he lived, entrust all of the offices to the foreigners.⁴⁹ Thus, Peter completely defied the bond of loyalty—by disrespecting the Hungarian magnates, not listening to their counsel and by refusing to let them participate in the exercise of sovereign power. No wonder then, that “in the third year of Peter's reign the magnates of the Hungarians and the nobles leagued themselves together on the advice of the bishops against King Peter,” and appointed Saint Stephen's brother-in-law, *ispán* Aba,

the conflict between supporters of the new idea of kingship and those who wanted to see the ducal power in terms of the old arrangement between Bohemians and Přemysl the Ploughman: Wihoda, “Cosmas a Vratislav,” 377.

46 2.48 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 177.

47 This re-framing of the past was necessary in order to reconcile the cult of St Stephen with the cruel fate of his kinsman Vazul, see: Bak, “Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary,” 223–33.

48 “omnem regie serenitatis benititatem abiecit et Teutonico furore seviens nobiles Hungarie aspernabatur”, 79 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 130–31.

49 71 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 130–31.

to be king.⁵⁰ With Peter defeated in battle and Buda “promoter of all evil, by whose counsel Peter had afflicted Hungary” killed, Aba immediately revoked all of the enactments and exactions established by Peter and so hated by the Hungarians.⁵¹ It seems that for this Aba initially enjoyed good a relationship with his subjects, which helped him defend his position against the German military interventions on behest of the exiled Peter. With time however, misled by the sense of security, he “became insolent and began to rage cruelly against the Hungarians. For he held that all things should be in common between lords and servants; and also regarded breaking an oath as naught.”⁵²

Aba’s insolence meant the rejection of the commonly accepted rules of politics. It is worth noting that for the author disregarding oaths is on a par with disregarding the social hierarchy—and as such, God’s order. As for the violence, here the chronicler refers to the events that were yet to come. Disregard for the political norms angered the Hungarian magnates, who conspired against the king. Having learned about this, Aba captured the conspirators and had them executed without trial, which further damaged his cause, and under the pretext of holding a council he gathered fifty noblemen and had them killed. At this point St Gerard, bishop of Cenad, intervened and “with the authority of his office sternly rebuked the king and foretold that great peril threatened him.”⁵³

The saint’s prophecy came true. Dissatisfied with Aba’s reign, a *coniuratio* of Hungarian nobles approached Henry III, cautioning him against trusting such a perjurious neighbor. Angered by the ignoble behavior of the Hungarian ruler, Henry, together with his *protégée* Peter, once again gathered his forces against Aba. The decisive battle of Ménfő was won by the Germans and the supporters of the exiled King Peter, because some of the fighters of Aba “in their abiding friendship towards King Peter, cast their banners to the ground and fled.” Even though the chronicler notes also that the German tradition cited divine intervention as the source of victory, which could have contributed to the Papal anathema cast on the Hungarians for dis honouring King Peter, it seems rather fitting for a ruler who held oaths in disregard to be betrayed by his own troops. The fate of the defeated King Aba, who after fleeing the field of defeat was “cruelly killed by some Hungarians to whom during his reign he had done some evil,”⁵⁴ definitely reads as a cautionary tale for future rulers on the consequences of not being faithful toward one’s own subjects.

50 72 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 135–36.

51 72 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 135–36.

52 75 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 140–41.

53 75 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 140–41.

54 76 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 142–47.

That said, the *Illuminated Chronicle* does seem to contain remnants of the differing traditions about the rise and fall of King Aba, whose portrayal as a tyrant was not shared by all works of Hungarian historiography. As credibly argued by József Gerics, it is possible that this narrative contains the elements of an alternative take on the egalitarian (or anti-magnate) positions of Aba, which would align attempts at curtailing the nobles power with 'the ideology promoted by the eleventh-century Hungarian church. This is because, contrary to what the *Illuminated Chronicle* seems to suggest, the church elite supported Aba well until his final battle.⁵⁵ Traces of Aba's alternative depiction, that of a supporter of the church and the common folk worthy of veneration, can be thus found in the short description of his dead body, which as the author of this part of the *Illuminated Chronicle* acknowledges, did not decay and had its wounds healed.⁵⁶ Taking this into account the ease with which the author of the surviving edition of the royal Hungarian historiographic tradition was able to construct the narrative of Aba as a perjurious king who meets his deserved end is quite telling. It speaks of the strength of the idea of loyalty between ruler and his subjects as a reciprocal bond that can be easily broken if one of the sides does not fulfill their mutual obligations.

(Un)faithful subjects

The role close advisors and important officials played in shaping the politics of the ruling dynasties indicates the importance of the highest-ranking subjects in the internal politics of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. One of the features shared by the earliest Central European chronicles was the close direct link drawn between the fate of the ruling family and the polity they ruled. Thus, conflicts within the dynasties were seen as strongly detrimental to the state. With complicated family dynamics, the depictions of the dynastic adversaries of the patrons of Gallus and the writers at Coloman's court, as well as the quarreling sons of Duke Břetislav II, were often nuanced by the figures of bad advisors. The members of the ruling elite were often seen as people who sow the seeds of dynastic discord, thus taking some of the responsibility for internecine strife away from the members of the ruling family. Nevertheless, few of those malicious advisors were accused of questioning the sacralized relationship between them and the anointed sovereigns from the Přemyslid, Piast, and Árpád dynasties, and even then such accusations were brought up indirectly.

This is for example the case with palatine Sieciech from the *Gesta principum Polonorum*. Although he is from the onset described as overambitious and power-hungry, the serious accusations against Sieciech are formulated only after Duke Władysław

55 Gerics, "Zu den Quellen der gesellschaftlichen Ideologie," 443 ff.

56 76 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 144–45.

decided to share his power with his sons, Zbigniew and Bolesław III. When the young Piast princes are joining their forces against Sieciech and their father, Bolesław's men tell him that Sieciech wants to eliminate the Piast family and seize the whole of Poland for himself. Although this accusation is further expanded upon in Zbigniew's speech, in which he describes the palatine's actions as "plots that are directed against our lives by persons whose aim it is utterly to abolish the succession of our kindred and by turning order upside down to distort the inheritance of natural lords", Gallus never fully embraces this claim.⁵⁷ Similarly indirect is the accusation leveled against *ispán* Vid in the *Illuminated Chronicle*. While Solomon's close advisor frequently incites the king against Géza and Ladislas, it is only after his death in the battle of Mogyoród that we learn from the comment of the holy prince that Vid might have had ambitions that would put him directly at odds with the junior branch of the Árpád dynasty.⁵⁸

The earliest Central European chronicles also contained narratives that more clearly describe members of the Central European elite turning against their masters. The most notable example of such antagonists of ruling families were the Vršovici—stylized by Cosmas as the *inimici familiares* of the Přemyslids.⁵⁹ Chronicler recalls that their leader Kohan was at the hunting palace of adolescent prince Jaromír, when he learned of Jaromír's father having been defeated in Poland. This led Kohan to ponder: "Who is he [Jaromír], a little man worth less than seaweed, who ought to be greater than us and called lord? Is not a better man to be found among us, who might be more worthy to rule?" Thus, they decide to abuse Jaromír, who is forced to undergo humiliation until his servant Dovora manages to gather forces to rescue the Přemyslid.⁶⁰ For this act Kohan's people did not suffer immediate repercussions, but in a multigenerational perspective they can be said to have paid for their disloyalty—with the massacre of their kindred by Duke Svatopluk.⁶¹

Another example can be found in an even earlier part of the *Chronica Boemorum*. Shortly after the establishment of Přemyslid rule Cosmas describes the legendary war of the Bohemians, led by Přemysl's progeny Neklan against the neighboring

57 2.16 in *GpP*, 141–44.

58 122 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 228–29.

59 The prominent part that the Vršovici play in the *Chronica Boemorum* was noted by medievalists analyzing this source, who came up with different explanations of the role they play in Cosmas's wider story. In Peter Kopal's opinion the Vršovici, the *inimici familiares*, were supposed to serve as the foil to the Přemyslid dynasty, whose sacralization in the first book of the chronicle is contrasted with the demonization of the Vršovici, allowing the internal conflict to be presented in eschatological terms. For Lisa Wolverton the Vršovici are chosen by Cosmas as representatives of a wider social group of Bohemian elites, whose cruel behavior threatened the stability of the realm. See: Kopal, "Kosmovi dáblové," 7–40; Wolverton, *Cosmas of Prague*, 182–96.

60 1.34 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 89.

61 3.24 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 211–13.

Lučané. In an episode echoing the Trojan war, the Bohemians win the decisive battle thanks in large part to the heroic sacrifice of a brave warrior, Tiro, who leads them into battle pretending to be Duke Neklan.⁶² After the Lučans are massacred, the son the duke of the Lučané Vlastislav, is spared by the victorious Přemyslid, who despite being a pagan behaves compassionately like a good Catholic. He places the young boy under the tutelage of a Sorabian man named During, old Neklan's tutor, who is described as the worst and most wicked of men, crueler than a beast.⁶³ This choice was advised by the *comites*, who argued that it would be best to control young Vlastislav's son, so that "the scattered people will not fly to the master's son", and that the subjugated Lučané will not conspire with the foreigner. They do predict, however, that During, "the second Judas", will plan the deceitful murder of his young protegee. Cosmas describes this treacherous act with gruesome detail, highlighting the prince's innocence and the heartlessness of his Sorabian tutor.⁶⁴ After cutting off the boy's head During takes it to Duke Neklan and his *comites*, where he explains that it was necessary to kill young prince before he could avenge Vlastislav's death. However, Duke Neklan is far from sharing this point of view, calling During's crimes beyond measure, a sin "greater than can even be called a sin."⁶⁵

This episode in the chronicle, together with the whole war with Lučané, probably has its roots in an older oral tradition.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Cosmas certainly made it his own, framing it as a cautionary tale with a straightforward moral—it is never permissible for a subject to raise his hand against his master.⁶⁷ Doing so was not simply against earthly laws, but also a sin (*peccatum*).⁶⁸ It is worth pointing out that in this example the sacralization of the relationship between During and the young prince of Lučané has nothing to do with any kind of divine mandate akin to one given to Přemysl. The story told by Cosmas to the Přemyslid subjects does seem to posit that bonds of lordship are protected by this sacred sanction, giving the condemnation of killing one's lord—even one from the rival dynasty—a universal meaning. There is also one other aspect of the characterization of During that seems to be especially important to the chronicler—his motivation. The wicked Sorabian clearly commits

62 1.12 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 47–49.

63 1.13 in *Chronica Boemorum*, 29.

64 1.13 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 61.

65 1.13 in *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, 62.

66 Třeštík, *Mýty kmene Čechů*, 172; Thus, Edward Skibinski points out the important royal-doppelganger function that both warrior Tyro and During perform in relation to Duke Neklan, typical of oral traditions. See: Skibiński, "Średniowieczny kronikarz wobec tradycji oralnej."

67 An in-depth analysis of how Cosmas uses the references to Bible and Lucans' Pharsalia here can be found in: Wolverton, *Cosmas of Prague*, 62–68.

68 These conclusions in: Graus, "Über die sogenannte germanische Treue," 152; Repeated in: Razim, "Věrnost v Kosmově kronice," 33–34.

his heinous crime in the hope of being rewarded by Duke Neklan. Thus, the story of “second Judas” who killed an innocent boy counting on pieces of silver of his own can be seen as Cosmas’s critique of the relationship between rulers and their subjects based solely on remuneration rather than deeper Christian morals.

A brief example of “second Judases” being punished for their deeds can also be found in the royal Hungarian historiographical tradition. From the description of the conflict between King Solomon and Duke Géza in the *Illuminated Chronicle* we learn that when in 1074 the two Árpádians gathered their forces preparing to resolve a dynastic dispute on the battlefield near Kemej:

“The duke’s retainers or rather betrayers secretly sent messengers to the king to say that if the king would confirm them in their dignities and received them in his grace, they would desert the duke in battle and come over to the king. The king gave them upon oath the desired assurance, and then, feeling himself secure, crossed over the frozen Tisza to attack the duke.”⁶⁹

Just as they promised, lords Petrud and Bikás with their followers abandoned Géza during the battle, switching sides to join King Solomon. Even though this meant that the valiantly fighting Duke was forced by the overwhelming enemy forces to withdraw from the field of battle, the traitors did not escape divine judgment:

“As the traitor Judas gave a sign, so the fleeing traitors, as they had arranged with the king, raised their shields as a sign that the king’s soldiers should not attack them. But the king’s men did not know about this sign of betrayal, and seeing the duke’s detachments in flight, they pursued them to their destruction, so that very few of those traitors escaped death; and would that not one of those had escaped who foully betrayed their lord and benefactor.”⁷⁰

The comparison with Judas further strengthens the moral judgement expressed by the chroniclers. While due to the complicated nature of the Hungarian historiographical tradition there is no guarantee that both narratives were written by the same author, this story can be contrasted with the earlier episode found in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, the desertion of part of King Aba’s army during the battle of Ménfő. Since Aba’s faithless rule dissolved the bonds of loyalty between him

69 “Principes autem ducis ymo tradidores, miserunt clamculo nuncios ad regem dicentes, quod si rex eos in dignitatibus suis teneret et in gratiam susciperet, ipsi in bello relicto duce ad regem confluissent. Rex autem certificavit eos super hoc prestito iuramento et securus tunc transivit Tysciam glaciatam super ducem”, 117 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 214–16.

70 “Tradidores autem fugientes levabant clipeos suos in signum, quod regi dederant, quemadmodum Judas traditor, qui dederat signum ne milites regis eos persequerentur. Exercitus autem regis ignarus proditionis signi et videntes agmina ducis fugere”, 117 in *Illuminated Chronicle*, 214–16.

and his followers, betrayal on battlefield is not treated by the author as something surprising—in stark contrast to the condemned battlefield betrayal of Duke Géza, good lord and benefactor of his followers.

The narrative about the restoration of Piast rule by Casimir the Restorer presented in the pages of *Gesta principum Polonorum* features a person named Mieław who shares certain similarities with During, but his story is certainly more convoluted than the examples above. After the death of Mieszko II, who was no longer characterized by the same extraordinary virtues as his father Bolesław I the Brave, the bond of fidelity between the Piasts and their subjects became fragile. Thus, Queen Mother Richeza, who ruled in the name of her adolescent son Casimir, was driven out of the country by “traitors (*tradidores*) who bore her ill will.” The same traitors rose up against Casimir when he grew up, fearing that he would seek revenge for what they had done to his mother.⁷¹ Gallus does not speak in more detail about the motivations of the traitors, but he makes it clear to his readers that the members of the ruling family are not to blame for their exile—the young age of Casimir seems to absolve him for any responsibility for his fate, while Richeza’s regency is characterized positively despite her gender.⁷² The historically tumultuous reign of Mieszko II is hardly mentioned by the chronicler; the only possible reminder of the crisis of the Piast state that begun in the 1030s is the reluctantly recalled information about the possible castration of the Polish ruler.⁷³

The events that followed the exile of the young prince—foreign invasions, slaves’ revolt, and general destruction—are presented as the clear consequence of the absence of the Piast dynasty, so closely related to the prosperity of Poland.⁷⁴ Gallus ends his vivid depiction of the ruined country with a cautionary moral: “But let this suffice on the subject of Poland’s ruin, and may it serve in correction of those who failed to keep faith with their natural masters (*domini naturales*).”⁷⁵ The chronicler emphasizes that it was the lack of loyalty that led to the desolation of the country at that time, warning his audience about the terrible consequences of unfaithfulness toward the dynasty.⁷⁶ This is further indicated by the words of the young prince’s mother, who tries to dissuade her son from returning to his homeland, for its people “are not

71 1.18 in *GpP*, 75.

72 Gallus writes that Richeza “pro modo femineo regnum honorifice gubernaret”, 1.18 in *GpP*, 75.

73 1.17 in *GpP*, 74; Edward Skibiński sees the tradition about Mieszko’s castration as a trace of the old explanation for the dynasty’s inability to continue to exercise power, and thus to maintain the ties of fidelity linking it to its subjects, see: Skibiński, *Przemiany władzy*, 83.

74 Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai*, 220.

75 “Haec autem dixisse de Poloniae destructione sufficiat, et eis qui dominis naturalibus fidem non servaverunt ad correctionem proficiat”, 1.19 in *GpP*, 80.

76 Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai*, 219–21.

yet fully Christian and not to be trusted.”⁷⁷ The suggestive description of all the dramatic events that took place in Poland during the absence of *domini naturales*—the Piast rulers—serves both as a warning to the contemporary readers and a follow-up on the fate of the *tradidores* responsible for the collapse of Bolesław’s state. Some of those who exiled Rycheza and Casimir, as the members of ruling elites, found death at the hands of the rebellious slaves, while others may have found themselves in the lucky group of those Poles who “fled over the river Vistula into Mazovia.”⁷⁸

It is unclear, though rather doubtful, whether Mieław was among these *tradidores*. He played an important function as cupbearer in Mieszko’s court, but it seems that if he had played a role in the expulsion of the ruling dynasty Gallus would have mentioned him by name earlier.⁷⁹ It is only after the depiction of the initial successes of the returning Casimir, who fended off the foreign invaders, that we are introduced to Mieław, who after the death of Mieszko “had the presumption to become the leader and standard-bearer of the Mazovian people.” As the leader of the Mazovians, he not only refused to submit to Casimir, but even began to resist him militarily. The Piast prince, who did not consider the rogue cupbearer as anything more than a rebellious servant, attacked Mieław’s forces and despite his numerical disadvantage defeated the rebels who were fighting for an unjust cause.⁸⁰

Thus Mieław’s main crime does not lie in his participation in the expulsion of the Piast prince. Janusz Bieniak’s suggestion that it was Mieław’s ambition to press his own claim to the former domain of Piasts also seems too far-fetched.⁸¹ The words *quod sibi non cedebat per ius aliquod vel naturam* seem to refer to the title of *princeps* of Mazovians, rather than to any further ambitions.⁸² It seems therefore that the most important thing in the story of Mieław is his refusal to submit to his returning *dominus naturalis*.⁸³ It was the servant’s reluctance to recognize Casimir as his overlord that prompted the young prince to action. The way in which the leader of the Mazovians resisted his natural lord was probably also important—by military and insidious means, guided by disastrous pride and ambition. The negative picture of Mieław is complemented by the fact that it was the pagan Pomeranians that hurried to aid him in the battle.⁸⁴

77 1.19 in *GpP*, 80.

78 1.19 in *GpP*, 80.

79 Bieniak, *Państwo Mieławego*, 74.

80 1.20 in *GpP*, 82.

81 Bieniak, *Państwo Mieławego*, 82–86.

82 Similarly Dziewulski, “Sprawa Mieława (Masława),” 470.

83 Skibiński, *Przemiany władzy*, 94.

84 1.21 in *GpP*, 84–86.

But why should the trusted man Mieszko II, faced with the death of the old monarch and the collapse of his state, consider the prince returning from exile as his ruler? According to Gallus the answer is simple: because the Piasts are the “natural masters” of Poland. The Polish common folk seem to recognize him as such immediately, since immediately after the young prince crosses the border, the citizens of an unnamed castle open the gates for him.⁸⁵ The devotion of the common-folk is further highlighted by the heroism of “a soldier from the rank and file” (*de gregariis militibus*) who saves Casimir’s life during the battle with Mieław.⁸⁶ With the expulsion of the foreign invaders, Casimir gained the right to recognize all Poles as his subjects, from whom he had the right to expect loyalty.⁸⁷ Even if he had not dealt with the Piasts before, Mieław should have recognized the divine claim of the dynasty. Thus, both the description of the fall of Poland and the clash between Casimir and Mieław serve mainly to emphasize the need to remain faithful to the natural lords—the Piast dynasty. The first describes the consequences of not remaining faithful, the second emphasizes the unbreakable nature of the bonds of loyalty between the Poles and the dynasty.

Conclusions

Thus, the overview of the role of loyalty between rulers and their subjects in the earliest Central European chronicles shows that the dominant vision shared to some degree by the authors of all three works was that of mutual commitments based on the *do ut des* rule. The content of the bond of loyalty was defined by both positive and negative obligations. To the first set belonged the expectation of reliable counsel and assistance on the part of the ruler, whereas his subjects could count on participation in the sovereign authority of the ruler and on material rewards. The extent to which positive obligations are to be fulfilled was not defined in absolute terms, thus remaining open for interpretation by both the ruler and his subjects.

On the other hand, the negative obligations were clearly set out. Both the ruler and his subjects were forbidden to harm each other in any way. Infidelity toward the lord was universally recognized in all three of the chronicles as a grave moral failing, with those who committed it likened by Cosmas and the *Illuminated Chronicle* to Judas. Stories of unfaithful subjects from the Hungarian historiographic tradition and the *Gesta principum Polonorum* end with those who betrayed their lords meeting divine justice, brought down by their own schemes. Such an interpretation can

85 1.19 in *GpP*, 80.

86 1.20 in *GpP*, 83–84.

87 Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai*, 222.

also be offered for the ultimate fate of the Vršovici family. In turn, those rulers who crossed the limits of “negative loyalty” by perjury or by injuring their subjects were seen as tyrannous. The stories of King Vratislav II depicted by Cosmas, and of Kings Peter and Aba in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, illustrate how such behavior can lead to the dissolution of the bonds of loyalty. In the case of the Hungarian monarchs it even leads to their deposition, which is portrayed by the chronicler with silent approval.

It is safe to state that the concept of loyalty depicted in the earliest Central European narrative sources and the norms of social behavior they were creating do not differ significantly from those existing in other parts of Latin Europe. The shared Christian religion and involvement of the Central European rulers in the politics of their Western neighbors resulted in the importation of the common set of values shaping reciprocal social relationships. The authors of the first Central European chronicles, members of the intellectual elite of Latin *Christianitas*, did more than merely depict this process of integration: by facilitating internal communication through history writing, they actively participated in its development.

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Károly Pál Pálffy and the Dear “Familia”

Pálffy Family Disputes in the Mid-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Based on the Family Documents¹

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Abstract. The Pálffys were among the wealthiest and most influential families in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy. The family owed its arrival in the political, economic, and social elite to Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600), the “hero of Győr.” His descendants obtained the highest offices in Hungary—Pál Pálffy (1592–1653) became chief justice and palatine—and filled important positions in the Imperial Court in Vienna (Pál Pálffy became a member of the Privy Council). In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Pálffys excelled primarily in military service; however, multiple wars led to the near extinction of the male branch of the family as numerous young Pálffy men lost their lives on the battlefield. Despite these serious losses, the family managed to preserve its prominent position in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Viennese court: Palatines Miklós Pálffy and János Pálffy belonged to the innermost circle of advisers to Charles III and Maria Theresa. Maintaining appearances in court, however, was enormously costly for the Pálffy family. Moreover, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the family procured their largest estates; in the eighteenth century, rather than acquiring estates, the family faced a mounting burden of debt. János Pálffy attempted to solve the problem in his will by changing the legal status of the central estate, the castle of Červený Kameň (Vöröskő, Rotenstein), to an entail (mostly referred to as *Fideicommissum* in European legal terminology). The result was decades of strife amongst his descendants, who did not find the entailment of Červený Kameň personally advantageous since the property could not be divided or alienated. The Pálffy family lawsuits were not unique in the eighteenth century; during the same period, the Zichys were also embroiled in family litigation. This study examines the longstanding feud that began in 1749 through the lens of family letters, providing a perspective on family history and contemporary attitudes. This study is part of wider research on the history of lawsuits and makes it possible to place the eighteenth-century legal disputes of the Hungarian nobility in a broader Central European and even European context.

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Keywords: eighteenth century, Hungarian aristocracy, family history, property suits, family feuds, family relations

Introduction

At the end of the sixteenth century, the Pálffy family rose to become one of the most influential and wealthiest aristocratic families in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy. The achievements of Miklós Pálffy (1552–1600), the “hero of Győr,” earned the family the offices of Lord Lieutenant (in the sources referred to as *supremus comes*) of Pozsony County and hereditary captain-general of Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) castle. Thanks to their marriage policies, the Pálffys were among Hungarian aristocratic families with extensive kinship ties in the Viennese court in the early seventeenth century, a circumstance that increased the influence and respect they were afforded in both the Kingdom of Hungary and the Empire. Pál Pálffy (1592–1653) acquired the country’s most distinguished offices: he headed the Hungarian Chamber for nearly two decades and served as Lord Chief Justice from 1646 to 1649, with his political career culminating in his appointment as palatine of Hungary. He also carved out an exceptional career in the Viennese Imperial Court: in 1646 he became a member of the Privy Council.² Subsequent generations of Pálffys also enjoyed enormous success as politicians, military leaders, and diplomats. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the career trajectories of Palatines János Pálffy and Miklós Pálffy distinguished them from their contemporaries. From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, however, their many successes, grandeur, and luster were gradually overshadowed by an “expensive and unwise lawsuit.”³

The main player in the family’s protracted feud was Károly Pál Engelbert Pálffy (1697–1774), the second son of János Pálffy (V). From his father, he had inherited the office of lord lieutenant of Pozsony County as well as the title of captain-general of Bratislava Castle. He also obtained the title of Privy Councilor in the Viennese royal court, became a member of the Imperial War Council and was appointed master doorward. Furthermore, he had a distinguished military career and rose to the rank of field marshal. Károly Pál Pálffy was married three times: first to Countess Maria Stubenberg, and after her death to Jozefa Berger. Widowed twice, he married Maria Elizabeth Starhemberg, lady-in-waiting to Maria Theresa.⁴ His three marriages produced four daughters and one son, Pál Pálffy, who died in

2 About Pál Pálffy’s role played in the Viennese Privy Council, see: Fundárvá, *Ein ungarischer Aristokrat am Wiener Hof*.

3 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Imre Batthyány, January 14, 1761. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy (Depositum), A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 8, record no. 28.

4 Autobiographical details: Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 603.

1750. His favorite residence was Králová pri Senci (Királyfa, Königseiden), where he could have whiled away his final years in peace and comfort had he not directed his time and energy to quarreling with his younger relatives.

The starting point of this paper is the material found in the Pálffy family archive in Vienna.⁵ The first and fundamental challenge in investigating this topic is primarily the lack of modern analyses of the eighteenth-century members of the Pálffy family.⁶ Furthermore, the archive in Vienna does not contain the litigation documentation; therefore, a broad and thorough exploration and analysis of the property dispute from a legal-historical perspective is still needed. At present, legal historian Zsuzsanna Peres, art historian Ingrid Halászová, and I are working on a monograph in which we explore the legal historical and art historical background of the case.⁷ The source material largely contains the family correspondence concerning the property disputes; these letters are thus an excellent place to begin collecting autobiographical information and answering questions about the aristocratic attitudes of the era. What strategies did the Pálffy family employ to resolve the arising disputes and conflicts? What was the nature of their network in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Viennese court—who belonged to their circle of patrons, friends, and supporters and, conversely, who were their “ill-wishers,” their enemies? How did the participants in the family quarrels behave amidst the tensions? How did the contemporary public respond to quarrels within a noble family?⁸

Act One of the Family Feud: Károly Pál Pálffy v. Rudolf Pálffy

In the numerous military conflicts in the first half of the eighteenth century, the male line of the Pálffy family just narrowly avoided extinction. At the end of the seventeenth century, the family split into two branches; the founder of the older

5 The sources are as follows: ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy (Depositum), record nos. 17, 18, 19, and 28.

6 This is why the brief autobiographies in the sources published by Pál Jedlicska served as the starting point, cp.: Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 603.

7 While the article was being written, the pandemic reached its peak and made archival research at home and abroad almost impossible. In connection with the pandemic situation, some of the questions raised in the article remained unanswered. As soon as the pandemic situation allows the continuation of the research, the members of the research group will continue with their research and place the topic in an interdisciplinary, family-historical, legal-historical and art-historical context.

I would hereby like to express my gratitude to Zsuzsanna Peres for her invaluable assistance and numerous consultations during the writing of the legal historical parts of this study.

8 I have discussed my research results thus far in two studies published in Slovak: Fundáriková, “Kto myslí len na svoj osoh, tomu nepatrí meno Pálffy...”; Fundáriková, “Nežiadam o milosť, ide mi o spravodlivosť,” 120–37.

branch was Károly Pál's uncle, Palatine Miklós (V) Pálffy (1657–1737). All four of his sons died in battle or from injuries suffered on the battlefield.⁹ The younger branch was founded by Károly Pál's father, János (V) Pálffy. Besides Károly Pál, János had two other sons, both of whom were killed in battle: Miklós József (1699–1734) and János Pálffy (†1717).¹⁰ Neither had any children. Therefore, the success of Lipót Pálffy, one of Palatine Miklós (V)'s sons, in having three sons of his own—Miklós (VIII),¹¹ Lipót (II)¹² and Rudolf (I)—before his tragic death was crucial to the continued existence of the Pálffy family. These sons ensured the survival of the family in the eighteenth century, but at the same time, they were also the other major players in the property disputes with Károly Pál Pálffy.

The family strife was ignited by János Pálffy's will of 1751.¹³ The main problem was the Palatine's establishment of an entail (*fideicommissum*) on the Červený Kameň estate. The Palatine had accumulated tremendous debts over his lifetime, and understandably, wished to ensure that the Červený Kameň estate could not be alienated, divided, or encumbered with more debt, and that parts of it could not

9 Lipót Pálffy (1681–1720) died from injuries sustained on the battlefield in Bavaria. József Pál Pálffy (1685–1716) died in the Battle of Pétervárad. Rudolf Ferenc Pálffy (1686–1735) died in the Battle of Parma. Károly József Pálffy (1687–1720) died of injuries sustained in battles. Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 601–3.

10 Miklós József Pálffy (1699–1734) was a member of the royal chamber and achieved the rank of colonel in the Althan Regiment. His wife, Mária Jozefa Schlick, was a lady-in-waiting of Empress Elizabeth. He died in the Battle of Parma in 1734.

The younger János Pálffy (†1717) chose a military career and served as a lieutenant colonel. In 1715 he married Princess Anna Eleonóra Esterházy. In 1717, he died in the Battle of Belgrade. Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 603–4.

11 Miklós (VIII) Pálffy (1710–1773) became a member of the Viennese Court Chamber in 1732 and a member of the Hungarian Royal Chamber in 1734. In 1739, he became a councilor in the Hungarian Royal Chancery, and in 1746, Maria Theresa conferred on him the title of privy councilor. Between 1758 and 1762, he was President of the Hungarian Royal Chancery. In 1765, he assumed the highest office of Lord Chief Justice. He married Countess Mária Anna Szidónia Althan in 1733. Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 604.

12 Lipót (II) Pálffy (1716–1773) was appointed Colonel by Charles III in 1734 and received permission to establish a Hungarian infantry regiment. Maria Theresa appointed him Major General (1741), and later, in 1752, he became Artillery General, and in 1758 Keeper of the Crown. In 1758 he became a Privy Councilor to Maria Theresa. In 1763, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the Kingdom of Hungary's Army. He was married twice: first to Mária Jozefa Waldstein. After she died, he married Wilhelmine Ogilir in 1765. Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 604–7.

13 ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. II, F. I, N. 6, record no. 19. Report from the year 1760 from the Court Chamber to the Hungarian Chamber. During my research in the Viennese archive, I found two versions of the will: one dated 15 April 1750, and the other 21 March 1751. The source can be found here: ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. II, F. I, N. 8, record no. 19. Details of the will are quoted in: Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 544–47.

be used as mortgage or pledge for more loans, thus increasing the debt burden. In 1751, Maria Theresa confirmed the Palatine's will.¹⁴ As in modern times, however, no law or decree existed in the eighteenth century either that required the heirs to abide by the stipulations in the will; therefore, legal documents of this sort could, in theory, be challenged, except for the entail or *fideicommissum* being consented by the king that had to be observed under any circumstances. This understanding of the law appears in the agreement concluded between Miklós (VIII) and Lipót (II), the two nephews of Károly Pál Pálffy:

“In this will, the conditions concerning the division of assets, personal property, and debts have been laid out for the direct heirs, and furthermore in a similar manner to that of other inheritance proceedings. Nevertheless, the expressions and words contained in the will are subject to manifold interpretations, and as a consequence, the provisions can be explained in multiple ways. This can lead to misunderstandings and disputes, and in the end the heirs may take the matter to court.”¹⁵

The property disputes essentially involved two estates: Červený Kameň and Svätý Jur (Szentgyörgy, Sankt Georgen) and Pezinok (Bazin, Bösing). The “hero of Győr,” Miklós Pálffy, had purchased the castle and estate of Červený Kameň from the Fuggers. The property was thus acquired through donation and was subsequently confirmed as such by the king. At the end of the sixteenth century, Miklós Pálffy ordered in his will that the castle of Červený Kameň and its appertinences be inherited along the male line according to the principle of *senioratus* (although the word *majoratus* is used in the will), and furthermore that “the oldest male descendants of the family shall always be in possession of it.”¹⁶ Subsequent generations did not abide by the decree; István and János, the two older sons of Miklós Pálffy signed an allocation agreement in 1619. This practice continued for decades until János Pálffy, following the procedure discussed above, changed the order of inheritance.¹⁷

14 ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. I, N. 6, record no. 19. Report from the year 1760 of the Court or Hungarian Chamber (the original in German).

15 Agreement between Miklós (VIII) Pálffy and Lipót (II) Pálffy, Bratislava, 27 December 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. VI, no. I, record no. 17 (the original in German).

16 According to a further provision, the owner of the estate is required to divide up the income generated by the estate, and distribute it to the other descendants. If the male branch expires, then the property is passed on to the female line and all its descendants, regardless of sex. The *major natus*, or male descendant in possession of the property, is obliged to defend the castle of Červený Kameň and carry out all the necessary renovations and maintenance of the military equipment. These expenses are covered by the income from the property of Častá, which belongs to the estate and which shall always, in this respect, be in the possession of the *major natus*. Peres, *A családi hitbizományok*, 78.

17 For details on the order of inheritance pertaining to the Červený Kameň estate, cp. Peres,

From the perspective of the eighteenth-century dispute, the stipulation in Miklós Pálffy's will that the *major natus* maintain the castle was crucial; this is why the elderly born also owned the town of Častá (Cseszte, Schattmansdorf), as the revenue generated by the town was used for this purpose.¹⁸ The other important agreement significantly impacting the eighteenth-century family feud was concluded in 1682 between János Antal Pálffy and János Károly Pálffy, the sons of Pál Pálffy, and Elenonore Harrach, the widow of Miklós (IV) Pálffy, who represented her sons, Miklós, Ferenc, and János, who were minors at the time. In later periods, the labelling in the text of the property as *bono nostris paterno avitico*, or ancient good, would prove crucial. It was determined that János Antal Pálffy and János Károly Pálffy would receive a quarter of the estate and the rest was allotted to the male descendants of Miklós (IV) Pálffy under the condition that, if the male line expired, the property would pass to János Antal and János Károly. The two together received the entire anterior section of Červený Kameň Castle, from the northern to the western bastion, opposite the main entrance, including the stairs leading to the bastions. The castle's dungeon and wine cellars remained in joint use. Pál Pálffy's sons were obliged to cover one quarter of the costs of the military equipment owned by the castle.¹⁹ With the death of Miklós József Pálffy in 1706, the male line of Palatine Pál Pálffy expired, and therefore Miklós Pálffy and János Pálffy became the heirs of Červený Kameň. The estate was divided up as follows: Miklós Pálffy received 3/8 and János Pálffy 5/8. After Miklós died in 1732, János Pálffy inherited his brother's portion, while his nephew Rudolf received János's 5/8 portion.²⁰ In 1751, Palatine János's son, Károly Pál, inherited his portion.

The above make it clear why Károly Pál Pálffy and his nephew Rudolf became the main players in the first phase of the property dispute. Rudolf Pálffy (1719–1768) was one of the most interesting personalities in the Pálffy family; a modern analysis of his autobiography, however, has yet to be undertaken. Thus far he has been a subject of research because of the impressive library he founded. Fortunately, a significant part of the library and the catalogue of books it contains have survived.²¹ Rudolf was one of the best educated aristocrats, exhibiting an interest in the sciences from a young age.²² The contents of his library show that the count was not driven to

A családi hitbizományok, 88–90.

18 Peres, A családi hitbizományok, 90.

19 For the specific details of the dividing of the estate, cp. Peres, A családi hitbizományok, 88.

20 Jedlicska, Kiskárpáti emlékek, 59.

21 On the library of the Pálffy family and Rudolf Pálffy: Frimová, "Fuggerovsko-pálffiovská knižnica," 118–29; Kujovičová, *Knižnica Rudolfa I. Pálffio*; Sibylová, "Pálffyovci – zberatelia knižných kuriozít," 106–19.

22 During his years as a student, he had published one of his works: "Imago tricolor quai per speculum

expand his collection by a desire for prestige or a consuming passion for collecting. Eighty-six percent of his collection consisted of contemporary publications and only a fraction were older, valuable volumes and broadsides.²³

Rudolf Pálffy had an esteemed career in the military, earning merits in the Seven Years' War, which resulted in his promotion to the rank of Field Marshall Lieutenant. His wife, Eleonore von Kaunitz, was a countess, and the couple lived primarily in the castle of Červený Kameň, their favorite residence. Rudolf was one of the most ardent art collectors of his time and his wife, Eleonore, shared this passion.²⁴ Because of their increasing financial worries, the couple had to part with some of their valuable coins, art objects, antiques, horse tack, jewelry, etc.; this circumstance, however, is the reason why detailed records of their collection exist.²⁵

Based on the surviving correspondence, it seems that the strife between uncle and nephew began before János Pálffy's death, in other words before 24 March 1751. In late 1750, Rudolf wrote that he was unable to participate in a hunt his uncle had invited him to join because of "eye pain." He then added, "[...] I have kept my distance mainly because my honorable uncle does not appreciate my friendship and my expression of goodwill [...]." Rudolf was "sensitive to" the fact that Károly Pál had not adhered to the rules governing the use of the fishponds on the Červený Kameň estate; therefore, he openly threatened his uncle with litigation if he continued to flout the rules, and "my honorable uncle would certainly come up short."²⁶

In the course of 1751, the two relatives hurled invectives at each other almost daily. In July, Rudolf asserted that Károly Pál's serfs were transporting large quantities of wood to Králová pri Senci. Based on their current agreements, however, the wood could only be used for the maintenance of Červený Kameň Castle. Rudolf claimed that the serfs "were transporting twenty to thirty wagons of wood cut from the nicest and youngest trees, and as a result almost the entire forest would be cleared."²⁷

In his letter, Károly Pál refuted Rudolf's statements, claiming no such agreement existed forbidding him from transporting wood to Králová pri Senci.

in aenigmate Dei, veri Deit Unius et Trini" etc. (Vienna, 1732). Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 607.

23 Based on the surviving letters of Rudolf Pálffy, he obtained the books primarily from the Viennese bookdealer Johann Paul Krauss, and during his lifetime, his library contained about 442 volumes. Sibylová, "Pálffyovci – zberatelia knižných kuriozít," 107.

24 Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 605–6.

25 In the Pálffy archives in Vienna; the records can be found here: ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. VI, no. I, record no. 17.

26 Letter of Rudolf Pálffy to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, October 26, 1750, ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

27 Letter of Rudolf Pálffy to Károly Pál Pálffy, n.p., July 1751, ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

He contended that this agreement had probably applied only to the period in which the forests were in joint use. After they had been divided up, however, everyone was responsible for their own part.²⁸ The sources do not reveal how the dispute over the transportation of wood was resolved. In any case, Károly Pál was soon embroiled in another matter: he accused his nephew of hunting on his property without permission: “[...] it has come to my attention that my honorable nephew was hunting not only to supply his own household, but also to sell the meat at the market in Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau). Moreover, his men hunted the animals during the rutting season, which is harmful to reproduction on the one hand, and is contrary to our agreement on the other [...]”²⁹ Rudolf responded that he had not shot the deer on their common land because “the deer leave their own territory during the rutting season [...]”. As for selling the meat, he confessed that two years earlier he had signed a contract with a butcher in Trnava but that he only sent the butcher the surplus meat from the household.³⁰

The tug-of-war over the transport of wood and the hunting of deer finally reached a (temporary) conclusion because of Rudolf Pálffy’s serious financial difficulties. “Because of his accumulated debt, Count Pálffy cannot invest in the future prosperity of his estates [...] as he has lost everything. His obligations prevent him from repaying his annual debts, and so he fears that his creditors will sue him, the court will reassess his properties and distribute them amongst his creditors. [...]”³¹ Rudolf tried to win his family’s support, but neither his brothers nor his uncles offered any assistance.³² Károly Pál Pálffy was unaffected by his nephew’s change in tone; his haughty and presumptuous style was replaced with obsequiousness: “if Your Excellency, my distinguished patron and dear father, knows of any viable path that would guide me from this labyrinth, I promise that I would follow Your Excellency’s kindly advice; I would do all that I could [...]”³³

28 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Rudolf Pálffy, Králová pri Senci, July 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

29 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Rudolf Pálffy, 27 September 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

30 Rudolf Pálffy’s letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Červený Kameň, 24 December 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

31 The agreement between Rudolf Pálffy and Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 1 December 1752. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. II, F. I, no. 6, record no.19 (the original in German).

32 The original German: “[...] da aber von der familia keine hulff zu gewartten sein werde [...]” Rudolf Pálffy’s letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Červený Kameň, 26 December 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. II, F. I, no. 3, record no. 19.

33 Rudolf Pálffy’s letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Červený Kameň, 26 December 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. II, F. I, no. 3, record no. 19.

Rudolf Pálffy's lifestyle greatly surpassed his financial means, and in all likelihood, he did not have an adequate knowledge of estate management. At least, this can be discerned from the letters of Károly Pál Pálffy, who did not hesitate, following his nephew's fawning letter, to reproach him for all his real or supposed shortcomings:

“[...] first of all, you took control of the estates at a very young age, you did not listen to the advice of your elders, and on several occasions you informed us that you were not following the instructions of your brothers or any other person with common sense. [...] my dear nephew, your problems have also been caused by your dismissal of the previous managers of the estate after you took over the property and your hiring of people less suited to the job [...] my dear nephew, you should have paid greater attention to the ratio of income to expenditures. Instead, you repeatedly took out more and more loans, and as a result, the employees of the estate began to manage on their own, pursuing their own personal interests and not the enrichment of the estate.”

Károly Pál Pálffy made it clear to Rudolf that without his goodwill, Rudolf would not be able to settle his affairs. None of this support or advice, however, would be of use if his nephew did not actively take steps to put things in order: “Nothing good will come of racking your brains every evening, arriving at some new diversion the next day and devoting your time to useless activities. You and your wife need to concentrate primarily on managing the estate.”³⁴

In his difficult circumstances, Rudolf decided to mortgage his portion of the Svätý Jur and Pezinok estates to one of his creditors, Lajos Batthyány.³⁵ It is important to note that the legal situation of these two estates was different than that of the Červený Kameň estate, since Svätý Jur and Pezinok had always been held in pledge, with the Hungarian crown the true owner of the land.³⁶ According to the law, Rudolf

34 Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Rudolf Pálffy, Kráľová pri Senci, 8 April 1752. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. VII, F. IV, no. 3., record no. 17 (the original in German).

35 Rudolf's idea was that his portion would only be mortgaged for a year, so he could acquire the sum needed to pay off his debts. Rudolf Pálffy's letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Červený Kameň, December 25, 1751. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I., L. II, F. I, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

36 In the sixteenth century, the estates of Svätý Jur and Pezinok were owned by János Krusich and István Illésházy. It should be noted that Krusich was the first husband of Katalin Pálffy, sister of Miklós Pálffy, the “hero of Győr,” and after Krusich's death, Katalin Pálffy married Illésházy. She thus became a partial owner of the estates of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, and after Illésházy's death, she inherited the estates in their entirety. In Kata Pálffy's will, she stated that she did not have a hereditary right to the property and instead she held a pledge worth up to 326 thousand forints, but she allowed that if the pledge were dissolved, the money received should be put to

could not decide unilaterally to re-mortgage his part but rather had to summon a family council. Károly Pál Pálffy agreed with Rudolf's brothers, Miklós and Lipót, to buy Rudolf's portion, stressing to his nephew Miklós that his decision was guided by his "love for the family."³⁷ On the first day of 1752, an agreement was made between Károly Pál Pálffy and Rudolf Pálffy according to which Rudolf sold his portions of Svatý Jur and Pezinok to his uncle. Consequently, Rudolf lost his part of the property but was relieved of his 300,000-forint debt. Károly Pál promised to pay Rudolf's creditors. At the end of the contract, the parties agreed that if Rudolf Pálffy or his heirs managed to acquire 300,000 forints within ten years, that is, by St George's feast day in 1761, and use it to pay the amount Károly Pál had invested in the estate, then he or his heirs could reacquire Rudolf's portion.³⁸

However, even after the agreement, Károly Pál and Rudolf were incapable of controlling "their baser instincts" and maintaining contact "harmoniously". In the spring of 1752, Károly Pál found new reason for upsetting his nephew: the upkeep of Červený Kameň Castle. According to Károly Pál, the roof was in such bad condition that rainwater had seeped through and destroyed part of the stucco decoration. He threatened to take Rudolf to court if he did not repair the damage.³⁹ The two clearly quarreled for months over this matter: Rudolf argued in October that the previous summer he had made some necessary repairs around the castle.⁴⁰ These, however, did not prove sufficient, so Rudolf promised his uncle to request a "fair" and "impartial" person to decide whether he had adequately met his responsibilities. He considered, President of the Hungarian Royal Chamber Antal Grassalkovich was best-suited to the task.⁴¹

acquiring property. In 1625, István and János Pálffy, the two older sons of Miklós, designated as the heirs in Kata Pálffy's will, submitted their claim to the estate. After paying 200,000 forints, they became the pledge holders. According to the will, the property would be passed on as a *majoratus*, with the oldest son always inheriting the undivided property, while the revenue from it would be divvied up between the younger brothers. In 1694, Miklós and János Pálffy—both later palatines—divided the estate between them. They agreed that it should be inherited by the male heirs in equal parts. Málnási, *A herceg és gróf Pálffy család levéltára*, 51–52, 79.

37 Draft of Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Miklós Pálffy, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

38 Agreement between Károly Pál Pálffy and Rudolf Pálffy, 1 January 1752. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. I, N. 6, record no. 19 (the original in German).

39 Draft of Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Rudolf Pálffy, April 1752. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

40 Rudolf Pálffy's letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, 17 October 1752. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

41 Rudolf Pálffy's letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Červený Kameň, 23 September 1753. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. I, no. 3, record no. 19 (the original in German).

The dispute concerning Červený Kameň Castle is also interesting because Rudolf Pálffy was among the heirs who were known to have spent considerable amounts on construction work. He established a riding stable in the northern part of the building, had new residences created in the eastern and southern bastions, and had them roofed. Prior to the era of Rudolf Pálffy, the bastions had been uncovered.⁴²

It is highly likely that the dispute concerning the castle sprang from Rudolf's penchant for building projects that particularly irritated his uncle. For example, he built a wall on the bastion belonging to his part of the castle, which then prevented Károly Pál and his subjects from freely moving around the area of the castle. Naturally, his uncle did not hesitate to express his disapproval: "those insults that are unjustified, that in fact violate the family agreement, are very distressing. After all, we clearly stated that the bastions are for joint use [...] and besides this, nobody should prevent us from freely accessing the forest from there." He repeatedly threatened his nephew: "if you do not immediately put an end to all of this, I will have to file a complicated and unpleasant lawsuit [...]." Once more, Károly Pál discussed the issue of what he considered the illegal hunting practices of Rudolf, who had again entered restricted areas on his hunts.⁴³ Rudolf responded that a part of the bastion had been closed off because he had established residential quarters for his increasingly large family, and in doing so he had not violated any family agreements.⁴⁴

In 1759, a fire broke out in the castle of Červený Kameň, requiring Károly Pál, too, to contribute to the repairs. At the Pozsony County assembly, he managed to come to an agreement with his nephew Rudolf about who would renovate which part of the building. In the midst of the renovations, however, quarrels resumed between the two relatives. Károly Pál's patience had worn thin, causing him to file a lawsuit against Rudolf in which he claimed to have contributed more to the restoration of Červený Kameň than his nephew. Rudolf lost the lawsuit and the court ordered him to pay 2,233 forints and 87.5 denars to his uncle. Furthermore, he had to relinquish half of the town of Častá and the upper sawmill.⁴⁵

Act Two: the "unwise and shameful process"

In 1760, Károly Pál faced new challenges. His creditors, who had lent him money to settle Rudolf's debts, filed suit demanding repayment in the district court of

42 Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 607–8; Jedlicska, *Kiskárpáti emlékek*, 56.

43 Draft of Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Rudolf Pálffy, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

44 Rudolf Pálffy's letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Červený Kameň, 26 October 1754. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3., record no. 17 (the original in German).

45 Jedlicska, *Kiskárpáti emlékek*, 56; ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. VI, no. I, record no. 19.

Trnava. This marked the beginning of a protracted court battle that affected not only the Pálffy family but also reverberated in the Imperial Court in Vienna and in contemporary public opinion. The creditors wanted Károly Pál to repay his debts from the income of the *senioratus* and *majoratus* estates. Pálffy agreed but stipulated that he did not wish to relinquish his hunting castle in Kráľová pri Senci or his house in Bratislava. He also proposed that, aside from a lawsuit, the case be handled by arbitrators as well, namely Palatine Lajos Batthyány, Chamber President Antal Grassalkovich, and the Hungarian Chancellor Ferenc Esterházy. According to law, the members of the Pálffy family could lodge an appeal with the Hungarian High Courts, the Royal Table and the Table of Seven (the Supreme Court of Justice in Hungary of that time) against the ruling of the Trnava district court.⁴⁶

Because at this point of the research we lack the complete documentation of the lawsuit, we do not know how the case played out in the various courts. Instead, we can attempt to reconstruct the events from Károly Pál Pálffy's letters addressed to the main figures in Hungarian public and political life between 1757 and 1767.⁴⁷ This means we know of the details of the family strife and the lawsuits mainly from Károly Pál's subjective point of view.

The lawsuit probably unfolded in the autumn of 1760, as indicated in Károly Pál's letter to Royal Treasurer Imre Batthyány (1707–1774): "after which the Curia, under Your Excellency's fair and wise governance and leadership, absolved [me from blame] in this expensive and unwise process [...]." Károly Pál wanted to settle his debts by paying an annual 20,000 forints, but the "familia," the other members of the family, did not agree to this. They wanted to raise the amount to 25,000 forints, which "treacherously excited" the count's creditors, leading them to demand that the count should agree to the higher installments or they would seize his estates.⁴⁸

Not only did the lawsuit cost Károly Pál Pálffy a huge sum of money but it also tarnished his reputation. During the process, the family members claimed the count had accumulated further debts and, in addition, that he "had ordered the forests cleared without restraint and destroyed them." Károly Pál asserted that these statements were untrue. As for the accumulation of further debts, he contended that: "I have surely not increased my debts but rather I spend night and day grappling with how to escape the countless huge costs of the present process [...]." According to Károly Pál, the second claim, that he had cleared the forests, was

46 Report of the (Court or Hungarian) Chamber from 1760. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. I, record no. 19 (the original in German).

47 His correspondence can be found here: ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, record no. 28.

48 Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Imre Batthyány, 14 January 1761. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 8, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

similarly untrue: “I believe that others in possession of a forest have been legally permitted to exercise their noble prerogative, and therefore I too should not be prohibited from doing with my estate what I please [...].”⁴⁹

In numerous letters, Pálffy alluded to the fact that his present financial situation was not ideal, as the income from his estates had been adversely affected in the years prior to the lawsuit. The year 1757 had been particularly difficult because “my Jager House⁵⁰ was struck by lightning and completely destroyed in the blink of an eye; this is a great misfortune to me in addition to the calamities that struck my cereal crops in the land outside of Topoľníky (Nyárasd) and my Červený Kameň vineyards, and these have thereby greatly reduced my income.”⁵¹

Károly Pál Pálffy, however, was unwilling to accept defeat and did everything he could to improve his situation. His letters show the influential count had numerous patrons, friends, and “well-wishers” in the Kingdom of Hungary and in the Imperial Court in Vienna. However, he also had “ill-wishers,” who tried to prevent him from successfully settling his case. In addition, he continued to try and reach an agreement with his relatives, especially Miklós (VIII), Lipót (II), and Rudolf.

From the count’s correspondence, it is possible to discern who the “well-wishers” were. Palatine Lajos Batthyány (1696–1765) and Royal Treasurer Imre Batthyány were among his main supporters; unfortunately, few letters have survived from the correspondence he maintained with them. We know much more about the count’s social network from his letters to Antal Grassalkovich (1694–1771), President of the Hungarian Royal Chamber and one of the most successful eighteenth-century politicians. After completing his legal studies, this young scion of a family from the lower nobility had a brilliant career. In 1720, he became a lawyer for the diocese of Vác and royal director of legal matters. Four years later, he became an adviser to the court and in 1727, he was appointed to head the Committee of Newly Acquired Lands (*Neoacquistica Commissio*).⁵² Between 1731 and 1748, he was Chief Justice and afterwards President of the Hungarian Chamber. In 1736, he was given the title of baron, and in 1743 he was elevated to count. In 1751, he became keeper of the crown, and later, through the good graces of Maria Theresa, he was made master of stables and received the title of “*valóságos belső titkos tanácsos*”, or Confidant

49 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Imre Batthyány, Králová pri Senci, 30 October 1760. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 8, record no. 28 (the original in German).

50 Hunting lodge.

51 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to an unknown recipient, Králová pri Senci, 12 June 1757. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A.VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 3, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

52 This commission, established at the end of the seventeenth century, was authorized to administer the lands reconquered from the Turks after their 150-year sojourn in the central area of the former Hungarian Kingdom.

Privy Councilor to the Empress. He acquired large estates and had magnificent residences built in Bratislava, Gödöllő, and Hatvan. From Károly Pál's point of view, Grassalkovich's "good will" was advantageous to his lawsuit for two reasons. First, during the protracted quarrel, Grassalkovich's legal knowledge was a huge benefit. In one of his letters, Károly Pál called the aristocrat "one of the great legal scholars of his time." Second, his position as one of Maria Theresa's favorite and most influential advisers was also very important. Indeed, the Viennese connections of the President of the Hungarian Royal Chamber proved helpful to Pálffy since the number of his "ill-wishers" had increased while his case was being litigated.

One of Károly Pál's most influential opponents was Ferenc Barkóczy (1710–1765), the archbishop of Esztergom. The count tried in vain to win his support with kind words and compliments: "I appeal in full confidence to Your Grace not only as my kind Lord and Patron but also as our country's primary Column and Primate. Please do me the kindness of taking to heart the great unfairness that befalls the Pálffy family and the deterioration which clearly follows from this, especially my tribulations." Károly Pál asked the Archbishop to direct all applications to the Empress to the district court of Trnava, because in his opinion, judgment in the Pálffy case should be made there, "[b]ecause if this Illegal Process continues, when every allegation is sent to Vienna by the Trnava Court, where will be the seats and courts that serve the Laws of Our Country and the Law and Justice established in our country by the ancient kings and confirmed by Our Majesty?"⁵³ Károly Pál's letter seems to indicate that his relatives wished to appeal to the Empress's good graces. Károly Pál Pálffy, however, insisted that a judgment be made by a Hungarian court having authority based on rules in accordance with the private law of the Hungarian nobility as stipulated in the *Tripartitum*.

The archbishop of Esztergom, however, did not want to deal with Károly Pál's case, as is clear in this excerpt from the nobleman's letter to the archbishop: "I have painfully understood the disaffection Your Grace has shown me, although I cannot imagine even the smallest offense I might have caused Your Grace." The count thought that intrigue may have caused the archbishop to distance himself: "*In reliquo* I entreat Your Grace to not give immediate credence to the deceitful betrayals of those who envy me but rather to listen to me, as a true well-wisher, and to instead give credence to me over them."⁵⁴ Károly Pál's letter, however, did not inspire Ferenc Barkóczy to take a more favorable view: "[...] after representing the status of my affairs to the H(onorable) Primate, the next day I received a negative

53 Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Ferenc Barkóczy, Bratislava, 10 May 1762. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 25 a, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

54 Károly Pál Pálffy's letter to Ferenc Barkóczy, 25 April 1762. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 25, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

response, [...] I am grateful for his prayer but I need more; I do not know how to answer His Grace.”⁵⁵

Károly Pál Pálffy’s other “ill-wisher,” with whom he clashed several times during the litigation, was Ferenc Esterházy (1715–1785), President of the Hungarian Royal Chancery. He was the brother of Károly Eszterházy (1725–1799), the Archbishop of Eger, and like Grassalkovich, was one of the prominent figures in the Kingdom of Hungary during the reign of Maria Theresa. In 1760, he became Lord Lieutenant of Moson County, in 1762, was appointed to head the Hungarian Royal Chancery, and in 1771, was inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece.

In one of his letters, Károly Pál wrote: “I do not endeavor to write the Chancellor [Eszterházy], and the above-mentioned *Praeses* sir,⁵⁶ His Excellency, does not even recommend it. I know [the Chancellor] and the malice he bears towards me.” He added that Chancellor Eszterházy supported the confiscation of his estates.⁵⁷ In his letters, Károly Pál frequently refers to the well-educated Chancellor as the “Philosopher of Pest,” whose “argumentation” he believed contributed strongly to the loss of his case in the District Court of Trnava.⁵⁸ Ferenc Esterházy obviously had strong reason not to support Károly Pál Pálffy in his lawsuit. The archival material we have at our disposal suggests there were personal reasons for the antagonism between the two gentlemen. “The Chancellor just recently summoned Tihanyi⁵⁹ to Vienna, and yesterday, upon return, [Tihanyi] did not deny that he was working against me [...],” Pálffy wrote to Grassalkovich. “In a word: the Chancellor was pained that he had no role in the unfair claim against me in the Trnava case and sought some way, once again, to insert himself, whether he won or not, as he wishes to mortify me.”⁶⁰

The main problem, however, was still that the Pálffy family could not agree on how to free themselves from their accumulated debts and divide up their assets. In Károly Pál Pálffy’s words: “[...] the brothers, not knowing how to decide the matter, constantly bicker and fight [...].” Some in the Imperial Court in Vienna, headed by Maria Theresa, felt that the family members needed to reach agreement.⁶¹

55 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Antal Grassalkovich, Bratislava, 13 April 1762. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 16/8, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

56 He is referring to Antal Grassalkovich, president of the Hungarian Chamber.

57 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to an unknown recipient, Králová pri Senci, 12 June 1757. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 3, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

58 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Boldizsár Nádasdy, 14 January 1761. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 12, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

59 According to our research so far, the person of Tihanyi is not yet known.

60 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Antal Grassalkovich, Bratislava, 13 April 1762. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 16/8, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

61 Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to Antal Grassalkovich, Bratislava, 1 January 1762. ÖStA HHStA FA

In 1760, another relative of Károly Pál Pálffy was embittered by some of the more difficult moments in the litigation: his nephew János (VIII) Pálffy,⁶² the son of his brother Miklós (VII), took the position that Károly Pál should not use the income of the *majoratus* to pay the 300,000 forint debt. He was concerned that after the death of his uncle, he would be saddled with the entire debt and he would have to satisfy the creditors.⁶³

János Pálffy had numerous patrons who shared his views, which Károly Pál found infuriating, especially since, in his opinion, János led the same kind of prodigal lifestyle as his uncle Rudolf. "Count János, living extravagantly in Vienna, spends thousands on games, throwing away money like garbage in both Vienna and in (military) camp."⁶⁴ The three brothers, Lipót, Miklós and Rudolf, formed an alliance with János, and together tried to deprive Károly Pál of his wealth: "[...] but what is really difficult for me, whatever happens with my case, is that I am defamed by my relatives, they attack me in court after court, and everywhere they slander me [...]."⁶⁵

In the end, Károly Pál Pálffy managed to find a way to resolve his debt problems by turning to a new creditor, a certain Baron Weber. The Viennese nobleman appeared ready to take over the 240-thousand-forint pledge on the estates of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. Károly Pál wanted to turn over the Topoľníky estate to his creditors in order to clear himself of his 174-thousand-forint debt.⁶⁶ At first, it seemed that János had agreed to a contract with Baron Weber and the tensions between the two relatives had eased: "János Pálffy, who presents his good side to me, converses with me nearly every day in these weeks, given that he lives in Veľký Biel (Magyarbél), and would like to negotiate with me before Your Excellency." However, his nephew's duplicitousness soon became apparent: "[...] he machinates against me most vigorously in front of Her Highness; I have heard, that he tried to persuade Her Highness that I had deceived her in *Divisione*,⁶⁷ and that before Your Excellency [he claimed] he had promised forty-one thousand forints a year for my subsistence and that I did not want to accept this [...]." Károly Pál was deeply offended by his nephew's behavior: "[...] in any case, Your

Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 16/1, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

62 János (VIII) Pálffy (1728–1791)—royal advisor, lieutenant general, head of Borsod County. His wife was Mária Gabriella Colloredo-Mansfeld. Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 608.

63 Report of the (Court or Hungarian) Chamber from 1760. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. I, record no. 19 (the original in German).

64 Letter of Károly Pál Pálffy to János Jeszenák, 20 February 1762. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 19, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

65 Letter of Károly Pál Pálffy to Antal Grassalkovich, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 16/19, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

66 Letter of Károly Pál Pálffy to Antal Grassalkovich, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 16/15 c, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

67 The dividing up of the property.

Excellency can imagine how difficult this has been for me, that to my face he has kind words, but behind my back, he reviles me for no reason [...].”⁶⁸

Act Three: Károly Pál and the prodigal young counts

When Rudolf Pálffy died in 1768, the longstanding feud took a new turn. In his will, he stipulated that his heirs must aspire above all to keep the family's estate together, but he left it to them to decide how to achieve this.⁶⁹ To his sons not only did he pass on his huge debt but also the family strife. Without question, the most interesting part of Rudolf's legacy was the catalogue of artworks and library books. Unfortunately, his sons had to sell a portion of the art to settle their father's debts.⁷⁰

Károly Pál Pálffy also had to continue the family litigation, and therefore, he participated in the quarrel over Rudolf's estate, since he was the guardian of the two sons, János (IX) Pálffy (1744–1794) and Rudolf Pálffy the younger (1750–1802).⁷¹ The surviving family correspondence makes it clear: the apple did not fall far from the tree. Rudolf Pálffy's sons caused plenty of headaches for their uncle.

The younger Rudolf Pálffy chose a military career, and Károly Pál financed his studies. It seems, however, that the disbursements were occasionally late, as Eleonore Kaunitz repeatedly sent requests to the elderly relative: “[...] I humbly request Your Grace to write a letter to Commander Brüssel to extend a 300-forint advance for my son's journey to Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt); I hope I am still in good enough standing [...]”⁷² Rudolf Pálffy also beseeched him to “show

68 Letter of Károly Pál Pálffy to Antal Grassalkovich, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 16/19, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

69 The tenth point in the will stated that his heirs were his two sons, who had to prevent the “division” of the properties; in other words, the properties had to be kept together (the term *“in massa”* is used in the original). Once the heirs had come of age, management of the estate should fall to the one “more suited to it.” In the thirteenth point, Rudolf Pálffy forbid his sons from amassing debt. If they should need to acquire a loan, they could only do so with the “family's permission.” Will of Rudolf Pálffy, 4 October 1765. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. VI, no. I, record no. 19 (the original in German).

70 The heirs had to sell a silverware set worth 4531 forints and thirty and a half denars, part of Rudolf's “wardrobe,” horses (including splendid thoroughbreds), and pieces from an invaluable set of horse tack, among other things. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. VI, no. 8, record no. 19 (the original in German).

71 The agreement concluded between János (IX) Pálffy, his brother Rudolf Pálffy, and their mother, Eleonore Kaunitz, can be found here: ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 9, no. 10, no. 11, no. 12, no. 13, no. 14, no. 15, no. 16, no. 17, no. 18, no. 19, no. 20, record no. 19.

72 Letter of Eleonore Kaunitz to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 7 October 1771. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

mercy" and send the desired amount.⁷³ The elderly aristocrat was clearly exhausted by all the money transfers and strongly castigated his scrounging relatives: "[...] your most recent letter is full of complaints; you fear that your honor and reputation will be tarnished if you fail to settle your 2000-forint debt and the amount you need to pay in exchange for the title of chamberlain. You write that you would pay this amount yourself, but first you would like to wait and see how the estate is divided between you and your brother." Károly Pál further stated his opinion about the division of the estate and about Eleonore Kaunitz, with whom he had maintained a fraught relationship for years: "I cannot imagine how, in the present circumstances, the division would be beneficial. On the contrary, I think it will produce more harm. Your mother, who has overseen the management of the estate for years, is responsible for the situation that has developed. As your guardian, I am not tasked with paying your debts or obtaining money for you [...] this is all because your mother does not know how to manage the estate."⁷⁴ Eleonore Kaunitz was angry to learn that Károly Pál refused to transfer the requested amounts of money regularly: "[...] I was surprised to learn from Your Grace's letter and the words of Commander B. von Purcell, which you attached, that my son has not always received the requested amount. Your Grace should be aware that my son is not going to Sibiu for his amusement [...] I will speak to His Grace, my brother-in-law Lipót Pálffy, about the matter and seek his support."⁷⁵

The above make it clear that Károly Pál was not willing to be the "sponsor" of his relatives. He was much more willing, however, to summon his Viennese connections to help his nephew. For example, when Rudolf Pálffy the younger aspired to the office of imperial chamberlain,⁷⁶ his uncle readily offered his assistance: "Your desire to obtain the office of imperial chamberlain is not only admirable but is splendid." As patron, Károly Pál recommended two influential members of the Viennese court: Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz (1711–1794), prince, imperial councilor, diplomat and one of the closest advisors to Maria Theresa, and Johann Adam von Auersperg (1721–1795), prince and Lord Chamberlain.⁷⁷

⁷³ Letter of Rudolf Pálffy the younger to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 31 December 1772. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 21, record no. 19 (the original in German).

⁷⁴ Draft of a letter by Károly Pál Pálffy to Rudolf Pálffy the younger, 3 January 1773. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 21, record no. 19 (the original in German).

⁷⁵ Letter of Eleonore Kaunitz to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 20 June 1772. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

⁷⁶ Letter of Rudolf Pálffy the younger to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 21 April 1771. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 21, record no. 19 (the original in German).

⁷⁷ Draft of a letter by Károly Pál Pálffy to Rudolf Pálffy the younger, 25 April 1771. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 21, record no. 19 (the original in German).

Soon, however, the “harmony” between the uncle and his nephew dissolved. However, it was love rather than finances that had reignited tension. During his residence in Sibiu, Rudolf Pálffy the younger fell in love with a certain Countess Bethlen.⁷⁸ His letter reveals that it was not only her beauty but also her considerable wealth that prompted him to ask for her hand. If the marriage had taken place, the Pálffys would have needed to reach very deeply into their pockets: “[The Bethlens] request a “bride price”⁷⁹ of twenty thousand forints “and a three-thousand-forint bridal gift⁸⁰ [...] furthermore they have asked me to resign from the army and move and remain here while my father-in-law is still alive [...].”⁸¹

Károly Pál could scarcely conceal his anger in his letter to his nephew: “I was indeed surprised by your letter [...] but I was even more shocked that they wish to persuade you to leave the army and that you appear willing to do so. This entire affair will cause you and your descendants a great deal of hardship. It could destroy any prospect of further prosperity, you will become the object of ridicule in the eyes of both your wife and the entire sober-minded world [...].”⁸² The family shared Károly Pál’s views, as is obvious in the following excerpt of a letter by a family member:

78 The persons of Miss Bethlen and her father are not known at this stage of the research. Hopefully, the research will continue after the pandemic is over and the enigma will be solved.
Letter of Rudolf Pálffy the younger to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 21 April 1771. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 6, record no. 19 (in the original German).

79 Regarding the English equivalent of “hitbér”, I consulted Zsuzsanna Peres, who explains the meaning of this legal institution as follows:
The word *hitbér* has no proper equivalent in English terminology. The institution is to be called *dos* in Latin, which does not have the same meaning as in Western European legal terminology, where it refers to dowry. The *hitbér* can be translated as “bride price” because, according to some Hungarian scholars (e.g., Ervin Roszner), its origins can be traced back to the price paid to the father for the bride in ancient times before the establishment of the Hungarian state. See more: Roszner, *Régi magyar házassági jog*. In some articles the *hitbér* is called a counter-dowry, because it used to be paid by the husband as compensation or consideration for the dowry brought by the future wife as a contribution to the marriage. Finding a suitable translation for Hungarian legal institutions is not easy, it caused some problems even for the nobles of that time, who spoke and wrote in three languages (Latin, German, and Hungarian), so they usually wrote in deeds at least in Hungarian and Latin, or German and Latin, one after the other. See more about this: Peres, *Marriage Contracts of the Hungarian Aristocracy*, 26–48; Peres, *The Marital Property Rights of Hungarian Noble Women*, 125–32.

80 Regarding the question I consulted Zsuzsanna Peres, citation: The institution bears the Latin name *parapherna*, which refers to the “bridal gift” that the husband or the husband’s family gives to the wife right at the conclusion of the marriage.

81 Draft of a letter by Károly Pál Pálffy to Rudolf Pálffy the younger, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 6, record no. 19.

82 Draft of a letter by Károly Pál Pálffy to Rudolf Pálffy the younger, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 6, record no. 19 (the original in German).

"I agree with every word of the letter my brother sent to my nephew. It is clear that the young man views the world through rose-colored glasses. It should be considered that he does not know the ways of the world and his upbringing leaves much to be desired. He is in love for the first time in his life, so of course, he willingly agrees to everything. The point of view of the young lady's father is also understandable. Every father would impose similar conditions if his daughter were entering marriage with an ample dowry." This relative, however, did not oppose the marriage plans as plainly as Károly Pál: "I will send Kornis's⁸³ letter. I leave the final to decision to my brother. I would not like to involve myself in this matter."⁸⁴

In early modern aristocratic circles, marriages were not concerned with love. The wealthy Countess Bethlen, whose dowry would have contributed significantly to relieving the financial burdens of Rudolf Pálffy the younger, was nevertheless not the appropriate spouse for an aristocratic family from Pozsony County. Presumably, the greatest obstacle was the condition imposed by the future father-in-law, requiring Rudolf to move to Transylvania and give up his potentially successful and lucrative career in the military and the Viennese Imperial Court. The marriage to the Transylvanian countess never took place; instead, Rudolf Pálffy the younger married a member of the Viennese imperial aristocracy, Antonia Kolowrat-Krakowsky. His memories of the pretty Transylvanian countess clearly faded, as his union with the Viennese aristocrat produced fifteen children.⁸⁵

The last years of Károly Pál's life did not transpire peacefully or quietly. In 1772, the quarrel over the castle of Červený Kameň erupted again; this time involving the two brothers, Rudolf the younger and János, and their mother Eleonore. The reason was János Pálffy's marriage to Mária Anna Esterházy, which required János to move out of the castle. The young couple, though, had no intention of leaving the comfortable family home, therefore, Eleonore Kaunitz turned to Károly Pál for advice.⁸⁶ János should have entered into an agreement with his brother and mother concerning the division of the castle but was unwilling. If he had moved out of the castle, his carefree lifestyle would have come to an end. He would have needed to support his wife from his own resources, which would obviously have been an expensive undertaking given that his wife was an Esterházy daughter. For understandable reasons,

⁸³ The person of Kornis is not yet known at the stage of our research. As soon as the pandemic is over and research goes on, it will hopefully be revealed who Kornis was and the role he played in the case.

⁸⁴ Probably the draft of a letter by Lipót Pálffy, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. II, no. 6, record no. 19.

⁸⁵ Jedlicska, *Eredeti részletek*, 611.

⁸⁶ Eleonore Kaunitz's letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 9 December 1772. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

he did not want to negotiate with his family about dividing up the property: “instead he sent notes and messages.” The situation deteriorated to the point that he wished to avoid spending Christmas with his mother.⁸⁷

This was a familiar story from earlier generations: a young Pálffy disdained his relatives until he ran out of money. Now, János Pálffy and his wife found themselves in similar financial distress, and in January 1773, the young count had no choice but to humble himself and write a begging letter to his elderly uncle. Apparently fed up with supporting his extravagant relations, Károly Pál adamantly refused to help. He scolded János for causing his own problems by neither listening to advice nor taking steps to settle the debts he had inherited from his father. Károly Pál wrote: “dark clouds are forming above you” and never sent any more money to János or his brother.⁸⁸ Károly Pál was saved from further unpleasantries, strife and lawsuits by his death in 1774. As he had no male heirs, his nephew János (VIII) Pálffy inherited his bequest.

Conclusion

The Pálffy lawsuits were not unique in the early modern period. We know of numerous cases in which an aristocratic family turned to the courts to resolve property disputes. At approximately the same time, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Zichy family was also embroiled in litigation concerning István Zichy’s will.⁸⁹ The study of lawsuits involving aristocratic families is complicated by the lack of case studies examining the reasons for the lawsuits, the litigation process, or the circumstances in which judgement was passed.⁹⁰ However, there is an obvious parallel between the Pálffy and Zichy family cases: the era of extensive land acquisitions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had begun to wane in the eighteenth century for those aristocratic families who had risen as *homines novi* following the Battle of Mohács (the Pálffys, Esterházys, Bathányis, Zichys, etc.). Fewer estates were available for them to acquire, as newly arrived noble families fought for property. Meanwhile art collecting had become fashionable and was seen as a way for noble families to project their grandeur in court.⁹¹ It was therefore a matter of prestige for such families

⁸⁷ Eleonore Kaunitz’s letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Bratislava, 16 December 1772. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

⁸⁸ Károly Pál Pálffy’s letter to János Pálffy, Vienna, 3 January 1773. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17 (the original in German).

⁸⁹ János Zichy sued several relatives: Ferenc, Miklós, and István Zichy. The litigation was primarily over the Divény estate. Peres, *A magyar hitbizomány*, 129.

⁹⁰ Her most recent case study on the Festetics family: Peres, “Az özvegyi jog.”

⁹¹ Regarding the intense interests of the Hungarian nobility in art collections, see the example of the Erdődy family: Bubryák, *Családtörténet és reprezentáció*. Regarding the importance of

to acquire a collection, but they did so at enormous costs, and even the wealthiest families amassed increasing amounts of debt. Obtaining even the smallest part of an estate understandably became a question of life and death for the family members. The enormous cost of litigation and lawyer's fees did not dissuade them from fighting for what they believed was their legal right.

The letters of the Pálffy family, however, make it clear that none of the aristocrats willingly admitted to desiring more money or property at the expense of their relatives, who would incur serious financial losses. In fact, it was quite the contrary: they could not emphasize enough that they were acting in the "interest of the family"; it was their mission to prevent "misunderstandings and disharmony" and their primary goal was to live in "peace and amicable agreement" with their relatives.⁹² They considered the tensions "unpleasantries" that accompanied the property disputes and felt they were beneath a family of such high rank. In Károly Pál's words: "such things were not permissible amongst cavaliers."⁹³

Contemporary public opinion was also critical of highly ranked gentlemen who engaged in public disputes, especially for such vulgar reasons as a desire for money or profit. Aristocratic wealth was meant to express primarily the individual's or the family's social prestige: "[...] Miklós Pálffy should recall that he owes his wealth to the merits of his ancestors. Gratitude and appreciation, however, require that he do more than reap profit from the estates acquired through the principle of *senioratus*. He should recall that *senioratus* itself increases his respectability in the eyes of the world [...]."⁹⁴ Miklós Forgách expressed this more stridently in a letter to Károly Pál Pálffy: "Those who seek only profit do not deserve the name Pálffy."⁹⁵

Condemnation of the quarrels between aristocrats, however, was openly expressed. Indeed, as in the modern period, the public took great pleasure in the scandals and spats of the elite: "Plenty would like to see feuds drag on and increase in vitriol."⁹⁶ The protracted litigation, however, cast a pall on members of the most respectable layer of society, too, as Károly Pál Pálffy expressed: "But I must admit that as a *familia*

representation related to the art collections of the Esterházy family, see: Körner, *Mit königlichem Anspruch*, 219–47.

92 Károly Pálffy's letter to Rudolf (I) Pálffy, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L. VII, F. IV, no. 3, record no. 17.

93 The expression "*Kavaliere*" appears in the original.

94 Report from 1752, the document does not contain the name of the author or the recipient. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L.VII, F. III, record no. 17 (the original in German).

95 Miklós Forgách's letter to Károly Pál Pálffy, Ilok (Újlak), 14 January 1771. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. I, L.VII, F. III, record no. 17 (the original in Hungarian).

96 Report of the Court or Hungarian Chamber from 1760. ÖStA HHStA, FA Pálffy, A. I, L. II, F. I, N. 6, record no. 19 (the original in German).

my *creditum* has been thoroughly tarnished and destroyed [...].”⁹⁷ To his friend Antal Grassalkovich, he frankly admitted that he would prefer not to be present in Viennese court society, because when he was there, he felt “as though I do not exist.”⁹⁸

The most serious outcome of the longstanding family conflicts was the poisoning of interpersonal relationships and the creation of unbridgeable differences among the family members. The damage was inestimable, as the social costs could not be compensated with money, art or property. Antal Grassalkovich warned his friend Károly Pál Pálffy of this danger: “[...] I believe the family will realize too late how much they have lost [...].”⁹⁹

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97 Károly Pálffy’s letter to Imre Batthyány, 30 October 1760. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 8, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

98 Károly Pálffy’s letter to Antal Grassalkovich, n.d. ÖStA HHStA FA Pálffy, A. VIII, L. IX, F. IX, no. 19, record no. 28 (the original in Hungarian).

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The Family Tree of the Pálffys

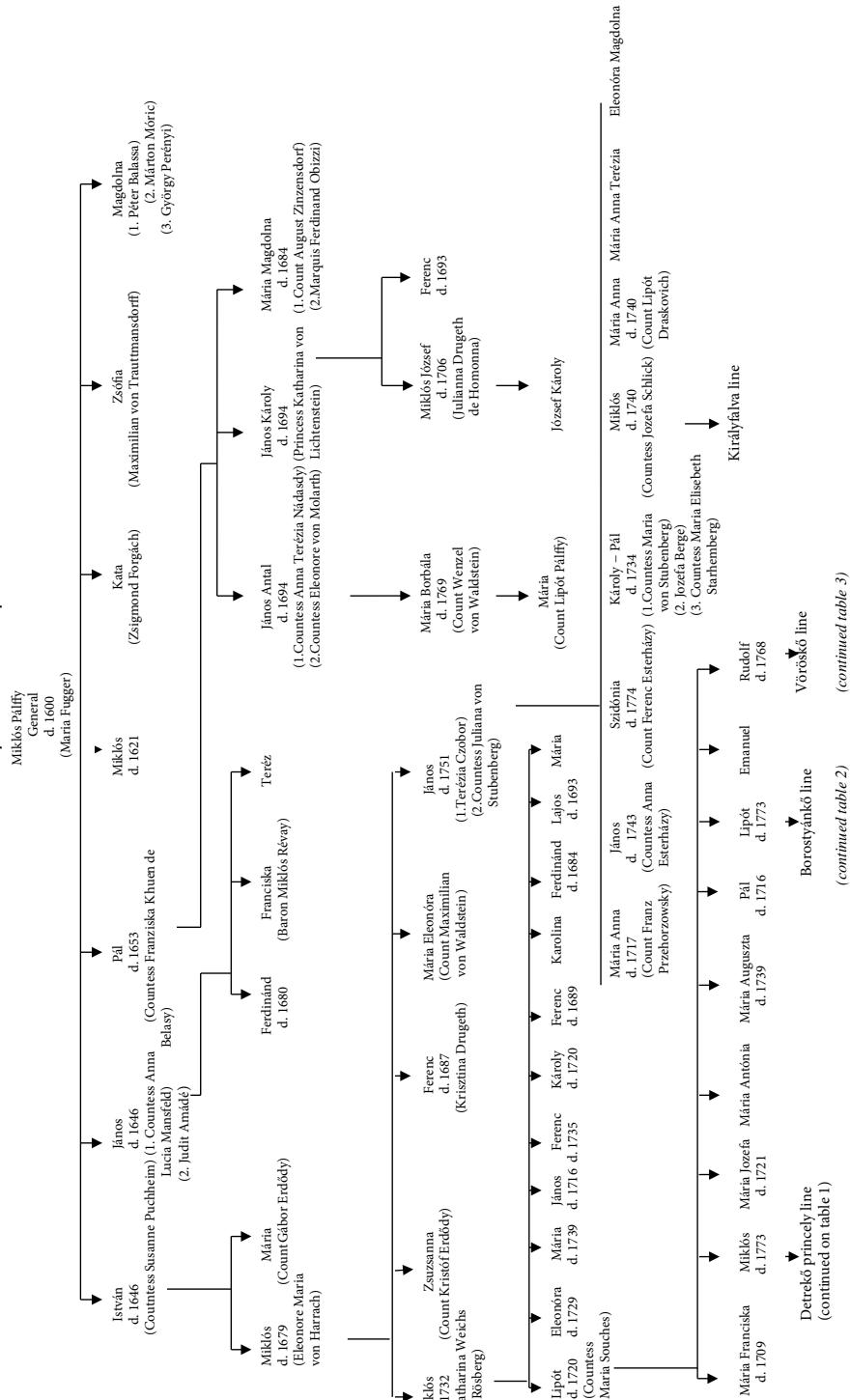


Table 1.

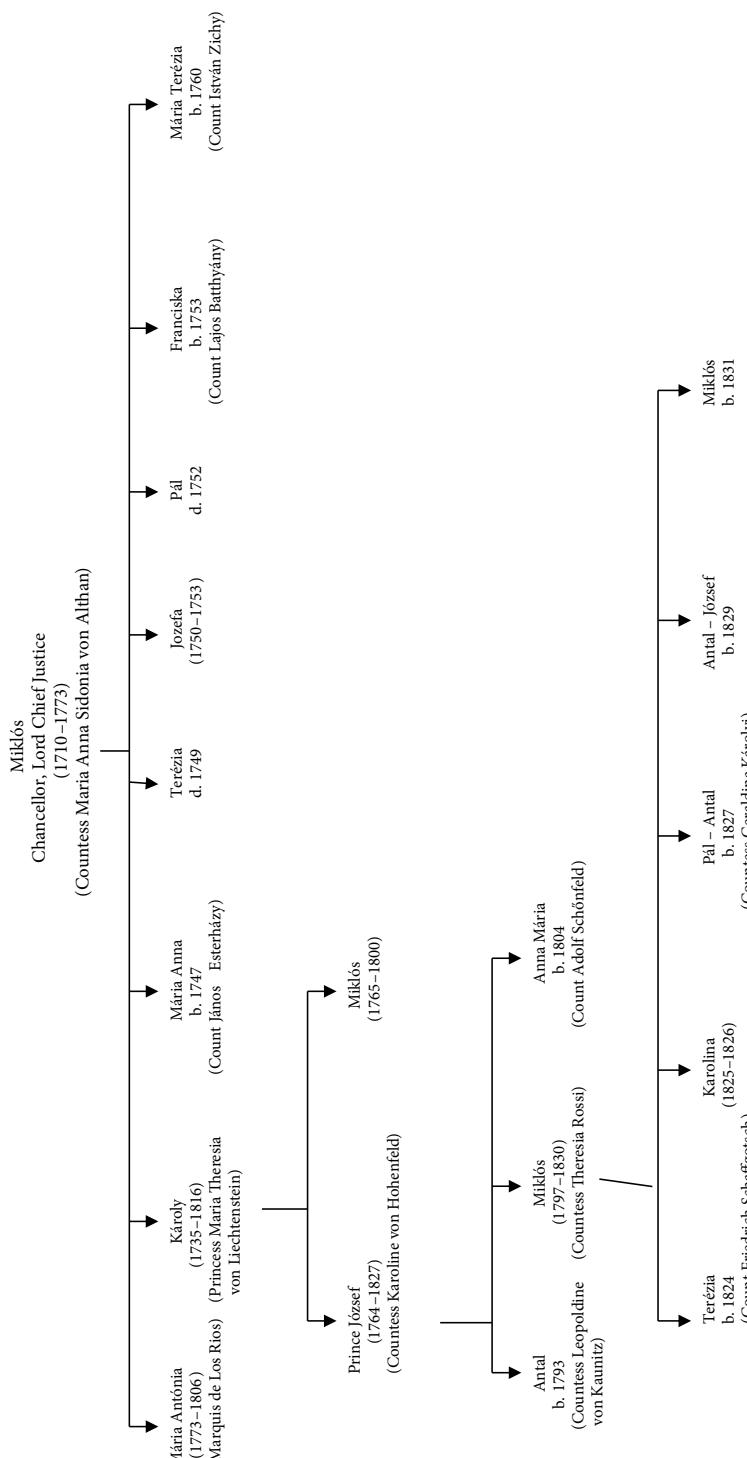


Table 2.

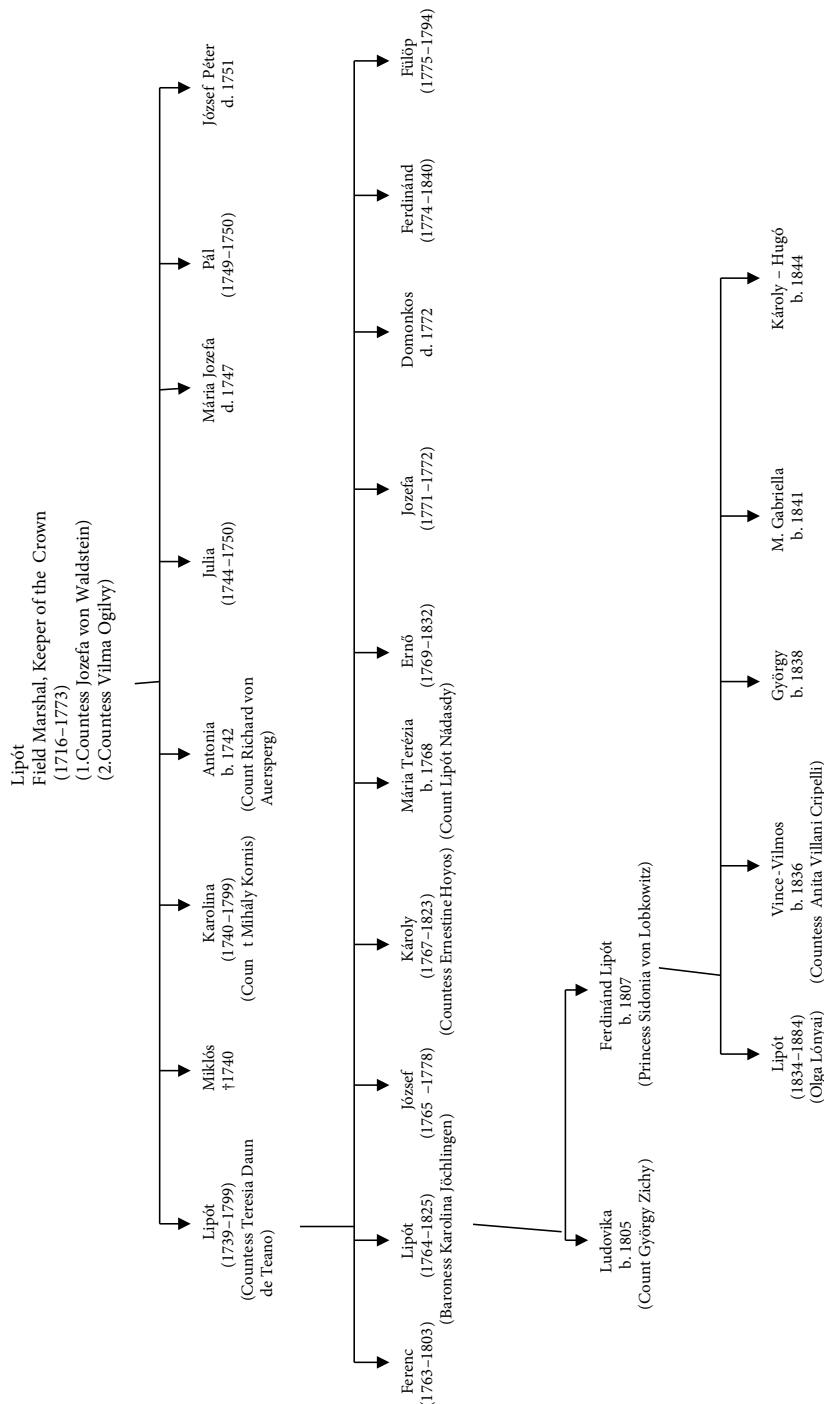
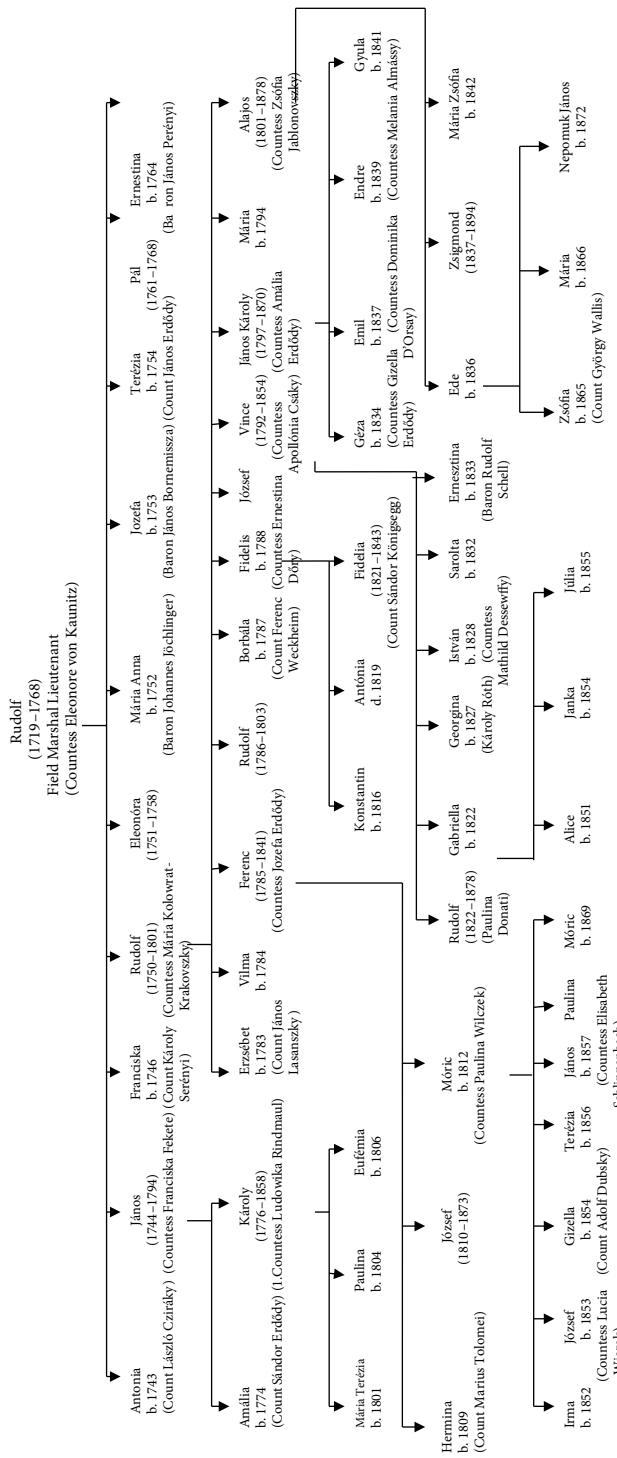


Table 3.



Source: Peres, Zsuzsanna. *A magyar "hithizományi" jog kezdetei* [The Early Stages of the Hungarian "Entailment" Law]. PhD diss., University of Pécs, 2009, 146-47.

Protestant “Athleta Christi” in the Propaganda of the Great Turkish War

The Demise of Georg Friedrich, Duke of Wurttemberg at Košice, 1685

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Abstract. The unexpected death of the young Duke Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg (1657–1685) on 18 October 1685 at the siege of Košice came as tremendous shock to the public of the Holy Roman Empire. The ducal family of Wurttemberg emphasized the principality's participation and terrible loss in the war against the Ottoman Empire with a spectacular funeral and some carefully composed propaganda of ultimate honor. The principality of Wurttemberg traditionally maintained a special relationship with the Hungarian Lutheran nobility and citizens. The death of the duke changed the attitudes of the Hungarian Lutheran elite since the principality, which provided them with significant support, had suffered such a great loss in the political, economic and spiritual center of Upper Hungary, Košice, while the young Lutheran prince of Wurttemberg, fighting among the imperial troops, could have helped with the negotiations about the surrender of the city. The funeral speeches in the collection of sermons highlighted various aspects of the royal image, and this was complemented by a volume of fine poems compiled by professors at the University of Tübingen. The decency of the fallen Prince Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg, which included both traditional *topos* and a modern set of values, represented several interdependent political interests, representing the high standard, literacy, and effectiveness of the propaganda of the War of Reconquest.

Keywords: political representation, funeral, ceremony, Lutheran community, Great Turkish War (1683–1699)

The cultural, economic and political interdependence of Central Europe was strengthened in several ways by the resistance against the Ottoman expansion of the time. The diverse, often hidden pressures and relationships within the Holy Roman Empire were of great importance to the Hungarian Kingdom, which did not conduct an independent foreign policy in that period. This was built not only through legitimate paths, but also through the informal channels of Hungarian

dignitaries, commoners actively engaged in politics, and educated urban citizens. The hidden possibilities of conciliation of interests, the wide variety of scenes, and the sophisticated tools can only be grasped properly during periods which witnessed such significant political and strategic turning points. A special publication about the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), which was waged in the hope of expelling the Ottomans, highlights the carefully maintained imperial network of the Hungarian Lutheran community.¹

At four o'clock in the morning on 8/18² October 1685, Duke Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg (1657–1685) was shot dead during the siege of Košice (Kassa, Kaschau). The unexpected death of the young duke sent shock-waves through the imperial public of the time.³ Printed newspapers and leaflets described Georg Friedrich's military career, his role in sieges and the circumstances of his death in detail. The ducal family of Wurttemberg emphasized the principality's participation and great loss in the war against the Ottoman Empire with a spectacular funeral and some carefully composed propaganda about the ultimate sacrifice.⁴ The state-of-the-art farewell proves that even dukes with less room for maneuver were involved in the race for publicity between the allies, aiming to assert their own political interests.⁵ The most important elements of the funeral ceremonies of Hungarian noblemen were marble tombs, stone sarcophagi and epitaphs.⁶ In the seventeenth century printed funeral sermons, prayers and eulogies also played significant roles in funerals. In August 1652, in spite of the official truce, four members of the Esterhazy family died in the battle of Velké Vozokany (Vezekény). During their sumptuous funeral ceremony in Trnava (Nagyszombat) the relatives who organized the ceremony—Ferenc Nádasdy, Dániel Esterházy and Ádám Batthyány—, wanted to emphasize the similarities between the tragedy of Velké Vozokany and the great

1 I am grateful for the help of Prof. Márta Fata at the Institute of Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies at Tübingen and Thematic Excellence Program Community building: family and tradition and innovation.

2 Pope Gregory XIII ordered the reform of the calendar in 1584. The Catholic electors of the Holy Roman Empire started to use the new Gregorian calendar in 1585, so they were ten days ahead of the Protestant states and cities; the latter territories insisted on using the Julian calendar or the double dating system.

3 Boethio, Ruhm-Belorberten Triumph-leuchtender, 183–84; Boener and Faber, Die Renn-Bahn, 29.

4 Maurer, "Zwischen Selbständigkeit und politischer Integration"; Hengerer, "Adelsgräber im Wien."

5 Burkhardt and Schumann, "Reichskriege"; Schilling, *Höfe und Allianzen*; Duchhardt and Schnettger, *Reichsständische Libertat*; Friedrich, *Drehscheibe Regensburg*; Tischer, "Der Immerwährende Reichstag."

6 Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 244–48; Pálffy and Perger, "A magyarországi török háborúk."

loss at Mohács in 1526, underlining and proclaiming the need for a new offensive war against the Ottoman Empire and representing the role of the Hungarian Kingdom in the struggle against the Turks. Ferenc Nádasdy financed not only the publication of printed prayers of the funeral of the four Esterházys but also commissioned engravings, visual reports on the funeral procession, the catafalque and the castrum doloris; by using these genres and methods he modernized and politicized the representation of the obsequies.

Duke Georg Friedrich (1657–1685) enlisted in the imperial army in 1682, took part in the relief of Vienna, as well as the battle of Šturovo (Párkány) in October 1683, the siege of Buda in 1684, and the capture of Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár, Neuhäsel) in August 1685, which served to create the necessary conditions for the recapture of Buda. In a letter to István Koháry, István Zichy, an experienced soldier writing from the camp at Nové Zámky, pointed out that "dukes of all ranks and orders", including the duke of Wurttemberg, were present during the siege of the fortress "not sparing any costs."⁷ Contemporary prints—such as Thomas Wiering's leaflet from Hamburg⁸—depicted the great military resources employed during the siege, including sapping, earthworks for cannon, and extensive batteries of artillery. The growing role of high-quality but expensive printed propaganda was also evident in the detailed engravings printed about the siege of Nové Zámky.⁹ A design by Louis Nicholas d'Hallart—the military engineer employed by Maximilian Emanuel II of Bavaria—showed both military professionalism and modern representation in the court-engraver Michael Wening's leaflet from Munich.¹⁰ A leaflet in July 1685 also reported on the minor injury of Duke Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg and his skill in building siege works at Nové Zámky.¹¹ Dr. Georg Sigmund Richter (1645–1711), an ambassador to the imperial assembly, sent a report to Nuremberg emphasizing his role in the siege of Buda.¹² (Figure 1)

7 István Zichy István to István Koháry, 20 July 1685. ÖStA Kriegsarchiv Türkenkriege Alte Feldakten 1685/7/11. f. 709. Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 105–21.

8 Die Belagerung Neuhäsel. MNM TK. 54 164. Joachim Wichmann fecit Hamburg. Im Jahr, 1685. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 220–22. P-3479–3481.

9 G. Etényi, "Diplomaten und Drucke."

10 Warhafftige Abbildung der Ungarischen Vestung Neuhäsel, wie solche Anno. 1685. Den 19. Augustu durch die christliche Waffen mit sturmenden Hand,... erobert worden... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 223. P-3482.

11 Eigentliche und nach dem natürlichen Grundris auf das genaueste aussgestalltete Kupffer-Abbildung, der Nieder-Ungarische Vestung Neuhäusel... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 209. P-3467.

12 Staatsarchiv Nürnberg Reichstagsakten 311. (1684. April – 1685. Januar) fol. 19. 1684. Okt. 2.



Figure 1 Portrait of Georg Friedrich Württemberg as a military hero of the Ottoman War
(engraved by Bartholomäus Kilian) © Haupstaatsarchiv Stuttgart

Relations of the Duchy of Wurttemberg in Hungary

During the autumn of 1685, Georg Friedrich was ordered to take part in the occupation of Prešov (Eperjes) followed by the siege of Košice, which was intended to eliminate the power of Imre Thököly in Upper Hungary, an area of immense political sensitivity. The Duchy of Wurttemberg traditionally maintained a special relationship with the Hungarian Lutheran nobility and citizens. The prestigious university of the principality, founded in 1477, supported Lutheran students with a scholarship to Tübingen.¹³ In the first half of the seventeenth century, relations with Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg), Sopron and then Prešov, intensified,¹⁴ although at the end of the seventeenth century the number of Hungarian students declined due to the Great Turkish War and the orthodox orientation of the university.¹⁵

The politically active Lutheran gentry played a key role in establishing the budding relationship.¹⁶ The duke of Wurttemberg had kept an active agent in Vienna since the 1620s. In his fragmentary reports, Jeremias Pistorius wrote copiously about military and political events in Hungary, as well as about the significant influence of Péter Pázmány, the archbishop of Esztergom, Hungarian palatines and Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania.¹⁷ The agent was surprised when the Hungarian estates elected Miklós Esterházy—who was a Catholic—as palatine at the national diet in 1625, while there were so many Lutheran officials in the free royal cities.¹⁸ In his report of June 16 regarding the 1655 Diet of Bratislava, Heinrich Stayer listed the newly elected and appointed dignitaries and then reported that the Lutheran estates had turned to the duke of the Palatinate to preserve their freedom of religious practice.¹⁹ On 18 July 1655, Stayer sent a small engraving by Bartholomeus Kilian of Leopold I wearing the crown of Hungary.²⁰

13 Fata, "Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen."

14 Gémes, *Hungari et Transylvani*; Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken*, 140–46.

15 Fata, "Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," 233–34.

16 R. Várkonyi, "Alternatives in Hungary," 165–73; Németh, "Információ szerzés és hírközlés," 117–27; Kónya, *Az eperjesi vésztörvényszék*, 39–40.

17 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 88 1619 April–August. A 16 a Bü 89 1620. Nov–Dez. A 16 a Bü 90. 1621. Jan–Nov. A 16 a Bü 91. 1622. April–Nov. A 16 a Bü 92. 1624 Febr–Dez.

18 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 94 1625 Jan–Dez.

19 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 117. Berichte Henrich Stayer 1655 Jan–Dez. 136.

20 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 117. Berichte Henrich Stayer 1655 Jan–Dez. 141. Leopold I as king of Hungary in Hungarian ceremonial dress engraved by Georg Lackner, and Bartholomäus Kilian.

Jonas Schrimp, the most active agent in the imperial court, maintained intensive links with Hungarian commoners from the 1650s onwards. In his reports from 1658 onwards, the agent regularly referred to István Vitnyédi (1612–1670), from whom he received news and messages related to Sopron.²¹ In Schrimp's reports, the value of information on the activities of Ferenc Nádasdy (1623–1671), György Lippay, archbishop of Esztergom and Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664), ban of Croatia, increased after 1658. The Wurttemberger agent also expected Vitnyédi to procure high-quality Turkish horses and Hungarian cattle.²² Vitnyédi applied to the prince for Strasbourg scholarships not only for his own sons, but also for talented young Lutherans to attend Tübingen through the Viennese agent, which he was promised.²³ The educated, energetic Schrimp represented the Saxon electors and the dukes of Wurttemberg, Bremen, Nördlingen and Kampten in Vienna from 1649 to 1696.²⁴ The government of Regensburg was paying him to act as a mediator and representative for decades as well.²⁵

However, between 1671 and 1681, Protestants in Hungary experienced a serious political, economic and cultural crisis. The authoritarian activities of Emperor Leopold I, striving for open absolutism, shook the formerly stable space of the Hungarian political order and the existence of Protestant communities on national, regional and urban stages as well. The state limited the role of the governing body of the free royal cities with Lutheran majorities, as well as the operation of Protestant schools and churches. In 1674, an extraordinary committee in Bratislava sued the preachers and schoolmasters, first sentencing them to death and then commuting the sentence to slavery in the galleys, and for the most part expelled them from the country. Protestant European powers, especially the Saxon and Brandenburger electors, protested against this serious violation through diplomatic channels and by offering shelter, drawing attention to political conflicts of interest between the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of

21 "Von dem Herrn Vitnedy habe ich heut aus Ödnburg mündlich Post und Nachricht bekommen..." LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 122 Schrimpf Wien 1659. Jan. 19/29 179.

22 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 124 Schrimpf Wien 1661. Jan–Dez. Aug. 14/24. 319. Hans-Jürgen Philipp Das Hofgestüt Marbach (1491–1817) des Hauses Württemberg auf das Schwäbischen Alb Berlin, 2017. 141–142.

23 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 124 Schrimpf Wien 1661. Jan–Dez. Juny. 12/22. 310.

24 Matzke, *Gesandschaftswesen*; Dorfner, "Diener vieler Herren," 94–95; Keblusek, "Introduction."

25 Stadtarchiv Regensburg Cameralia Hauptrechnung der Stadt Regensburg Cam 136. fol. 9., 67. (1685) Okt. 12.

Hungary.²⁶ The revolt by Imre Thököly, who took up arms against the ruler, was legitimized by the defense of free religious practice in the Protestant-majority areas of the Holy Roman Empire until 1682, when he finally surrendered to the Ottoman Empire.

A large number of anti-Turkish sermons and prayers appeared in Tübingen from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Jacob Andreä (1528–1590), the chancellor of the university, recorded the steadfastness of Ban Miklós Zrínyi (1508–1566), and the siege of Szigetvár in 1566 in a separate collection of sermons.²⁷ In Stuttgart, 1664, the later court printer, Johann Weyrich Rösslin, published a prayer for children in the principality.²⁸ On the death of Miklós Zrínyi, a collection of mourning poems written by twenty-one authors was published in Tübingen by György Dömötöri (1640–1686), who first mediated between Prešov and Tübingen as an educator of the youth of Petróczy and from 1668 as a teacher at the Prešov College.²⁹ The Rösslin workshop also printed prayers for the siege of Petrovaradin (Pétervárad)³⁰ in 1716 as well as that of Belgrade in 1717.³¹

During the Great Turkish War, the Protestant princes and electors emphasized to the Emperor himself, on several occasions, for instance at the imperial court, or—to the imperial envoys—at the assembly of Regensburg, that they were ready to send reinforcements against the Ottoman Empire, but not against the Protestants of Hungary.

In particular, the Saxon Elector Georg Friedrich III laid great stress upon the protection of religious freedom. The instructions for the envoys show that the Elector of Brandenburg openly represented the interests of Protestant denominations in the Kingdom of Hungary.³² Councilor Franz Fridag, the imperial ambassador to Berlin, found it difficult to represent the ruler's position that the followers of Imre Thököly were not defenders of religion, but mere rebels.³³ At the meeting of

26 G. Etényi, "Das Flugblatt als Erinnerungsstütze."

27 Dreyzehn Predigen vom Türcken...

28 Stuttgart Landesbibliothek Theol. Oct. 18552. Chistliche Vermahlung und Gebett... Bene and Borián, *Zrínyi és a vadkan*, 18–20.

29 Deometeri Georgius, Honor Posthumus in Illustrissimi quondam Comitis Domini... OSZK App. H. 2072. Cp. Csatkai, "Soproni diákvesselők."

30 Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori... bey Peterwardein den 5. Augustu 1716.

31 Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori... den 16. Aug 1717 bey Belgrad erhalten.

32 ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilung Deutsche Lande 21. Brandenburgica 1684–1686. (alt. 19. 20. 21.) Konv. 1. (alt 19) f. 61–69. July Anno 1685 Ablegati Brandenburgica Relatio über des Baron von Frydag einkommene Bericht schreiben vom 2. 9. 16. 23. 28. und 30. April 7. und 14. May.

33 Wegen Religion zu Hungarn komme man auch den Baron Fridag zur Nachricht und damit den Churfürsten die ingleiche Impression bekommen würde bedeuten wie dass an seiten eigener Malcontenten nicht so sehr die Religion alss die Rebellion fort zu pflanzten gesuchet würde. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilung Deutsche Lande 21. Brandenburgica 1684–1686. (alt. 19. 20. 21.)

the Secret Conference on 14 March 1687, and then on 13 January 1689, it became clear once again that the electorate of Brandenburg made the provision of aid dependent on the situation of Hungarian Lutherans.³⁴

The careful distinction indicates that the Protestant powers of the Holy Roman Empire considered Imre Thököly not only to be following a pro-Turkish policy, but also to be representing confessional interests. At the time of the compromise parliament of 1681 in Sopron, under the shadow of the impending Turkish attack of 1682, the year of Imre Thököly's greatest success, during the occupation of Košice, a positive image of Thököly emerged in Protestant areas. However, the alliance with the Turks during the fall of 1682, followed by Kara Mustafa's attack on Vienna, changed this picture drastically, largely as a result of intense imperial and Papal propaganda. The wave of Italian and German mockery emphasizing the Turkish defeat also wrecked Thököly's image.³⁵ As a result, Thököly's proclamation to the Christian world in 1684 had little effect anywhere, including Saxony. By the autumn of 1685, the strategic goal for the successful siege of Buda was the elimination of Thököly's base in Upper Hungary, and the capture of Košice and Prešov. Presenting the strategic role of Košice, a leaflet of unknown origin also indicated that during the campaigns of István Bocskai and Gábor Bethlen, the city functioned as a Protestant political center in Upper Hungary.³⁶ Based on the general report of Caprara, the leaflet spoke of the occupation of Košice, the surrender of Prešov, Tokaj, Ónod and Szolnok and the capture of Imre Thököly in Oradea (Várad). Caprara also sent a letter to Thököly's wife at Mukachevo (Munkács) for, demanding surrender.³⁷ The leaflet described the circumstances of the death of the Duke of Wurttemberg, claiming that his demise was caused by a stray bullet in the early morning. The date seems plausible, as the evacuation of Košice had already been discussed. On October 15, Thököly had to visit the Pasha of Oradea. German-language leaflets presented a comedy showing how Thököly marched to the Pasha's with an ornate escort and then after the feast, he moved into smaller and smaller rooms with a shrinking escort, and how István Petróczy was sent back as a correspondent to inform Thököly's followers about the essential change.³⁸ Thököly's capture by the Ottomans had a direct effect on Košice's capitulation. It is worth wondering,

Konv. 1. (alt 19) 1686. F. 316

34 ÖStA HHStA Geheime Konferenz Sitzung Karton 13. (Jan. 1684 – Okt. 1688.) No. 574. Karton 14. (Nov. 1688–Aug. 1690.) No. 597.

35 Köpeczi, *Staatsräson*; Köpeczi and Tarnai, *Laurus Austriaco*; Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Feind oder zukünftiger Verbündeter?", 54–62; Varga J., *Válaszúton*; R. Várkonyi, "Thököly politikája," 371.

36 Summarische Bericht... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 247. P-3506.

37 R. Várkonyi, *Zrínyi Ilona*, 171–72.

38 Warhaffte Vorstellung der erbaermlichen Tragödie... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 233; 234. P-3492, P-3493. OSZK Apponyi Metszet [Engraving] [App. M.] 430. MNM TK T 9407.

however, how far the attitudes of the Hungarian Lutheran elite were influenced by the fact that the principality, which provided them with significant support, suffered such a great loss at Košice, the political, economic and spiritual center of Upper Hungary, while the young Lutheran duke of Wurttemberg, fighting with the imperial troops, could have helped with the negotiations about the surrender of the city.

The ducal court in Wurttemberg organized a sumptuous funeral, and saw to the publication of several versions of the collections of eulogies and sermons, richly illustrated with engravings,³⁹ which also resulted in a family feud. This is partly due to the fact that a number of documents and accounts of the technical details of the publication of the prints are still extant.⁴⁰ The well-documented farewell enables us to reconstruct not only the conditions of the mourning ceremony but also the defining pillars of the princely image.

Duke Eberhard III (1614–1674) sired twenty-five children from two marriages, and Georg Friedrich, the fifteenth child, did not have a particularly good chance of taking the ducal throne. Therefore, military prowess and victory over the Turks appeared as a reliable basis for a career even in the imperial court. Johann Christoph Wagner's work on the struggle of the Kingdom of Hungary against the Turks, published in 1684 and 1685, was offered to the dukes of Wurttemberg by Friedrich Karl and Georg Friedrich. The frontispiece of the first edition represented the assistance of the imperial and electoral princes in the struggle against the Turks, in addition to the glorification of Emperor Leopold I, triumphing over the Turks.⁴¹

Following Eberhard III's death in 1674, Wilhelm Ludwig, a son from his first marriage, born to the daughter of a Swedish general, Anna Catharina Salm-Kyrburg, ascended the throne (1647–1677), but died unexpectedly after a reign of three years, leaving his child Eberhard Ludwig (1676–1733), still a minor, to rule. Until 1693 his uncle Friedrich Carl (1652–1698) and the twenty-five-year-old widow, Magdalena Sibylla von Hessen-Darmstadt acted as regents.⁴² For Georg Friedrich's mother, Eberhard's second wife, Maria Dorothea Sophia von Oettingen (1639–1698), maintaining the high repute of her eldest child's name was a lasting concern.

The body was laid to rest on 10 January 1686, in the ancient burial place of the ducal family, the Great Church of Stuttgart. However, the funeral ceremony of the duke of Wurttemberg, who fell on a distant battlefield, had already begun with the

³⁹ LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153 Bü 4. Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Georg Friedrich zu Württemberg Sohn, Eberhard III. 21.

⁴⁰ LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. G 153 Bü 4. Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Georg Friedrich zu Württemberg Sohn, Eberhard III. 22. Extractus die Geheimnische Expeditiones Staats Praesentationes 1. Nov. 1687. Resolution.

⁴¹ Wagner, *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae...*

⁴² Wilson, *War, State and Society*, 110–18.

repatriation of his body. Two days after the fatal shot, the Bardejov (Bártfa) army and the city dignitaries received the corpse at the city gate, placing it in the city's large church with a bell tolling, from where it was sent two days later towards Stuttgart via Moravia and then through Nuremberg. The collection of sermons during the grandiose funeral and the farewell oration also emphasized that the city of Bardejov too took part in the procession accompanying the duke of Wurttemberg, who had held the military command of the city.

Athleta Christi in the late seventeenth century – a modern portrait of Georg Friedrich

Several impressive publications were released about the funeral, which took place on 10 January 1686 in Stuttgart. Even later on, in 1689, a poem was published,⁴³ followed by a separate compilation of printed volumes along with the original title pages.⁴⁴ Speeches and songs by Christoph Kaldenbach (1613–1698), professor of history and poetics at the Tübingen Academy, were performed on 3 May 1686 at the university, but did not appear until 1689, printed by Georg Heinrich and Johann Conrad Reiss in Tübingen. Between the death and burial of the Duke of Wurttemberg, the commemoration and the appearance of the memorial speech, there were major changes on the Hungarian battlefields, from the recapture of Buda to the capture of Belgrade, but the situation in Wurttemberg changed in September 1688 when Louis XIV launched a campaign against the territories along the Rhine.

Lutheran eulogies have traditionally recalled the deceased's career in detail. The funeral speeches in the collection of sermons highlighted various aspects of the royal ideal, and this was complemented by a volume of fine poems compiled by teachers at the University of Tübingen. There was a close connection between the ducal court and the university in its heyday, and members of the princely family also studied at the University.⁴⁵ The speeches also referred to Georg Friedrich's education and the modern nature of the knowledge offered by the university. Georg Friedrich studied at the Ducal College in Tübingen from November 1672 to June 1676, where he gave several lectures. The duke's Latin oration, held on 29 November 1675, in the "Collegium Illustre" was published twice in 1675.⁴⁶ Georg Friedrich mastered the knowledge of the "knightly academy": horse riding, dancing, fencing, and he was fluent in Italian and French. The eulogy emphasized that he had acquired the knowledge necessary for the "art of war": geography, mathematics, and military engineering. In addition to the military virtues

43 Klag- und Trauer-Gedichte Georg Friedrich Herzogen zu Würtemberg...

44 Unsterblicher Nachruhm Des Grossmüthigsten...

45 Kurze Relation Der den 23igsten September. Anno 1681...

46 Georgii Friderici, Ducus Wirtembergiae...

of Georg Friedrich, the speakers praised his political literacy, with which "he would have held his ground even in a period of peace."⁴⁷ The duke was interested in "historia universalis", "studium Politicorum", and "jus publicum", Tacitus, Hugo Grotius: *De jure pacis et belli*, and immersed himself in the works of Justus Lipsius.⁴⁸

In keeping with the expectations of the age, Georg Friedrich's studies were completed by a carefully organized knightly tour in order to build an international network of prominent contacts.⁴⁹ Family records related to his funeral preparations also show that they carefully selected background information: diary excerpts reflecting important stops during the tour.⁵⁰ The printed biography emphasized that Georg Friedrich became acquainted with the famous Swiss cities at the beginning of his journey, traveling to Schaffhausen, Zurich, Lucerne, Bern and Geneva. As a peculiar mental and physical test, they even referred to the perilous storm he experienced on Lake Lucitz near the village of Schwitz. After several months of study in Switzerland, Georg Friedrich gained experience of military science in Milan. He traveled from Milan to Verona and Padua to practice the local language. In Venice he also saw the carnival and the opera. Touching Ferrara, Rimini, Loreto, Ancona, Spoleto, and Rome, he traveled to Naples, and he too viewed the "great secret of nature," Mount Vesuvius. On the way back, he spent five months in Rome, where he also visited antique sites and palaces of cardinals. The young Lutheran duke also attended several audiences in the Papal state. The necrology also highlighted the fact that he was also solemnly received by Cardinal Rospigliosi and his brother, Prince Sagarolla, as well as by Cardinal Carlo Pio,⁵¹ Piccolomini and Cardinal Flavio Chigi,⁵² who was referred to as the "Patron of the German Nation". At the end of October 1677, he visited the Grand Duke of Florence, then went to Parma, and in Genova he was received by Prince Doria. He also visited the fortifications and the opera house of the famous city. In 1678 he visited the famous residence of the dukes of Savoy in Turin. After learning about Italian court etiquette, Georg Friedrich's continued his journey in France, since despite the Habsburg-Bourbon conflict, it was important to

47 They mentioned the name of Johann Eberhardt Varnbüler Hemmingen, and alluded to Johann Adam Osiander chancellor, professor of Theology. Hochsätter 55.

48 Hochsätter 56.

49 Maurer, *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*; Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour*.

50 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153 Bü 3. Königlichen Haus und Staats-Archiv (1685–1688). Aus der altenen Geheimratsregisteratur Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Prinzen Georg Friedrich.

51 Cardinal Piro Carlo di Savoia (1621–1689), who was the ambassador of the emperor in Rome from 18th July 1676. and played an important role in forming of Holy League. Kerekes, "Az oszmánellenes európai összefogás," 88.

52 Hochsätter 61. Pope Innocent XI reigned from 21 September 1676. Georg Friedrich, when he visited Rome, even met influential members of the courts of Pope Clement X. Cp. Tusor, *A barokk pápaság*, 64, 135–41.

experience life at the French court during its heyday and to build a personal network.⁵³ Georg Friedrich improved his command of French in Angers for five months, got to know Paris in the summer, then went on an extensive tour in Brittany, returning to Paris at the end of December, passing through Gascogne and Provence as well.⁵⁴ He was also received by the royal family and important ministers in April. From the middle of the seventeenth century, England also became a major destination for aristocratic travel. Georg Friedrich arrived there in May 1681, and a few days later he was received in Windsor, and according to the biography, he was able to speak at length with the king and queen. After enjoying the sights, he also visited Brussels, made a short tour around the Netherlands, visited his brother in The Hague, and arrived back home in October 1681, paying a short visit to East Friesland as well.⁵⁵

Georg Friedrich could only spend a short time with his family, because at the invitation of Charles of Lorraine, he also went quickly to Vienna. In November he took part in an imperial audience, offering his sword to fight the Turks; thus in January 1682 he was offered the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was stationed at Filakovo (Fülek) in July 1682, but returned to Stuttgart due to illness in September, where he was recruited with an imperial patent in February 1683. He camped at Nördlingen on 9 March, from where he was assigned to the neighborhood of Bratislava, and on 6 May, he reported to Charles of Lorraine. The biography did not cover the decisive period of the imperial assistance, the plight of Vienna in 1683, but referred to “the siege of Vienna from well-known prints.”⁵⁶ Contemporaries not only considered the print reports reliable and informative, but were also aware of the political weight of the imperial public as well.

The private stories embedded in the history of the War of Reconquest at the liberation of Vienna only covered the fact that Georg Friedrich was wounded in the left leg on 15 August while drilling in the trench at Schottentor, but it was noted that he was soon able to continue fighting. Initially he served under Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg and then under Louis William, Margrave of Baden-Baden. He was also present at the Battle of Sturovo and the siege of Esztergom, returning to Stuttgart in the winter of 1683. In August 1684 he boarded a ship at Ulm in order to take part in the siege of Buda, but the army marched so slowly that he transferred to a mail vessel at Regensburg. As early as 1684, he was ordered to Upper Hungary under the command of Lieutenant General Johann Valentin Schulz. On 19 March 1685, he fell sick with high fever, which was difficult to remedy, and was again sent to Sáros County

53 Toma, “Nádasdy István.”

54 A fellow traveler was Benjamin von Minzingen.

55 Christine Charlotte (1644–1699) governed as the regent of East Frisia during the minority of her son from 1665 until 1690.

56 Hochsätter 67.

to General Aeneas Caprara, who was besieging Košice. According to the Protestant calendar, the detachment for the siege of Košice was completed on 7 October. At four o'clock in the morning of 8/18 October, after finishing his morning prayers and consulting with Caprara, he had just returned to his duties when he was hit by a stray bullet. His remains were taken from Košice to Prešov in a manner corresponding to the rank of the ducal family, just on the day of his grandfather's inauguration, where a service was held according to the Lutheran rite, over the body of the duke of Wurttemberg, who had lived for twenty-eight years, thirteen days and five hours.

Engravings of the final respects

The representational value of the collected volume of five sermons was enhanced by fine engravings. The frontispiece is a unique collection of emblems of Georg Friedrich's virtues, drawn in his name by Georg Friedrich and engraved by Philipp Kilian (1628–1693). Only Bartholomäus Kilian (1630–1696), who made a portrait of Georg Friedrich, was included in the accounts of the ducal court, but the famous Augsburg printing dynasty⁵⁷ of the age operated as a thriving family business. (Figure 2)

Framed by a laurel wreath at the center of the composition is Georg Friedrich, accompanied by death depicted as a skeleton in the pantheon of ancestors depicted in armor, surrounded by cedars symbolizing excellence.⁵⁸ The picture was inspired by the work of Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648), a Spanish diplomat, for his son Philip IV, written in 1640, re-printed in 1650 in Cologne. The work was reprinted in a newer version which was made in 1686 in Leipzig, Jena and Frankfurt.⁵⁹ Saavedra's volume presented the expected political virtues largely using the emblems of Andrea Alciato (1492–1550) who created the particular etalons in 1531.⁶⁰ Saavedra's work was popular in the Holy Roman Empire after the 1640 Munich edition, illustrated with a hundred engravings by Johann Sadeler (1588–1665). The Milanese version of 1642 reached twenty editions by the eighteenth century. The work, translated from Spanish to Latin, was published in German as well in 1655 in Amsterdam.⁶¹

The oval-shaped central engraving is surrounded by small emblems that capture the deeds and virtues of Georg Friedrich. The top image evokes the relief of Vienna, in which Georg Friedrich also played a notable part, below which two fictional cityscapes

57 Gier and Janota, *Augsburger Buchdruck*; Paas, *Augsburg*.

58 R. Várkonyi, "A 'királyi cédrus'."

59 Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici*.

60 Manning, *Voicing Dissent*, 176.

61 Peil, "Emblematische Fürstenspiegel," 54–92; Peil, "Saavedra in Deutschland."

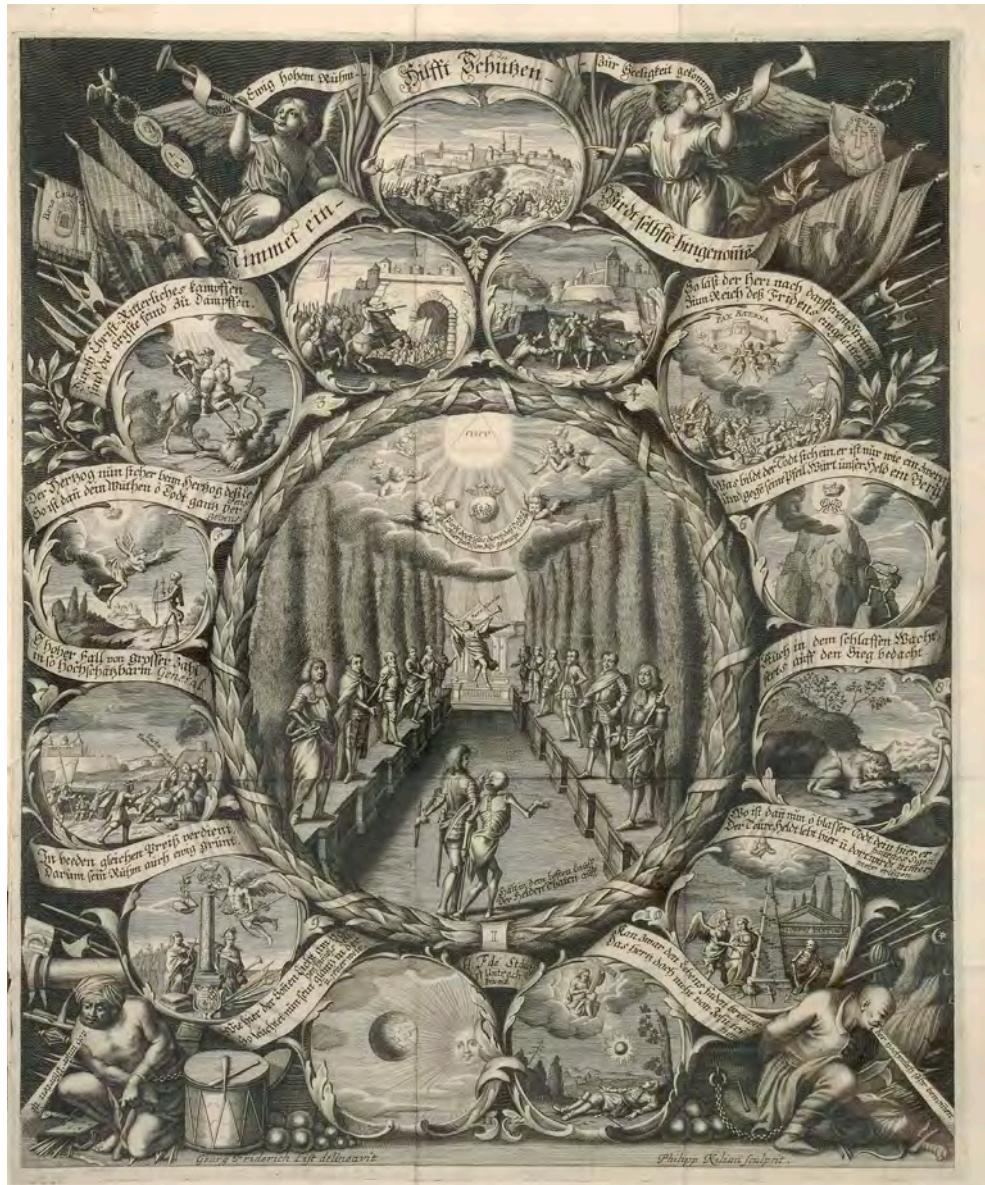


Figure 2 Collection of emblems on Georg Friedrich's virtues
(engraved by Georg Friedrich List – Philip Kilian) © Haupstaatsarchiv Stuttgart

can be seen at the capitulation of the duke of Wurttemberg at Prešov and on a prancing horse at the fortified city wall of Košice, leading a charge. The virtues of the young man were emphasized by ten emblems with ten ribbons explaining the acts. The two images of the prince's two first names were placed opposite each other. While his first name referred to the knightly struggle of St George the Dragon Slayer,⁶² in the second, the word peace and empire in Friedrich, indicating that he was fighting for the protection and peace of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶³ Also, as a pair of opposites, the artist composed an angel from the clouds handing over the princely hat,⁶⁴ but Death prevented Friedrich from wearing it on his merits.⁶⁵ Wurttemberg appeared on one of the emblems as a prominent mountain among the clouds. The creator derived the image of unexpected death lurking among the soldiery, the bravest lions, from the rank of General Wachtmeister, showing the fall of Georg Friedrich at dawn. The column of Power shows the duke's hat and a set of scales, in its bowls a book and an olive branch, and a sword and a palm branch. On both sides of the column, the deep piety of the Lutheran Georg Friedrich is symbolized by the Virgin Mary with a crucifix, while the armored Pallas Athene represents knowledge and culture.⁶⁶ Another emblem, with a pyramid⁶⁷ rising on shattered Turkish weapons, articulates responsibility for the exercise of power. Finally, two emblems refer to earthly and celestial glory, as was customary in depicting the deaths of great rulers. The symbol of the Earth illuminated by the Sun illustrates the significance of Georg Friedrich's actions,⁶⁸ while Athleta Christi is glorified from the clouds by Christ looking at the armored youth wounded by a cannonball.⁶⁹

The sermon collection also includes a portrait of the duke with four lines of poetry in front of some falling drapery and a gun carriage. The young man in armor holds a marshal's baton in his right hand while resting his left hand on a barrel. The image is surrounded by a laurel wreath, with an imperial eagle at the top, looted Turkish flags and weapons at the edge, and the defeated Turks at the bottom. The richly decorated, inscribed coffin of the Duke of Wurttemberg appeared in three engravings. The engravings and inscriptions can be clearly seen in the engraving by Johann David

62 Durch Christ-Ritterliches kämpffen, Sein die ärgste Feind zu dämpffen. 2. Tim. Cap. 4. Vers. 7.8.

63 So lässt der Herr nach tapffer streiten, Zum Reich des Fridens eingeleitten.

64 Der Herzog nun sicher beym Herzog des lebens, So ist dam dein Wüten O Todt ganz vergebens.

65 Was bildt der Tod sich ein er ist nur wie ein Zwerg, Und gegen siene Pfeil, Würdt unser Held ein Berg.

66 In beeden gleichen Preiss verdient, Darumb sine Ruhm auch ewig grüent.

67 Wo ist dann nun, O blasser Todt, dein hier erhaltnes Sigen? Der theure Held lebt hier und dort, wird nimmermehr erlingen.

68 Wie hier der Sonnen Licht, am hohen Himmels Zellt, So leuchtet nun Sein Glanz, in der und jener Welt. Schöne and Henkel, *Emblemata*, 20; Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*; Knapp and Tüskés, "The motif of Death."

69 Kan zwar den Lebens-Faden brennen, Das Herz doch niocht von Jesu trennen.

Daniel, and in a small picture the death of the duke as a soldier of Christ. On the other side of the coffin, in front of the idealized view of Košice, is a scene captured in the sermon: the duke prays in the morning, and then a stray bullet ends his life. In the engraving, an angel gives him a laurel wreath of clouds, while in the foreground he places the princely crown on his books and his feathered helmet on a pedestal.⁷⁰ According to the inscription in the engraving, there is a short biography written by Philipp Jakob Zeiter under the crucifix depicted on the cover of the coffin. (Figure 3)

The funeral procession was illustrated with a picture based on a drawing by Thomas Georg Hopffer. The engraving was made by Johann Ulrich Krauss (1655–1719) of Augsburg, whose oeuvre includes depictions of funerals.⁷¹ The image of the funeral procession, which also lists the trumpets by name and includes several pages of explanations,⁷² simultaneously alludes to Georg Friedrich's military role and to the value of his education at the University of Tübingen. One third of the way along the funeral procession, representatives of the university, towns, and courtyard marched in front of the coffin, while behind them a troop cavalry could be seen as the deceased was escorted from the palace chapel to the princely grand church through the palace garden.

Most probably in 1686 a collection of mourning poems written on the occasion of the death of Georg Friedrich was first published by the University of Tübingen,⁷³ although a summary of the duke's court containing funeral expenses also marked the collection of poems as a separate item, albeit with only a small amount.⁷⁴ The collection of mourning poems, sermons, and the symbolic systems of the compositions formed a close-knit system of ideas, which indicates the well-thought-out concept of the funeral organizers. By the seventeenth century, the expected collection of virtues associated with the princely, aristocratic youth who had died on the battlefield had crystallized.⁷⁵ The wide range of information gathered to establish the exact biography of Georg Friedrich among the documents of the princely mourning

70 In early modern Europe the elements of the military funeral armor (helmet, sword, gauntlet) had symbolic meanings alluding to the knightly traditions. Cp. Szabó, "A fegyverzet darabjai," 115–24.

71 Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, XIX, 442; Hollstein, *German Engravings*, XIX, 96–154.

72 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153 Bü 3. Königlichen Haus und Staats-Archiv (1685–1688.) Aus der alten Geheimratsregisteratur Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Prinzen Georg Friedrich. Printed version: Fürstliche Württembergische Leich-procession 1–16.

73 Traur- und Klag-Gedichte über Dem schnell und unvermuteten, dioch Hochseligen Ableiben, Des... Herrn Georg Friedrichs...; Traur-Gedichte über das leidige Ableiben des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten...

74 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153. Bü 4. 22.

75 More, "Obsequies for James II," 103–48.



Figure 3 Decorated coffin of the Duke as a soldier of Christ (engraved by Johann David Daniel)
 © Haupstaatsarchiv Stuttgart

ceremony in Wurttemberg proves that, despite the high level of knowledge of the expected system of norms, it was important to show how unique and remarkable the deceased had been. The farewell of Carl Friedrich, who died in 1698, venerated the Hercules and Perseus of Wurttemberg.⁷⁶ Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe, who was closely associated with the Wurttemberg ducal family, modeled his own funeral on the model of Georg Friedrich's farewell, molding his reputation from the fight against the Turks in the mid-seventeenth century to conform to the system of expectations and concepts at the end of the century.⁷⁷

In addition to the renaissance of the cults of Alexander the Great, Scanderbeg, and Hunyadi as a result of the wars against the Ottomans around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Aeneas topoi became especially popular during the

76 Zwey christliche Leich-Predigten samt einer Sermon...; Wunder, *Der Administrator*.

77 Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe (1622–1698) died childless. The funeral ceremony planned and designed by himself was held 17 February 1699 in Neuenstein. Panter, "Totenfeier und Grabdenkmale," 87–99; G. Etényi, "Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe."

Great Turkish War. In 1688, the Nuremberg publisher Georg Jacob Lang specifically dedicated the work of Virgil, illustrated with fifty engravings, to the noble youth.⁷⁸ In the 1670s and 80s, Homer's works were also published in many editions. A ceremonial hall evoking the Trojan War was built in honor of Emperor Leopold I, too.⁷⁹ On the one hand, the legends of the Trojan War emphasized the military talents and individual performance of a few generals, while on the other they held out the possibility of a new beginning in the territories liberated from the Turks, paralleling the changes in the population and utilization of geographical discoveries. Catholic propaganda also used the parable of purgatory following the war that devastated the Turkish world as a symbol of renewal during the liberation of Buda.⁸⁰

In the funeral sermon delivered in the court chapel on Sunday, 10 January 1686, Johann Bartolomeus Haage (1633–1709), a court preacher and councilor, compared the struggle of Christianity against the Ottomans with the struggle of the Greeks, referring to the current naval conflict where the Venetians were fighting for Morea. In his speech, he compared the sacrifices made for the glory of the emperor to the example of Hercules, Achilles, Hector, and Alexander the Great. The speech given by Johann Ulrich Pegitzer (1647–1708), later a court historian and archivist, professor of history from 1675, was also based on his knowledge of the Trojan War.⁸¹

The epicedium also cited the Greek wars as an example, the Wurttemberger physician Moriz Hoffmann cited the Trojan War,⁸² and a poem by Georgius Henricus Sapphun recalled the grief at the fall of Patroclus.⁸³ The prolific theological author Martin Dubowisky glorified Georg Friedrich as the royal cedar defending

78 Erneuertes Gedächtnus Römischen Tapferkeit...

79 Galavics, "Németalföldi barokk festők és grafikusok," 32.

80 Freschot, "Magyarország történetének," 358; Lukácsy, "A tűz szónoka"; Ács, "Jeruzsálem pusztulása"; Tasi, "Én mondom igazsággal és nagy örömmel."

81 Pollux Wirtembergicus Serenissimus Princeps Ac Dominus Dominus Georgicus Fridericus Dux...

82 Es trauret über diss das grosse Liecht der Sonnen, Und hüllet um sich her der Wolcken schwarzes Kleid./ Ja fast die ganze Welt betauret disen Krieger, So Trackiens Gewalt zu dämpfen war bedacht: Ja nich bedacht allein der vilmehr als ein Siger, Den ärgsten Christen-Feind zu Schanden hat gemacht./ Nun hat der Unglücks-Wind Germanien berühret, Indem vor Caschau ist elegt der Tapfre Held/ Als wessen Tapferkeit der Achmet offt gespüret/ Und dessen Tugend-Gold ein heisses Bley gefällt./ O unverdienter Lohn! dass Er durch sine Thaten/ Vil in Pannonien auf seine gebracht, In dessen tapfre Faust vil Festungen gerathen/ Ja das, was fermde war, sich underthan gemacht... Epicedia VI. 18–19.

83 Corporis exuvias patria procul et Genetrice /Pannoniis linquit Princeps Teccaeus in oris. / Nefati mirare vices? Sub sidere Crassus/ Occubuit Scythico, peregrino in littore Magnus,/ Et peregre ad Trojam cecidit Patroclus in armis. / Terra breve est punctum, morientum patria ubique est:/ Hinc peregre moriens, patrio decedit in Orbe. Epicedia 25–26.

his domain.⁸⁴ The author of the German-language epicedium, which includes a long biography in verse, is unknown. The mourning poem concluding the biography, in which the image of the victim lost in defense of the emperor and the Holy Roman Empire reappeared, also lamented the loss of value and the waste of educated youth. The closing sonnet represented the traditional heroic cult of glory won with blood.⁸⁵

Epicedia also appeared in the collection of mourning poems published by the University of Tübingen, representing the Prešov Lutheran College and not only the cooperation of the two institutions, but also the relations between the Hungarian Lutherans and the Principality of Wurttemberg. One of the leading schools in Upper Hungary, the Prešov College, helped to build and further develop the institution into an academy financially and with books between 1665 and 1667 by Eberhard III, duke of Wurttemberg. The Department of Philosophical Theology was opened in 1667, where, in addition to the Rector, five full-time teachers taught the students. Rector Johann Bayer, who had previously taught there, introduced the teachings of Francis Bacon, emphasizing the importance of experimentation in physics, and Izsák Czabán, the vice-rector between 1661–1671, published a study in 1667 in which he sought to prove the existence of atoms by theoretical reasoning. The school, developed against the imperial will, was closed in 1671, but reopened in 1682, when the town fell into the hands of Imre Thököly. Since Thököly himself and much of his political circle had studied here, they supported its reopening. The depiction of the city by János Weber, a citizen of Prešov and a Doctor of Medicine, also captured the building of the Lutheran "college".⁸⁶ In addition to the glorified military virtue in the contemporary image of Hungary, the appearance of the reputation of leading schools is another change related to the widespread peregrination of Protestant students in Hungary. In 1687, among four Hungarians, a student from Prešov studied theology in Tübingen.⁸⁷

84 In Ducato tristiori personante buccina/ Nuncio dum tetra Cedros Fama Wirtembergiae/
Quassat Aulae luctuoso, sic trementes erigunt: Cedat horror, moeror omnis, conticescant
naeniae/ Luctus ac dolor facessant et cadentes lachrymae. / Patriis Princeps ab oris en remotus
sternitur, / Glande trajectus Gradivi, quo patescat omnibus, /Quod solum nil dulce curet Mors
acerba Patriae./ Vita quamvis sit caduca, Fama floret perpetim./ Haec Ducem manet perenni
digna Cedro gloria/ Et superstes in sepulcro, quaesit quam fortiter. /Malo vinci gloriose, quam
vigere molliter. Epicedia 27.

85 Ach schau Caschau! Durch dich der theure Held tod-sinket!/ Durch dich ganz Wirtemberg,
in hohem Trauren steht! Ein Schmerzen volles Schwert durch Fürsten-Seelen geht./ O
Junge Fürsten-Blut, dich Christen-Erde trinket/ Dem keine Türcken-Wut Sein Helden-Mut
gekränket. Epicedia 34.

86 Bubryák, "Weber János"; Bubryák, "Egy polgári mecénás."

87 1687. VII. 19. Johannes Zabanius Epperriensis, 1687. VII. 22. Michael Gütschius Schaesburgo
Transylvanus, Georgius Hegyfalusi Hungarus Th. S. 1687. VIII. 11. Joh. Ferdinandus Weissbeck

Zsigmond Gutth wrote an anagram for Georg Friedrich on behalf of the Lutherans in Prešov;⁸⁸ Illés Ladivér and János Schwarz represented the Prešov College, and Jakob Zabler addressed the fallen duke's mother with a short poem on behalf of the Lutherans of Bardejov. János Schwarz, who studied in Tübingen in 1672,⁸⁹ indicated with a short Latin and a longer German poem and a few lines of recommendation that he expressed his condolences as a former student in Tübingen.⁹⁰ While the Latin mourning poem was based on Greek culture, the German ode made it clearer what the sad message of Košice on the banks of the Neckar meant: how the duke's warrior-tragedy would enter the world of the muses.⁹¹ Referring to the well-known origin of the name of Prešov, he addressed it as "Prešov Parnassus" and greeted Duke Eberhard⁹² and the ducal family of Wurttemberg,⁹³ but also glorified Emperor Leopold.⁹⁴

Illés Ladivér signed his poem as the director of the college in Prešov,⁹⁵ and the explanations in the letters attached to the poem also emphasized the school's network of relationships.⁹⁶ He did not study in Tübingen. After studying in Zilina (Zsolna), Levoča (Lőcse) and Bratislava—under Johann Amos Comenius

Posonio Phil. Stud. Bürk and Wille, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, Band 2, 409.

88 Bardejov opened its gates to the troops of Imre Thököly on 22 August 1682. A day later a new Lutheran council and senate began its work. Thököly's councilor, Dániel Guth, governed the senate. Kónya, "Hornouhorské slobodné," 75–81.

89 Bürk and Wille, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, Band 2, 353.

90 Also hat Ihr Hochfürstlichen Durchl. Als Seines auf der weitberühmten Tübingener Universität gewesenen Hr. Rectoris Magnificentissimi und jüngst-vorgestellten Herren General-Wachtmesiters et Höchst-scherzlichen Abschied aus underthänigster devotion und condolenz betwienen wollen und sollen. M. Johannes Schwarz, Illust. Coll. Eper. Log. Et Phil. Pract. P.P.

91 Trauer-Ode/ Ober des unseligen Caschauer-Flusses Trauer-Post an den höchst-bestürzten Neckar-Strom. 1. Auf ihr Erdbeer-Parnassinnen, Auf bestürzet Helicon! Zwinge die verwirrte Sinnen, Jetzt zun neuen Trauer-Thon./ Da mit mehr als Donnerschrecken/ Fama rufft an unsern Ecken. 2. Prange nicht mit Freuden-Kränen, Du betrüber Musen-Chor:/ Da sich soll die Frend ergänzen,/ Schicke dich zum Trauer Flor: / Weil das unbeständig Glücke/ Unwesehens geht zurücke." Epicedia 23–25.

92 3. Muss von dir so tapfrem Helden, Prinz vom Grossen Eberhard! Ich erstaunte Kundert melden/ Das, was ich nie hatt' erwart't?/ Soll mich, da ich mich sollt freuen, Dein und mein Verhängnus reuen?

93 8. Wirtemberg, du Siz der Jäger, Stuttgart, deiner Helden Haus:/ Mach' ich dir vil tausend Kläger/ Geht dein hoffen doch nicht aus, Weil der an den Sternen schweber, Noch in Herren Brüder lebet.

94 Varga, *A magyarországi protestáns*, 142–44 (E 223), 147 (E 227); Varga, "Valóság és barokk mese," 142–46; Varga, *A magyarországi protestáns*, 66, 73.

95 Elias Ladiver Ecc. Lipchen. Pastor. h.t. Coll. Stat. Evang. Eper. P.P. Direct. Epicedia 22.

96 A) Anno 1477. Acad. aedificata ab Eberhardo Barbato, Duce Wittembergiae Matris Mechtildis hortatu. Cujus alterum seculum clausit et decoravit sacr. Memor. CELSISSIMUS Dux Academ. TUBIN. Rect. An. 1676. B.) Ad Philippsburgum expugnatum c.) Ex Parmula Viennensi Turcas profligat, teli ictus vulnere, d.) Ad Cassoviam globo octo librarum e.) Fluvius alluens Cassoviam.

himself—he attended the universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg. Between 1668–1671 he taught at the Lutheran College in Prešov, then during the preaching trials Toruń, Danzig and Sighișoara were the stages of his migrations, from which he returned to Prešov in November 1682 at the invitation of Imre Thököly. He characterized his modern way of thinking by teaching politics⁹⁷ as a subject and published a summary of Aristotle's Metaphysics in Košice in 1685. Illés Ladivér represented the Prešov college in the collection of mourning poems. The empathic presence of the College of Prešov in the Tübingen publication may have resulted in the mistake of Korabinsky's lexicon, according to which the duke died in Prešov.⁹⁸

The mourning poems in Prešov had to be written quickly and sent to Tübingen, because Iliás Ladivér died on 2 April 1686,⁹⁹ and following another turn in political life, in 1687 the school in Prešov was closed again, and only from 1705 could it continue to operate as a two-grade school. In 1685, the citizens and soldiers of the town of Thököly received an amnesty from the ruler. The commander-in-chief of Upper Hungary, Antonio Caraffa, thought he had discovered a conspiracy by Thököly in Prešov in February 1687, accusing the citizens of the town of providing information and supplies to Ilona Zrínyi for Mukachevo, who had been surrounded since 1685. The *judicium delegatum* executed twenty-four citizens in the main square of Prešov, near the church of St Nicholas and the school, and then displayed the twenty-four severed heads in the city.¹⁰⁰ The executions were covered in printed weekly broadsheets, and these broadsheets remained in the library of the Saxon Elector in Dresden, serving as a source for later historians.¹⁰¹ The 1688 Tübingen calendar reported on the blockade of Székesfehérvár and the executions as a notable event.¹⁰²

The cult of Georg Friedrich, who fought in the relieving troops of the war against the Turks and died a heroic death, also represented an open political aspiration during the period of the Great Turkish War. The relationship between the emperor and the imperial orders, but also with regard to the exercise of the political and military weight of the electoral princes and princes, is a matter of separate

97 Education and political culture reached high levels at Košice, Prešov and Bardejov in the seventeenth century. Hargittay, *Gloria, fama, litteratura*, 89, 108–9.

98 Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches*.

99 Lukáč, "Eliaš Ladivver," 221–31.

100 Kónya, *Az eperjesi vésztörvényszék*, 36–37; and Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*, 153–54.

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military command.¹⁰³ The troops of the Duchy of Wurttemberg belonged to the units of the Swabian district, which were not given an independent command structure, but from 1683 were led by Karl Gustav von Baden-Durlach. The idea, which was also represented in the imperial assembly and in the imperial city, was crowned with success in 1696, when Eberhard Ludwig, duke of Wurttemberg, became the commander-in-chief of the Swabian relief forces, and from then on, the restoring dukes of Wurttemberg gained military status. The honor of the fallen Duke Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg, which included both traditional topoi and a modern set of values, represented several interdependent political interests, typifying the high standard, literacy, and effectiveness of the propaganda of the Great Turkish War.

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Christliche Vermählung und Gebett, Wider den Erb-Feind der Christenheit den
 Türkern, So im Herzogthumb Württemberg, durch die Prediger den Zuhörern,
 und in allen Schulen der Jugend... Gedruckt zu Stuttgart bey Johann Weyrich
 Rösslin, Im Jahr 1664.

Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori Wider den Erb-Feind des Christlichen
 Nahmens in Ungarn bey Peterwardein den 5. Augustu 1716. Erhalten an dem
 Auf den XII. Sonntag nach Trinitatis. Stuttgart.

Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori Wider den Erb-Feind des Christlichen
 Nahmens, den 16. Aug 1717 bey Belgrad erhalten. Wie auch Der Eroberung der
 Vestung Belgrad selbsten den 18. Aug darauff erfolget.

Deometeri Georgius. Honor Posthumus in Illustrissimi quondam Comitis Domini,
 D. Nicolai Serini, Regnorum Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Sclavoniae et Bani, Luctuosum
 et toti Christiano orbi dolendum, et vivis exessum, scriptus. Tubingae. OSZK
 App.H. 2072

Dreyzehn Predigen vom Türkern in wölkhen gehandelt würdt von seines Regiments
 Ursprung, Glauben und Religion, vom Türkischen Alcoran.... Geprediget
 durch Jacobum Andrae D. Probst zu Tübingen... Stuttgart Landesbibliothek
 Theol. Oct. 18552.

Erneuertes Gedächtnus Römischen Tapferkeit, an den unvergleichlichen
 Virgilianischen Helden Aeneas, und Seinen grossmüthigen Thaten: Zu mehr-
 er Erläuterung Dess hochschätzbaren Althernus, Der Edlen Jugend Zum
 gemeinen Bersten In 50 Kupfern vorgebildet. Lang, Georg Jacob Nürnberg,
 Buggel 1688.

Freschot, Casimir. "Magyarország történetének rövid foglalata, Nápoly, 1687." [Short
 survey of the history of Hungary, 1687] In *Buda visszafoglalásának emlékezete*,
 1686 [Memoirs of the re-capture of Buda, 1686], edited by Ferenc Szakály, 358.
 Budapest: Európa, 1986.

Georgii Friderici. *Ducis Wirtembergiae Et Tecciae, Comitis Montispeligardi Dynastae In Heidenheim, Oratio De Causis Democratiam Tempore Belli Corrumpentibus, Itemque Conservantibus... Conscripta et solenniter habita Die XXIX Novembris Anno 1675.* In Illustri Collegio. Tübingen Verleger: Johann Heinrich Reis.

Hochsätter Johann Friedrich. *Fünff Christliche Leichpredigten Samt Einer bey Nächtlicher Hoch-Fürstl. Solennen Beysetzung gehaltener Traur Sermon...* Stuttgart, 1686 LBW G 153 Bü 3.

Klag- und Trauer-Gedichte Georg Friedrich Herzogen zu Württemberg und Teck General Wachtmeister und Obersten über ein Regiment zu Fuss Als Dessen Hochfürstlicher Leichnam von Caschau in Ungarn den Residenz-Stuttgart gebracht und darauf den 12. Dieses in das Hochfürstliche Begräbnus mit gewöhnlichem Pracht... geschrieben und übergeben Christoph Kalbenbachen... Prof. Universitaet Tübingen... Reiss, 1689.

Kurze Relation Der den 23igsten September. Anno 1681. Beschehenen Widereröffnung dess Fürstlichen Collegij Illustris zu Tübingen und Introduction dess Fürstl. Prinzen, H. J. Friedrichs, Herzogs zu Württemberg... Saavedra Fajardo, Diego. *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici.* (Konsantin Munich) Köln, 1650, Matthaeus Birckner, Johann Z. Nisius) Jena, 1686 VD 17 1:002094E.

Traur-Gedichte über das leidige Ableiben des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten... Parentations-Rede zu letzten unterthaenigsten Ehren abgefasst und bey stiller Music besungen,... Gedruckt bey Martin Rommey... 1686. OSZK App. H. 2285.

Traur- und Klag-Gedichte über Dem schnell und unvermuteten, dioch Hochseligen Ableiben, Des... Herrn Georg Friedrichs, Herzogen zu Wirtember und Teck... OSZK App. H. 228.

Unsterblicher Nachruhm Des Grossmüthigsten Helden, Des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und H. H. Georg Friedrichs Herzogen zu Württemberg und Teck... General Wachtmeisters Bey Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchleuchtigkeit Parentation Auff hoher Schul zu Tübingen den 3. Maj 1686 abgesungen. G.-Heinrich und Joh. C. Reiss, 1689.

Wagner, Johann Christoph. *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae Et Imperii Turcici In Oriente: Eine Grundrichtige Beschreibung dess ganzen Anfangs sonderlich aber dess Hochlöblichen Königreichs Ungarn, und der ganzen Türckey, auch deren Völcker, welche selbigem Monarchen... Augspurg Koppmayer, 1685.*

Zwey christliche Leich-Predigten samt einer Sermon, Über dem Hoch-seeligen Ableiben Weiland dess Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herr Friedrich Carls, Herzogen zu Württemberg und Teck... Ihro Röm, Kayserl. Majestaet General-Feld-Marschalls... Gedächtnus, Welche den 19. und 20. Decemb. Anno 1698. Stuttgart, bey Paul Treuen, 1699.

Broadsheets

Die Belagerung Neuhäsel. engraved by Joachim Wichmann Im Jahr, 1685. Hamburg gedruckt bey Thomas Wiering. MNM TK 54 164.

Eigentliche und nach dem natürlichen Grundris auf das genaueste aussgestalltete Kupffer-Abbildung, der Nieder-Ungarische Vestung Neuhäsel: Zusammt einer Summarischen kurzen Erzehlung, wie solche von dem Christlichen Kriegs-Heer dieses 1685. Jahr belägert und beschossen, auch was sich dann und wann bey geöffneten Approachen, und andern darvor angestellten Belägerungs Zubereitungen begeben. MNM TK T 3858.

Summarische Bericht, was massen Caschau die Haupt-Stadt in Ober-Ungarn, durch den Kayserl. Herrn General-Feld-Marschll Caprara belägert, und den 17. (7.) Octob. Dieses 1685. Jahrs erobert. Nachgehends auch Graf Emerich Teckeli das Haupt der Ungarischen Rebellion durch den Bassa von Gross-Wardein mit List ingefängliche Verhaft genommen, in Eisen und Band geschlossen, und damit also die Ungarische Rebellion glücklich gedampft worden. OSZK App. M. 1068 Warhaffte Vorstellung der erbaermlichen Tragödie, welche der Bassa von Gross Waradein dem Weltberuffenen Hungarianen Haupt-Rebellen Graf Emerich Teckely, allda im Monat Octobr. Dieses 1685. Jahrs gessiepelet.... Nürnberg, G. Jakob Schneider. OSZK App. M. 430. MNM TKT 9407.

Warhafftige Abbildung der Ungarischen Vestung Neuhäsel, wie solche Anno. 1685. Den 19. Augustu durch die christliche Waffen mit sturmenden Hand, dem Erb-Feind abgetrungen und erobert worden...Louis Nicolas Hallart – Michael Wening, München.

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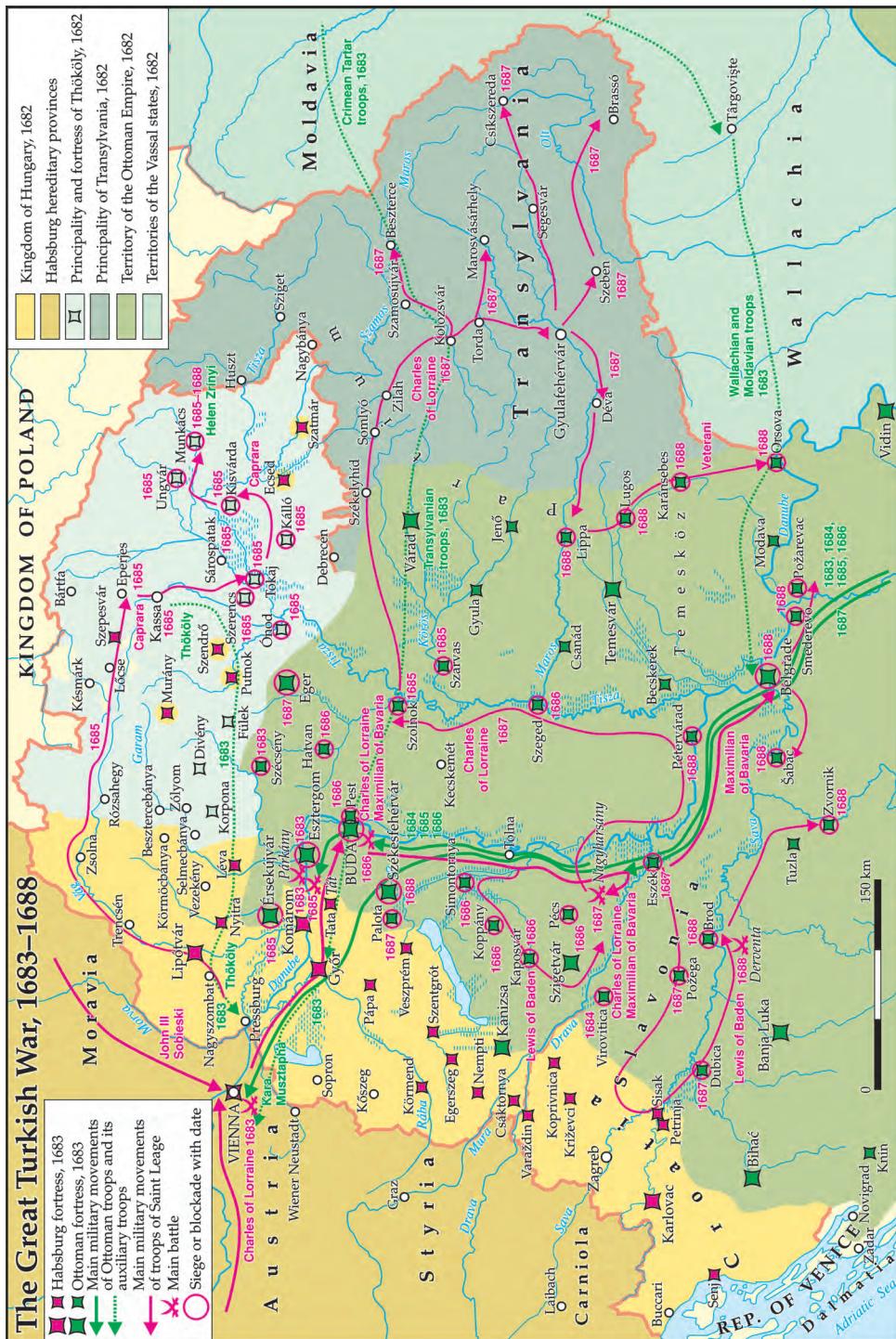
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The Rise and Fall of Bishop Georg Wolfgang Chiolich, 1699–1764¹

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Abstract. In my prosopographic examination of new aristocrats in the eighteenth century, I came across Georg Wolfgang Chiolich, an atypical member of this group, as he was the only one to receive the title of baron for himself alone, as a bishop, during the century. What was the point of conferring a noble title on a bishop? Searching for a reply to this question, we can gain some insight into the social, economic, and especially political processes of the Habsburg Empire in the mid-eighteenth century. Descended from a wealthy patrician family of Senj (Zengg), while Chiolich proved to be a talented organizer and took significant steps towards rebuilding his still-ruined bishopric in the mid-eighteenth century, he may not have been a saint. The rumors about the bishop of Senj (Zengg) finally escalated into a scandal in Vienna and in the Holy See in 1759, when a local noble family accused him of making a daughter of the head of the family pregnant. The legal proceedings, including the investigative material, were partly preserved in the Vatican Archives, and most of them were published by Tihamér Vanyó. Georg Wolfgang Chiolich eventually traveled to Rome, where the investigation declared him innocent despite all the efforts of the affronted family. If we look more closely at the main stages of his career and the course of this investigation, I believe that we can get closer to the political, social and economic conditions of a peripheral region of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Keywords: new aristocracy, diocese of Senj–Modruš (Zengg–Modrus), Chiolich family

This article is an attempt to uncover the reasons for the “rise and fall” of Georg Wolfgang Chiolich, bishop of Senj–Modruš (Zengg–Modrus). His was by no means an ordinary life: even in the context of the eighteenth century, it was uncommon for a descendant of a patrician family from Senj (Zengg)² to attain the rank of

1 The research was supported by the NKFIH K 116166 The Political Culture of the Hungarian Estates (1526–1848) program.

2 Bogovič, “Čolič, Juraj Vuk.” See also: Viczián, “Chiolich György Farkas”; Lentić-Kugli, “Portreti senjsko-modruških,” 194; Ljubovič, “Senjski uskoci,” 79.

bishop, receive a baronial title³ and then be tried in Rome by a committee for corruption of a minor.⁴ To reconstruct his career, I used a variety of sources, from his letter of donation in the Hungarian Royal Books (*Libri Regii*)⁵ and the documents related to his trial in Rome⁶ to a contemporary account⁷ by Balthasar Kercselich, a canon in Zagreb, and the inheritance documents⁸ in the Austrian National Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv). The available genealogical summaries and the literature on ecclesiastical history also helped me to give a more refined account of the adventurous life of Chiolich.⁹

New aristocrats in Hungary in the eighteenth century

To understand his career more thoroughly, first, we must look at the sociocultural context in which he lived and worked as a high-ranking member of the church and the aristocracy. From the beginning of the reign of Charles III in 1711 until the end of the eighteenth century (1799), all in all, ninety-one persons from seventy-six families were accorded the title of baron or count in their own right.¹⁰ Among them, sixty-three obtained the Hungarian baronial title, whereas twenty-eight were given the rank of count,¹¹ and though most of them worked in bureaucratic or military positions,¹² two made their careers as prelates and one as a merchant.

One of them, Stephan Ladislaus Luzsénszky, won his baronial title as the titular Bishop of Skopje on 20 May 1727, together with five of his relatives¹³ (with his brothers and cousins, Emerich, Franz, Johann, Alexander, and another Emerich¹⁴). Consequently Luzsénszky, who was invested as Bishop of Oradea in 1733, not long before his death, did not need to worry about the male line of his family's

³ MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 40, 250–51. On 18 April 1746 the Pope affirmed his appointment and on 20 May he was ordained as a bishop. See also: Viczián, “Chiolich György Farkas” and MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 43, 154–57.

⁴ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82.

⁵ MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 43, 154–57.

⁶ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82–83, 333–49.

⁷ Kercselich, *Annuae*.

⁸ ÖStA FHKA NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Fiskalitäten und Verlassenschaften.

⁹ Bogovič, “Čolič, Juraj Vuk”; Viczán, “Chiolich György Farkas”; Lentić-Kugli, “Portreti senjsko-modruških”; Ljubovič, “Senjski uskoci.”

¹⁰ Szemethy, *A magyarországi új arisztokraták*, 12.

¹¹ Szemethy, *A magyarországi új arisztokraták*, 118.

¹² Szemethy, *A magyarországi új arisztokraták*.

¹³ MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 35, 631–39.

¹⁴ MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 35, 631–39.

aristocratic branch dying out with his passing.¹⁵ Another rather peculiar path was followed by Michael Horváth (Manduka),¹⁶ who obtained his baronial title on 10 February 1794 as a Greek orthodox merchant from Gyöngyös, a small town in northern Hungary.¹⁷ As mentioned earlier, his career differed from those of other aristocrats in the eighteenth century: both his occupation and his Greek orthodox faith made him an atypical figure among other noblemen. However, unlike the Roman Catholic prelates, he resembled the other members of the group of new aristocrats in that he was able to pass on his aristocratic rank through the direct male line of his family, via his son, Constantine.¹⁸

The case of Georg Wolfgang Chiolich, the bishop of Senj–Modruš, is only partially comparable to the previous two examples. On the one hand, like Stephan Ladislaus Luzsénszky, he belonged to the Catholic clergy. On the other hand, when he was given the baronial title by Maria Theresa on 17 September 1753,¹⁹ his position as a prelate meant that he was already a member of the aristocracy. He was appointed to be the bishop of Senj–Modruš on 12 February 1746²⁰ and as such he could, for example, attend the sessions of the House of Magnates at the Diet of Hungary. As we saw in the case of Luzsénszky, bishop of Skopje and then of Oradea, the extinction of the male line of an aristocratic family could be avoided if several members of the same family received the higher rank at the same time. However, in the case of Chiolich, even though he may have had more than one brother at the time, only his own rank was elevated. This was probably unusual in the period, especially in the eyes of the central government agencies. This is shown by the fact that after the death of Chiolich, during an inheritance dispute, his brother Johann was often called “baron” even though he did not and could not use this title.²¹

15 As Stephan Ladislaus Luzsinszky. See: Viczián, “Luzsénszky.”

16 He became a citizen of Pest as Michael Manduka. See: BFL, *Buda és Pest polgárai*, 1686–1848.

17 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 58, 92–101.

18 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 55, 715–18.

19 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 43, 154–57.

20 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 40, 250–51.

21 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 36, 811–13. Even though Georg Wolfgang Chiolich had siblings, according to the letter of donation, he was the only one to attain aristocratic rank. See: MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 43, 154–57. However, after his death, his brother Johann Chiolich appealed to the court several times to obtain part of Georg Wolfgang's inheritance, and in some of the documents he appears as ‘baron.’ See: ÖStA FHKA NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Fiskalitäten und Verlassenschaften (Fasz. 13.) Sub. 13.2. 1765. 557. rt. Nr.: 56. 21 January 1765. He never used this title in his letters, which he wrote in Italian, Cp. Fasz. 13. Sub.: 2NR.: 56. ex Jan. 1765 (Kt) fol. Nr. 42.

The rising elite of the Croatian–Slavonic region

Besides the broad social context, the specific social, economic, and political system also has to be taken into account when discussing the career of the bishop of Senj–Modruš. Georg Wolfgang Chiolich was born on 28 May 1699 in Senj to a wealthy patrician family.²² He was not the only person from the Croatian–Slavonic region who was given an aristocratic rank during the eighteenth century. Many of the new aristocrats had connections with this politically (administratively) complex region. Martin Knezevich, who later received the baronial title and after a successful military career became a general,²³ was also born in Senj (on the shores of the Adriatic, belonging at the time to the military frontier region of Ogulin)²⁴ on 7 April 1763.²⁵

Johann Felix Gerliczy–Gerlichich was also born in this region, in Rijeka (Fiume, located on Kvarner Bay, an inlet of the Adriatic). His efforts to obtain a higher rank can serve as a good example if we wish to understand how a problem which at first glance may seem merely administrative could modify the pursuits of a nobleman embedded in the elite circles of local society. Originally, Rijeka, as part of the Habsburg Hereditary Lands, belonged to the Austrian seaboard and remained so until the middle of the 1770s, when the City Council requested that the city be annexed to Hungary, and more specifically to Croatia, which Rijeka had belonged to back in the Middle Ages. Though there is some disagreement as to when Rijeka came under the control of the Holy Roman Empire, in the fifteenth century, when it passed to the Habsburgs, it was part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Finally, in 1776 Maria Theresa annexed the city to Croatia, then in 1779, as “corpus separatum Sacrae Coronae Regni Hungariae”, Rijeka and its immediate surroundings were annexed to the Kingdom of Hungary.²⁶

But how did these changes affect the way Johann Felix Gerliczy–Gerlichich climbed the social ladder? In the family, which originated in Hungary, his father Georg Anton was the first to obtain a noble title in 1736.²⁷ By this time, the whole family lived in Rijeka, where Johann Felix was born on 21 July 1715.²⁸ Later—after a short period in Transylvania—Georg Anton served as the commissioner of Buccari and then as the

22 Bogovič, “Čolič, Juraj Vuk”; Viczián, “Chiolich György Farkas”; Lentić–Kugli, “Portreti senjsko-modruških,” 194; Ljubovič, “Senjski uskoci,” 79.

23 Schmidt–Brentano, *Kaiserliche und k. k. Generale*. He was appointed general in 1771. On his career and rise to this rank, see his son’s memoir: Deželić, “Memoari baruna Vinka Kneževića,” 44–73.

24 Soksevits, *Horvátország a 7. századtól*, 244, 287.

25 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 46, 199–203.

26 Soksevits, *Horvátország a 7. századtól*, 239.

27 ÖStA Hofadelsakten, Johann Felix Gerliczy, Ritterstand, 18 November 1747. fol. 36.

28 Gerliczy, “Johann Felix Gerliczy (Gerlichich).”

president of the courts of justice of Rijeka, Buccari, and Tersakti.²⁹ However, Johann Felix was by no means satisfied with his rank as a member of the lesser nobility and in 1742, together with his brothers, he applied for the title of regional baron; however, he only received a knightly rank in 1747.³⁰ After the first fruitless attempts, he did not give up on the idea of obtaining higher status, and finally, on 10 November 1774, he was elevated to the rank of regional baron.³¹ However, as two years later Rijeka came under the control of the Croatian, and somewhat later, the Hungarian authorities, this also meant that the originally rather empty title of regional baron was almost irrelevant in this new context. Probably this was the motivation behind Johann Felix's appeal for the Hungarian baronial title, which he eventually received on 23 May 1777.³²

Several other examples serve to illustrate the differences in the career paths of those who originated from the Croatian–Slavonic region, as opposed to those who were native to the Hungarian territories. In the examined period, between 1711 and 1799 several families entered the Hungarian aristocracy as Hungarian barons and counts (in Croatia there existed no aristocratic ranks), such as the Malenich,³³ Madgalenich,³⁴ Guozdanovich³⁵ or Rauch³⁶ families. And even though they were almost irrelevant from the perspective of Hungarian history, in Croatian history they are considered as significant figures.

The Chiolich family

To gain an even clearer image of the socio-cultural settings in which the career of Georg Wolfgang Chiolich unfolded, one more context must be considered: the place of the Chiolich family in the urban society of Senj. As for their origins, the Chiolichs were an Uskok family which moved from Herzegovina to Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in the fifteenth century and then to Senj in the sixteenth, where they were naturalized in 1585.

29 Nagy, "Gerliczy család. (Báró)." See also: Kemény, "Gerliczyek," 184; ÖStA AVA Hofadelsakten. Johann Felix Gerliczy, Ritterstand, 18 November 1747. fol. 2. "Titulus Equestris cum Armorem Insignibus et Praedicato Nobilis de Gerliczi pro Joanne Felice de Gerliczi Locumtenente ac Representante Caesareo-Regio in Justitialibres Flumine, Buccari et Tersacti."

30 ÖStA AVA Hofadelsakten, Johann Felix Gerliczy, Ritterstand, 18 November 1747.

31 ÖStA AVA Hofadelsakten, Johann Felix Gerliczy, Ritterstand, 18 November 1747. In his appeal in 1747, together with his brothers, he had already asked for baronial status. He eventually won the title of baron in 1774, for which he paid 2000 Forints. See: ÖStA AVA Hofadelsakten, Johann Felix Gerliczy, Freiherrstand, 10 November 1774. fol. 4.

32 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 50, 468–71.

33 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 46, 88–91; MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 50, 422–25.

34 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 46, 69–73.

35 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 51, 107–10.

36 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 47, 5–10.

They were a well-connected and influential family with substantial estates in the city, the size of which is well illustrated by the fact that later a high school was located in the building.³⁷ The Hungarian noble title of the family was received by Andrew, the judge of Senj, on 31 December 1706,³⁸ which was followed by a noble title in Carniola (a historical region comprising parts of present-day Slovenia).³⁹ On 9 October 1731, Georg Wolfgang, Matthias, Johann, and Georg were given the title “Löwensperger” and their coat of arms was enhanced.⁴⁰ The family had two branches, the older in Senj and the younger in Slavonia. Georg Wolfgang, later bishop of Senj–Modruš, was a member of the Senj branch, as was his cousin Maximilian (1749–1818).⁴¹ Since he was a member of the family, Maximilian’s rank was also elevated, and he enjoyed a successful career.⁴² He completed his secondary education in Rijeka, continued his studies in Graz, and was eventually sent to Rome to obtain his doctorate in theology. In 1789, he was appointed professor of moral theology at the University of Pest.⁴³ Other important descendants of the Senj branch of the family include Iwan Franz, who later became the archdeacon of Senj and Michael Karl (1766–1844), a general who was a member of the Military Order of Maria Theresa and had a successful career as an military engineer.⁴⁴ The most notable members of the Slavonian branch of the family were Mark, who on 15 September 1810⁴⁵ was given the title of baron of the Habsburg Hereditary Lands, was naturalized in Hungary in 1820⁴⁶ and Paul (1768–1838), another general.⁴⁷ Bishop Chiolich belonged to the elite of Senj, made up of families that had made their fortunes at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mostly via pirate raids on Venetian and Ottoman merchant ships, in an area which the Habsburg authorities were barely able to control. Following the Treaty of Madrid which concluded the Uskok war of 1615–17, they were able to avoid punishment and after consolidating their political and economic power in the region, they operated as Adriatic merchants.⁴⁸

37 Ljubović, “Senjski uskoci,” 90.

38 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 27. 217–20.

39 Ljubović, “Senjski uskoci,” 90. Cp. Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repetitorium*. Margalits quotes the following work: Magdics, “Adatok,” 224–29.

40 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 36. 811–13. See also: Áldásy, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*.

41 Ljubović, “Senjski uskoci,” 90.

42 Palanović, “Čolič, Maksimilijan.”

43 Szinnyei, “Chiolich Miksa (löwenspergi).”

44 Ljubović, “Senjski uskoci,” 90.

45 Frank, *Standeserhebungen*, 1.

46 Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok*.

47 Ljubović, “Senjski uskoci,” 90.

48 Bada, “Horvát kalózok,” 60–61.

The city and the bishopric of Senj–Modruš

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Senj was not among the most significant cities of the Adriatic region. Even though it had been an episcopal see in the Middle Ages,⁴⁹ and became a free royal town in 1473,⁵⁰ the diocesan bishop fled to Modrus as early as 1459, when the Ottoman army captured Krbava (Corbavia, in Croatia).⁵¹ In the sixteenth century, the city became the headquarters of Uskok pirates, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottomans made altogether six attempts to capture it.⁵² Due to the miserable conditions and the constant Ottoman threat, the bishop chose to stay in Rijeka from 1610 onwards. Consequently, even though he was a diocesan bishop, he was virtually unable to exercise authority over his diocese.⁵³ In the early eighteenth century, Martin Brajkovic was the first bishop who had his seat in the city; still, not only did he have to face the almost complete destruction of his diocese, he also had to struggle against an opponent, Stephan Dojcic who claimed the episcopal see as the Titular Bishop of Krbava.⁵⁴ This problem arose because part of the diocese was taken over by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century and thus became part of the Ottoman Empire. The remaining parts were unified as the diocese of Senj–Modruš in 1617,⁵⁵ and the title of titular Bishop of Corbavia was also created.⁵⁶ Finally, in 1702 the dispute was settled in favor of the diocesan bishop. Leopold I allowed him to exercise his authority over all the territories and gave him the title “episcopus Segniensis et Modrussiensis, seu Corbaviensis”.⁵⁷ However, the large but sparsely populated area, which was on the military frontier, was barely profitable,⁵⁸ and Maria Theresa, on the occasion of the appointment of Manzador Pius, the successor of Chiolich, allegedly stated that “Senj was not wealthy, nonetheless it was a diocese of great significance”⁵⁹

The development of Senj was hindered not only by the devastation it suffered during the Ottoman wars but also because the once prospering Dalmatian trade

49 Diós, “Zenggi püspökség.”

50 Horváth, “Zengg.”

51 Diós, “Zenggi püspökség.”

52 Horváth, “Zengg.”

53 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 63.

54 Bahlcke, “A ‘Magyar Korona püspökei’,” 21–22.

55 Diós, “Zenggi püspökség.” According to other sources, they were unified in 1600. See: Cherrier, *A magyar egyház története*, 388.

56 Viczián, “Korbáviai püspökség.”

57 Bahlcke, “A ‘Magyar Korona püspökei’,” 21–22.

58 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 81.

59 Temesváry, “Manzador Pius,” 219.

was in decline.⁶⁰ It was only possible to transform the method of transportation by developing the road system, which was to gradually replace the mule caravans, a mode of transportation originating in the Middle Ages. However, in the case of Senj, this did not happen until 1789, when the city was linked to Karlovac (Karlstadt, in Croatia).⁶¹ However, despite all the setbacks, major shipyards operated in the city during the eighteenth century; between 1730 and 1764, fourteen and between 1767 and 1781, twenty-four great ships were built in Senj using timber from nearby forests.⁶² All in all, it was a territory where Habsburg, Ottoman, Venetian and local interests came into conflict, not to mention the rivalry between the ecclesiastical and military administrations.

The rising career of Georg Wolfgang Chiolich

If we focus on the life of bishop Chiolich, it is hard to identify any peculiarities which could differentiate him from other prelates in the period. He was ordained as a priest on 1 November 1723,⁶³ and then, after a period of study in Graz, he received his doctorate in 1727.⁶⁴ Between 1725 and 1746, he was a vicar in the diocese of Senj-Modruš;⁶⁵ on 12 May 1730 he was appointed abbot of an abbey at Sveti Juraj (Szentgyörgy), near Senj;⁶⁶ in 1743 he was mentioned as the archdeacon of Senj,⁶⁷ and finally, on 12 February 1746, Maria Theresa appointed him bishop of Senj-Modruš.⁶⁸ Besides his ecclesiastical titles, he received the title of royal councilor on 27 July 1743⁶⁹ and became a real secret councilor on 1 August 1751.⁷⁰ Finally he was awarded the title of baron by Maria Theresa on 17 September 1753.⁷¹

On the one hand, as a prelate Chiolich was an atypical member of the group of new aristocrats, but on the other hand, his elevated priestly career fits into the concept that characterized Habsburg ecclesiastical policy in the middle third of the eighteenth century. By such actions, Maria Theresa sought to “integrate and develop

60 Soksevits, *Horvátország a 7. századtól*, 241.

61 Soksevits, *Horvátország a 7. századtól*, 239.

62 *Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia*, 322.

63 Viczián, “Chiolich György Farkas.”

64 Viczián, “Chiolich György Farkas.”

65 Bogovič, “Čolič, Juraj Vuk.”

66 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 36, 421–22.

67 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 39, 490–91.

68 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 40, 250–51. See also: Viczián, “Chiolich György Farkas.”

69 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 39, 490–91.

70 ÖStA HHStA Interiora Geheime Räte, 3. krt. 8. Fasz. 1 August 1751.

71 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 43, 154–57.

a multi-ethnic society” and to use the structure of the church for this purpose.⁷² In this system, the ideal people to fill high ecclesiastical posts were those who could act not only as prelates but also exercise secular authority in the area.⁷³ As we have seen, bishop Chiolich—although he did not hold secular office in Senj—by winning the title of secular baron and with the help of his influential relatives, may have been in a position to help achieve the goals set by the Viennese court in the city.

As we examine his ecclesiastical work, he comes across as a hard-working bishop who was eager to carry out visitations⁷⁴ and to spread the word of God.⁷⁵ During his time in this position, he compiled the list of the bishops of Senj–Modruš, which he probably found important after the disputes concerning ecclesiastical positions that had preceded his appointment.⁷⁶ All in all, the image left for posterity is that of a very diligent and scrupulous bishop.

All this indicates that not only did Chiolich appear to be a suitable bishop in the eyes of the Habsburg court, but he also met the ecclesiastical expectations expressed by Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758) in his program.⁷⁷ These required bishops to live righteously, and to be diligent and pious. For in the event that they were incapable of this exemplary way of life, the system would immediately fail, according to the Pope.⁷⁸ During my research, I have unearthed documents that can support this idealized representation of Chiolich.

The fall of Bishop Chiolich

In 1759, an important letter was sent from Vienna to Senj. One of the noble families of the city, the Domazetoviches finally received permission from Maria Theresa to turn to the Pope with their complaints about Georg Wolfgang Chiolich. Due to the gravity of the matter, they needed the consent of the monarch. We can reconstruct the details of the affair from two main sources: the account of Balthasar Kercselich,⁷⁹ and the research conducted by Tihamér Vanyó, who explored the archival documents of the ecclesiastical investigation.⁸⁰

72 Gőzsy, “Exemplum praelucere,” 81.

73 Gőzsy, “Exemplum praelucere,” 81–82.

74 Vanyó, *A trienti zsinat*, 13.

75 Cherrier, *A magyar egyház története*, 389.

76 Chiolich, “Additamenta ad Lucium, 1747,” 466–73.

77 Gőzsy, “Exemplum praelucere,” 83.

78 Gőzsy, “Exemplum praelucere,” 87–88.

79 Kercselich, *Annuae*, 388–89.

80 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82–83, 333–49.

The Domazetovich family, similarly to the Chiolichs, was of Uskok origin; they had moved to Senj from Bosnia (not Herzegovina, as the Chiolich family did) around 1463 when the Ottoman army occupied the territory. They were naturalized in 1655, then on 21 October 1724 Paul Domazetovich, in recognition of his valor in the wars against the Turks, won an Austrian noble title, and later, for the same military merits, he received the rank of baron. When the family resettled in Senj, most of the descendants of the family were merchants and captains, and later on ship-owners. Some of their vessels also joined the Habsburg fleet in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735). Georg Domazetovich built the family mansion in Senj in 1744; it was one of the greatest palaces in the city and later, in the nineteenth century, it became the most important center of political and social life.⁸¹ All things considered, the Domazetovich family was one of the greatest and most influential dynasties in the city of Senj.⁸²

The charge: rape of a young girl

How could the news of a conflict that seemed at first a quarrel between two families, but gradually grew greater, travel first to Vienna and then to Rome? The background to the conflict is described in Balthasar Kercselich's account in great detail, which, complemented with the archival documents published by Tihamér Vanyó, provides a fairly accurate picture of the nature of the conflict. In the 1750s, the powerful and ambitious bishop reached the peak of his career. As a prelate and an aristocrat, he used his family's credit, as well as its economic and political power, not only to enforce his will in ecclesiastical matters but also to interfere with the city's administration and commercial life. His pursuit of power was not without friction in either the ecclesiastical, or the secular sphere: he was in constant conflict with the clergy and the citizens of Senj. To settle these, he often turned to bribery or other even less honorable methods.⁸³

From among the powerful families of the city, the bishop was on good terms with the Domazetovich family, especially with one of its female members, Anna, nicknamed Anka. One day, the girl disappeared. After two incriminating letters were confiscated, it turned out that she had fled to the Island of Krk (Veglia), which at the time was under the control of Venice, where she had given birth to a child in a nunnery. The letters also revealed that the father of her child was the fifty-nine-year-old bishop, who, by the time the investigation commenced, had passed sixty.⁸⁴

81 Ljubović, "Senjski uskoci," 90.

82 Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia, 325, 356.

83 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82–86; Kercselich, *Annuae*, 388–89.

84 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82–86; Kercselich, *Annuae*, 388–89.

During the investigation, on 13 September 1762, the Domazetovich family turned to the papal legate to discuss the difficulties of the procedure; the letter was signed by Anton as captain and Georg as a judge, and the petition also revealed that the plaintiff was their cousin.⁸⁵

The investigation

Pope Clement XIII entrusted Vitaliano Borromeo, the papal legate in Vienna, with the investigation and set up a committee of five cardinals in Rome to pronounce the necessary verdict. Simultaneously, the bishop was suspended and summoned to Rome. Borromeo ordered the archbishop of Kalocsa to make the necessary inquiries promptly; however, the archbishop, Joseph Batthyány refused to do so, and the case was forwarded to the bishop of Zagreb, Franz Thauszy. The latter decided to undertake the case, but due to his poor command of Italian he commissioned one of his canons, Georg Malenovich, to investigate the case.⁸⁶

At this point, however, we should turn our attention to the main source reporting the affair. On the one hand, Balthasar Kercselich served as a canon in Zagreb together with Georg Malenovich,⁸⁷ so he may have received first-hand information from him during the investigation. On the other hand, his account is distinctly unfavorable to Chiolich, which is rather peculiar, because one might assume that as a cleric, he would have supported the bishop's case against the rival merchant family's accusations.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 342. In Vanyó's translation, they referred to her in the letter as their "cousin."

⁸⁶ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82–83; Kercselich, *Annuae*, 400. Malenich was probably a relative of Alexander Michael Malenich, who won the Hungarian baronial title in 1762 and was awarded the rank of count in 1776. See: MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 46. 88–91. and MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 50, 422–25. According to Joachim Bahlcke, Rome was dissatisfied with the bishop and tried to recall him from his position, however, this is not mentioned in the documents published by Tihamér Vanyó. What is more, Bahlcke adds that the archbishop of Kalocsa regarded the papal legate's instructions as a breach of his privileges and this is why he tried to sabotage the investigation, in which, according to Bahlcke, he eventually succeeded. See: Bahlcke, "A Magyar Korona püspökei," 297. The sources, however, reveal that the investigation was conducted, and the bishop was called to Rome where he was cleared of all charges. Cp.: Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82; Kercselich, *Annuae*, 467. Bahlcke refers to a set of documents which he claims would provide more details about the case (MNL OL A1 11:1757), but these are related to the bishop of Đakovo (in Croatia), Joseph Chiolich. The confusion may be due to the similarity of their names and the period when they were active. See: Bahlcke, "A Magyar Korona püspökei," 297.

⁸⁷ Kercselich, *Annuae*, V.

⁸⁸ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82–83; Kercselich, *Annuae*, 388–89.

Among the documents of the Archive of the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna (Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Vienna) published by Tihamér Ványó, there is a letter of 3 February 1762 written by the clergy in Senj, asking for their bishop to be exculpated and sent back to the diocese.⁸⁹ The letter, written in Italian, is not only interesting because of its contents, which show that not all the clerics who served under Chiolich were dissatisfied with his activities, but also because of the list of signatories. At the end of the document, we can find the signature of Georg Homolich, the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Senj, Anton Cerovacz, canon, and protonotary, Karl Vukassovich, a vicar, and Anton Rosanich, a canon. Their request was repeated on 14 March 1762, with the additional information that the bishop had an alibi, as he was in the company of others on 25 November 1758 between five and nine o'clock. Though the alleged companions remained unnamed, the clerics asked the legate not to believe the malign accusations of the Domazetovich family.⁹⁰ These letters do not prove that Chiolich's relationship with the clergy in Senj was free of conflicts; however, the opinion expressed in it throws a different light on the complex nature of ecclesiastical relations in the diocese.

Uncovering all the details of the case must have put a strain on the legal system. At first, it seemed even to the Domazetovich family that since it was a dispute between two patrician families, the authorities in Senj should be responsible for investigating it. This idea was also fueled by the hope that—due to the family's significance—, they would be able to exert more influence over the decision-making of the local authorities than over the courts in either Vienna or Rome. In one of the letters published in Ványó's collection, written in March 1762 by the representatives of the local court, they tried to clarify their rather unfortunate role in the case to the imperial and royal governor-general. They complained that it had recently come to their attention that the bishop had sent a memorandum to the central authorities, accusing the courts of justice in Senj of overstepping their authority by launching an investigation against him.

The local court representatives explain that though it was not their intention to launch an investigation, the news about the bishop being the child's father spread quickly through the city, and since the girl's family had made a formal complaint, they believed that it was their responsibility to act properly. By this, they meant that they excluded the two relatives of the girl from the bench of judges, what is more, they also tried to prove that since the Domazetovich family was quite a significant one in Senj, it was wrong of the bishop to accuse someone else of having fathered the child. However, applying the principle of "innocent until proven guilty",

⁸⁹ Ványó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 333. I am grateful to Katalin Farkas for her help in translating the Italian documents.

⁹⁰ Ványó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 334.

they tried to act carefully in handling the accusations against the bishop. At the end of the letter, we find the signatures of Franz Vukassovich, “vicecanellarius juratus” and Sigmund Guszich de Preisegg, imperial baron and, the civil and military governor of Senj and Carlobag.⁹¹ It is important to note that, as proven by the quoted documents, we can find a Vukassovich on both sides of the debate—they probably found themselves unexpectedly embroiled in the case. They were one of the most influential families in the city, and the vicar, Karl Vukassovich was a cousin of Chiolich⁹² on the maternal side. The Vukassovich family was part of the city’s elite: they had built a Gothic and Renaissance house in the sixteenth century,⁹³ Martin Knezevich, the judge mentioned earlier, married into the family⁹⁴ and in 1802 Philipp Vukassovich won the title of Hungarian baron.⁹⁵

On 30 June 1762, the papal legate received another letter, in which Cardinal Gianfrancesco Stoppani, the Secretary of the Holy See, pressed for an investigation of the bishop’s case, indicating that he was sympathetic to the sufferings of bishop Chiolich.⁹⁶ One month later, the papal legate had to face another objection from the archbishop of Kalocsa. According to Joseph Batthyány, the investigation went against the rights of the archbishop, canon law and customary law; however, since he was being pressured by Chancellor Esterházy and Thauszy, who was entrusted with the investigation and indicated that he would forsake his “loathsome task” if the archbishop “would come to his senses”, he allowed the proceedings to continue.⁹⁷

These glimpses into the case show clearly that the accusations against Georg Wolfgang Chiolich generated a remarkable degree of tension within the clergy and inflamed old conflicts. During the eighteenth century, the monarchs could exert their supremacy in Hungary with only minor interruptions; however, removing a prelate from his position might spark a conflict with the Holy See.⁹⁸ This already rather problematic situation was further exacerbated by the Croatian clergy’s attempts to loosen the grip of the Hungarian prelates on the territories south of

91 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 334–37. It is not clear why the Lower Austrian government was involved; one possible explanation is that the family bore an aristocratic title in Carniola, and therefore felt the need to turn to the relevant authorities.

92 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 341.

93 Horváth, “Zengg”; *Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia*, 325.

94 Deželić, “Memoari baruna Vinka Kneževića,” 48. See also: Brnardić, “Hrvatska vojnička obitelj,” 308.

95 MNL OL A 57 MKL LR Vol. 60, 768–76.

96 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 339.

97 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 340.

98 Forgó, “Korszakváltás – elitváltás?,” 73. Cp. the cases of Stephan Telekessy and Matthias Radanay, in Forgó, “Korszakváltás – elitváltás?” 78, 87.

the River Drava from the sixteenth century onwards. The bishops of Zagreb often spoke out against the attempts of the court or Hungarian prelates to exert tighter control over the Croatian dioceses.⁹⁹ At the same time, bishop Thauszy probably did not want to openly confront the Habsburg court, as he was one of the main supporters and beneficiaries of Maria Theresa's policy.¹⁰⁰ In this light, it was by no means an accident that both Franz Thauszy and the local authorities in Senj tried to solve the problem internally.

On 11 September 1762, the Domazetovich family decided to underwrite the expenses of the investigation and awaited the committee's arrival.¹⁰¹ Two days later, they sent another letter to the papal legate to express their anxiety over the fairness of the investigation. They disapproved of the roles played by Karl Vukassovich, the vicar and Chiolich's cousin in the investigation and requested that the committee be allowed to interrogate civil witnesses in order to ensure the integrity of the enquiry. Furthermore, they asked for half of the bishop's revenues to be distrained and demanded that the members of the committee visit the Island of Krk.¹⁰²

Georg Malenich finally arrived in Senj on 19 November 1762,¹⁰³ where he was probably not received enthusiastically. The Domazetovich family urged that a swift verdict be reached by the court and the clerics in Senj wanted their bishop back in the diocese as soon as possible. Malenich interrogated witnesses both in Senj and in Vienna and tried to arrange a visit to the Island of Krk; however, he was denied entry by the Venetian authorities. He completed the investigation on 18 March 1763 and then probably traveled to Zagreb to finalize the documentation in a more tranquil environment before he had to send it to Rome. Meanwhile, Cardinal Cavalchini, rather impatiently, asked the papal legate about the verdict, and to emphasize the importance of the matter he added that the Pope himself was very interested in the outcome of the case.¹⁰⁴ A little more than a week later Cavalchini sent another urgent letter, indicating that the legate's mediation was of essential importance since both Maria Theresa and the Pope were eager to learn the final verdict in such a significant case.¹⁰⁵

99 Molnár, "A zágrábi püspökség," 110.

100 Maria Theresa appointed him as *supremus comes* of Zagreb County. Gőzsy, "Exemplo praelucere," 82.

101 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 341.

102 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 341–42.

103 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 344.

104 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 346. See also: Kercselich, *Annuae*, 451.

105 Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 346.

The verdict

The documentation finally arrived in Rome, where both Georg Wolfgang Chiolich and Anna Domazetovich were questioned. In 1763, the Holy See pronounced its verdict and cleared bishop Chiolich of all charges.¹⁰⁶ Not long after this, however, either on 2 December 1763 or 3 January 1764,¹⁰⁷ the bishop of Senj–Modruš suddenly died.¹⁰⁸ His body was not taken home but was buried in Rome in the Church of the Gesù.¹⁰⁹ Besides the official documents and letters from the investigation, Balthasar Kercselich also mentioned the verdict and Chiolich's death in his account, however his source, by his admission, was mere gossip. Kercselich refers to the Pope's personal decision to release Chiolich and his belief in his innocence. As for his sudden death, he mentions the widely rumored possibility of poisoning. He also claims to know that Chiolich, the "first and last baron" of his family, amassed a fortune of almost 50,000 Forints in his life.¹¹⁰

For the Domazetovich family, the exculpation of the bishop was a complete defeat, partly because they had to pay all the expenses¹¹¹ and because Anna had to stay in Rome for months during the trial, which was also very costly for the family. The compensation they had hoped for (for the corruption of a minor) would have covered their expenses, but after the verdict, they had to face both financial and moral losses due to the shame of an illegitimate child in a wealthy patrician family.

The verdict had grave consequences. In 1769, Anka, reduced to poverty, sent an appeal to the court for assistance; however, she could not count on the monarch's sympathy. Maria Theresa allegedly told Manzador Pius, who succeeded Chiolich, that she never believed the accusations against the old bishop. He would have never done anything like this as a young man—so why would he have done it as an old man? What is more, she wanted to erase the memory of the trial and thought that the best place for Anka's would be a house of correction. It is important to note here that Maria Theresa's (alleged) opinion is hardly compatible with Balthasar Kercselich's account.¹¹²

Based on the documents we have from the investigation, it would have been impossible to administer justice in the case; however, the Domazetovich family must

¹⁰⁶ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 82.

¹⁰⁷ Bogovič, "Čolič, Juraj Vuk"; Viczián, "Chiolich György Farkas"; Lentić-Kugli, "Portreti senjsko-modruških," 194; Ljubovič, "Senjski uskoci," 79.

¹⁰⁸ Kercselich, *Annuae*, 466.

¹⁰⁹ Bogovič, "Čolič, Juraj Vuk."

¹¹⁰ Kercselich, *Annuae*, 467.

¹¹¹ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 341–43.

¹¹² Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 83–83; Kercselich, *Annuae*, 467.

have been aware of the negative consequences should they lose, and thus, I would argue that they were probably convinced of the bishop's guilt. If they aimed to preserve the family's dignity, they could have accepted the "scapegoat" named by the bishop of Senj-Modruš; however, Anna's family was determined to sustain their belief that he had indeed committed the crime he was accused of.¹¹³

Despite the scarcity of sources, another important question must be considered if we are to understand the career and character of Georg Wolfgang Chiolich more thoroughly. Not only was he tried for corruption of a minor, but, as mentioned earlier, Balthasar Kercselich also accused him of peculation and wrote suspiciously about the fortune he had accumulated by the time of his death.¹¹⁴ Though he was never accused of anything formally (as in the case of alleged immorality), it is known that after his death his brother Johann argued with the Hungarian Royal Chamber, which contended that the diocese would be entitled to the capital (a sum of 12,000 Forints) left by Chiolich.¹¹⁵ He reasoned—since it was raised by Georg Wolfgang Chiolich and other relatives—that the family should dispose of the money¹¹⁶ instead of the new bishop of the diocese, which Tihamér Vanyó described as the poorest of all the Hungarian Catholic dioceses.¹¹⁷ This debate was by no means unique in the eighteenth century; however, here both the Chamber and the potential heirs strove to obtain the greatest possible sum of money from the deceased prelate's legacy.¹¹⁸

All in all, the question I put forward in my introduction remains: why did a Roman Catholic prelate aim to obtain a secular aristocratic title? I would argue that Kercselich's account might throw some light on this. He claims that the bishop was an ambitious man who won his high rank and positions through flattery and who probably valued power above anything else. Chiolich's efforts matched the policy of Maria Theresa, so he could easily win support in Vienna. Kercselich highlights that during his time in office, Chiolich's most difficult task was to weather the constant conflicts with the clergy, the representatives of secular power and local citizens, which he solved mostly by bribery and by exploiting the power he could exert via his position and prestige.¹¹⁹ In doing so, he must have enjoyed the benefits of his great

¹¹³ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 334–37.

¹¹⁴ Kercselich, *Annuae*, 467.

¹¹⁵ ÖStA FHKA NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Fiskalitäten und Verlassenschaften (Fasz. 13.) Sub. 13.2. 1765. 557. Krt. Nr. 11. fol. 98.

¹¹⁶ ÖStA FHKA NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Fiskalitäten und Verlassenschaften (Fasz. 13.) Sub. 13.2. 1765. 557. Krt; ÖStA FHKA NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Geistlichkeit (Fasz. 3.) Subdivision 3.4. (1763–1767) krt. 91.

¹¹⁷ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 81.

¹¹⁸ Hermann and Jakab, "Bevezető," 16–18.

¹¹⁹ Vanyó, *A bécsi pápai követség*, 81. See also: Kercselich, *Annuae*, 388–89.

power and prestige both as a prelate and as a secular aristocrat.¹²⁰ His aims probably coincided with the objectives of the Viennese court, which in the eighteenth century strove to choose prelates from aristocratic families; or, the other way round, if a mere member of the gentry won a higher-ranking ecclesiastical position, gave them aristocratic status.¹²¹ The scandal surrounding Chiolich may have been embarrassing for both the Pope and the Viennese court, so although he was not formally convicted in any forum, his career as an exemplary prelate and a local potentate who effectively represented the will of the Viennese court ended in failure.

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Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA)

Interiore Geheime Räte Staatskanzlei, Interiora, Geheime Räte

Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKa)

NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Fiskalitäten und Verlassenschaften Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Neue Hofkammer und Finanzministerium, Allgemeine Abteilungen, Kamerale Ungarn, Fiskalitäten und Verlassenschaften

NHK Kamerale Ungarn, Geistlichkeit

¹²⁰ Considering Stephan Ladislaus Luzsánszky's case, it is possible that Chiolich was unable to win the baronial title together with his relatives for financial or other reasons. On the other hand, because the extinction of the male line of the family was expected with his passing, he could have conferred his title on another relative. However, even if he intended to do so, it is possible that he was prevented by the trial. I am grateful to Nóra Nagy for this idea.

¹²¹ Forgó, "Korszakváltás – elítéltélezés?", 78, 88. See also: Temesváry, "Öt erdélyi püspök rangemelése," 254–84.

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Vampire Contagion as a Forensic Fact

The Vampires of Medveda in 1732

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Abstract. The present article traces the creation of the peculiar concept of the vampiric contagion or “vampirization” through the work of two official commissions which investigated vampires in Habsburg Serbia in 1732. Even though the importance of the documents prepared by the commissions has been duly recognized in intellectual and cultural histories, a closer look at the narrower historical context yields additional insights into how the figure of the vampire was construed. This approach also helps us do justice to the work of the first commission, led by contagion physician Glaser, which usually receives undeservedly little attention in the secondary literature. While acknowledging the Habsburg cameralistic state administration’s efforts at controlling and disciplining the borderland’s population, the article seeks to interpret the vampire as a product of a contact zone, co-created by the local Orthodox population and the borderland’s medical administration.

Keywords: autopsy, borderland, contact zone, contagion, vampire

Introduction

“Thank God, we are by no means gullible people. We are certain that all the light that the sciences may shed on the fact will not expose any of the [supernatural] causes attributed to it. However, we cannot deny the truth of facts proven by law based on trustworthy witnesses’ statements.”¹

These are the first words in the reflections of Jean Rousset de Missy (1686–1762), Huguenot writer on the most curious European news item of the year 1732: a Habsburg military commission executed ten vampires in a tiny Serbian village. Locals accused several of their late fellow villagers of having become vampires, supposedly rising out of their graves at night to attack and torture the living, killing many more in the process. The Serbian villagers also intimated that the corpses

1 Rousset de Missy, *Mercure historique et politique*, 405.

of vampires did not decay in the graves, therefore had to be executed in order for the affliction to stop. News about these events reached the broader European public. Rousset's contemplations are among the over forty standalone treatises and 150 journal articles published between the 1730s and 1760s on the topic of the alleged Serbian vampires. Often referred to as the "European learned vampire-debate", this sizeable body of texts was inspired by a single official autopsy report of vampires, prepared by a Habsburg military commission in the frontier settlement of Medveđa (Medvedia) on the southernmost tip of Habsburg Serbia. The report was the very document that elevated the figure of the vampire from an obscure Eastern European folkloric being to the worldwide celebrity it has been ever since.

No wonder then that the document received substantial attention in eighteenth-century literary, intellectual, and cultural histories.² In these narratives, vampirism is often discussed as an opportunity to anatomize the people and cultures of "Eastern Europe". By doing so, eighteenth-century learned authors rehearsed some of the dominant discourses of the early Enlightenment, such as the need to extirpate superstition, the advancement of learned sciences, and the inferiority of the Eastern Orthodox Church. In this sense, Larry Wolff's remarks about how Westerners invented an Eastern Europe for themselves is equally relevant for the history of vampirism.³

Substantial efforts have been made to understand the said autopsy report in its historical context. Based on Gábor Klaniczay's research, several authors, with medical historian Roy Porter among them, underline that vampirism was a perfect excuse for the Habsburg Monarchy's elite to talk about the need to civilize, and importantly, medicalize their own "inner savages".⁴ It has also been recognized that it is a peculiarity of vampirism that in its eighteenth-century form it arose from the cultures of Orthodox settlers in a land regained from Ottoman rule. Jutta Nowosadtko hence interpreted vampirism as a "phenomenon of occupation", meaning that it was the occupying administrative structure of the Habsburg Monarchy of the southern borderland, which provided the channels for introducing the first cases of revenants.⁵ In a more general sense, Daniel Arlaud and Stéphanie

2 For details, see among others, Hock, *Die Vampyrsagen*; Summers, *Vampire*; Schroeder, *Vampirismus*; Barber, *Vampires, Burial and Death*; Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet*; Lecouteux, *Histoire des vampires*; Kreuter, *Der Vampirglaube in Südosteuropa*; McClelland, *Slayers and Their Vampires*; Lauper, *Die "phantastische Seuche"*; Bohn, *Der Vampir*.

3 Even though Wolff does not discuss vampires per se, the way Western writers claimed the right to anatomize, historicize and explain diseases thought of as endemic to this region, such as the *plica polonica*, can be seamlessly applied to the way vampires were discussed in contemporary European writing. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 29–31.

4 Klaniczay, "The Decline of Witches"; Porter, "Witchcraft and Magic," 214–16.

5 Nowosadtko, "Der 'Vampyrus Serviensis' und sein Habitat."

Danneberg have rightly understood both the vampire and its victims as unruly subjects; therefore disciplining them formed part of the more general Habsburg state measures to gain control over the population.⁶ This disciplining meant that the vampiric attack as an affliction was medicalized, while the undecayed state of the exhumed corpses of alleged vampires was naturalized and normalized.

The present article engages with this growing body of scholarship and seeks to deliver three main arguments. First, important as it is to recognize top-down intellectual and administrative agendas, exclusive attention to them renders the “invented ones” inert and powerless, which in the case of the vampire’s habitat, the borderland between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires, was far from true. William O’Reilly’s understanding of borderlands as “contact zones”⁷ provides a more precise and fruitful interpretation. The concept originates from Mary Louis Pratt, who defines contact zones as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism.”⁸

This view does not only highlight the agency of the “colonized”, but also helps us problematize the in-between status of local agents of central power, who were pressured both from above and from below. Their intermediary position necessitated that they become “complicit in transnational social, economic, and cultural systems, which rendered residents of the frontier neither fully ‘us’ nor fully ‘them’ in the eyes of the imperial center.”⁹

A further benefit of the concept of the contact zone is that it interprets knowledge products generated in it as inherently ambiguous and “heterogenous on the reception end as well as the production end: it will read very differently to people in different positions in the contact zone.”¹⁰ In what follows, I will treat the figure of the vampire as a typical contact-zone product, born out of power-laden negotiations between the Catholic Viennese administration and local Orthodox communities.

A second aim of the paper is to remedy the undeservedly little attention the secondary literature devotes to the first official report on the vampires of Medveda compiled by contagion physician Glaser. The reason for the relative scarcity of interest in Glaser’s activity is that it was the report of the second commission (led by military surgeon Flückinger), published in 1732, that started the learned

6 Arlaud, “Vampire, Aufklärung und Staat”; Danneberg, “Vampire sind äußerst unordentliche Untertanen”; Bräunline, “The Frightening Borderlands of Enlightenment.”

7 O’Reilly, “Fredrick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis,” 29.

8 Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 34.

9 O’Reilly, “Fredrick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis,” 29.

10 Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 36–37.

vampire debate. Glaser's report remained in manuscript form until the twentieth century, and hence could not exert the same influence on European publicity as Flückinger's. As I will argue, Glaser nevertheless played a crucial role in the creation of the figure of the vampire because his investigations broke the path for the second commission, whose results followed in Glaser's footsteps.

Third, I wish to emphasize that it was Glaser's negotiations with the local community that gave birth to a novel characteristic of the vampire, one which distinguished it from other revenants known in eighteenth-century Europe: its contagious nature.

Governance and medical knowledge production on the southern borderland

The scenery for the emergence of the vampire in European imagination was the southern borderland, a contested, war-torn region between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, which in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed several wars and went through substantial territorial changes.¹¹ In the wake of the Great Turkish War (1684–1699) and the Austrian-Ottoman War (1706–1718), the Habsburgs conquered from the Ottoman Empire the large central territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, Transylvania, part of Croatia and part of Slavonia, northern Bosnia, Serbia, the Banat of Temes, and Little Wallachia. The narrower birthplace of the vampire, that is the province of Habsburg Serbia, belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy only for a relatively short time between 1718 and 1739, when together with northern Bosnia and Little Wallachia, it was re-conquered by the Ottoman Empire.

After the conquests, the Habsburg Court decided to create a special region along the southern border of the newly gained territories that would not be (re-) incorporated into the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Instead, these provinces, which can be termed as "the southern borderland", would be governed directly from Vienna and would serve as a barrier towards the Ottoman Empire. At the time of the 1732 vampire investigations, the southern borderland's territory included parts of Croatia and Slavonia, the thin strip of northern Bosnia, Serbia, the Banat, and Little Wallachia. The territory was special in several aspects, of which I will highlight three: the elimination of historic property relations, the substantial leverage of local communities over the Habsburg administration, and the region's thoroughly medicalized nature.

¹¹ On relations between the various parts of the Habsburg Empire in the early eighteenth century, see among others Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*; Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*.

The *tabula rasa* of power relations

Since the territories of the southern borderland were not reincorporated into the Hungarian Crown, and the old legal and landownership structures were not reinstated, the central power had direct access to the population, and used the area as an experimental field for more efficient, systematized policies to rationalize governance, facilitate central control and secure economic and demographic blossoming.¹² The overarching principles of this project were elaborated by Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), field marshal of the Habsburg army conquering the southern borderland from the Ottomans in 1716–1718, and president of the Aulic War Council (1703–1736).¹³ Under the leadership of Prince Eugene of Savoy's military commanders, the provinces of the Banat¹⁴ and Serbia were turned into experiments in absolutist governance along cameralist lines.¹⁵

One main characteristic of the new order, at least on paper, was the transparent and simple hierarchical organization of power structures. At the highest level, the province of Serbia was overseen jointly by the Aulic Treasury and the War Council in Vienna. The province was divided into civilian districts with civilian district officials (cameral provisors) at their lead. Between 1718 and 1733, the provincial government was in the hands of Governor Prince Karl Alexander von Württemberg,¹⁶ who was aided by a provincial council. The council contained both military and

12 The theoretical foundations of the governmental policies applied in the borderland were rooted in the German school of cameralism. For more details, see among others Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 93; Horn, "Geschichte(n) von Gesundheit und Krankheit."

13 O'Reilly, "Divide et Impera," 80–81.

14 For a detailed discussion of the general circumstances in the Banat and the province's structure of governance, see Kallbrunner, *Das kaiserliche Banat 1*; For the Banat as an experimental field of governance, see Marjanucz, "A Temesi Bánság"; And more recently, Marjanucz, *A Temesi Bánság vázlatos történeti útja 1716–1848*; For a special emphasis on population politics in the Banat, see O'Reilly, "Divide et Impera."

15 Langer, "Serbien unter der kaiserlichen Regierung 1717–1739." And recently with special emphasis on the Serbian governorship as a practicing scene for von Württemberg's absolutist reforms: Brüser, *Herzog Karl Alexander von Württemberg*, 75–89.

16 Karl Alexander von Württemberg's career had been steadily rising as a military commander before he attained the governorship of Serbia. He had managed to protract the defense of the town of Landau against the French in 1713, thereby winning the imperial army's general commander, Prince Eugene of Savoy's (1663–1736) favor. Subsequently, he joined Prince Eugene of Savoy in the Austro-Turkish War against the Ottomans in 1716–1718. During these campaigns, his reputation was steadily rising and in 1717, he was already commanding general at the successful siege of Belgrade. Due to his successes, in 1719, he was named governor of Belgrade and from 1720 president of the newly created provincial administration of Serbia, a title he retained until 1733. Liliencron, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 366–72; Matuschka, *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, 250.

civilian delegates (representing the interests of the War Council and the Treasury, respectively), but as the governor was always a military commander, the provincial administration was dominated by the military's interests.

The settlements were divided into two groups: civilian and militarized. The militarized settlements were wedged into the civilian districts, but their population consisted of frontiersmen, in Habsburg administration often termed as *Hajduk*,¹⁷ who answered to the army headquartered in Belgrade rather than to the civilian provisors.¹⁸ In 1728, the roughly 2400 frontiersmen of Serbia occupied more than ninety military settlements in the province. Many of the settlements were marked out along the Ottoman border, where frontiersmen had to man the ten ramparts and seventy watch posts (so-called *Tschardak* houses). Other settlements were spread in the inner parts of the province, overseeing major fortified towns, and protecting the main inner routes, for example, the one between Belgrade and Paraćin (Baragin), against highwaymen.¹⁹

Local expertise and leverage

The various sections of the borderland may have been organized in a systematic and transparent way, but applying governance in practice ran into several problems. The cameralist projects required that the region should be populated by settlers, especially since many areas were deserted because of the wars. Apart from a small number of German, Italian and Spanish colonists, the court sought to entice most settlers from the wider Ottoman-Habsburg borderland area.²⁰ The main body of newcomers was made up of peasant and shepherding groups, mostly Slavic-speaking Serbs (also referred to as "Rascians") and Romance-speaking Wallachians. Their majority belonged to the Orthodox denomination, and a minority to the Roman Catholic Church. To a varying extent, Jewish and highly mobile Gypsy communities were also tolerated, and Ottoman merchants of Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek and other ethnicities of the Balkans (referred to as "Greek" and "Turkish" in the texts) also played an integral role in borderland society. In practice, the large variety of ethnicities that German officials had to govern necessitated interpreters to bridge the language barriers.

17 On the word's etymology, see footnote 23 below.

18 See among others: Wessely, *Die österreichische Militärgrenze*; For recent overviews of the conditions on the military frontier, see Bracewell, "The Historiography of the Triplex Confinium"; O'Reilly, "Border, Buffer and Bulwark."

19 Langer, "Serbien unter der kaiserlichen Regierung 1717–1739," 220.

20 See among others O'Reilly, "Divide et Impera."

The Habsburg Court offered settlers land and various privileges, such as favorable tax conditions and the freedom to practice their Orthodox religion under the supervision of the metropolitan of Belgrade and Sremski Karlovci (Karlowitz). Settlers were allowed to keep their own community leaders (called *knez*), who also received limited judicial powers. They were also allowed to follow their customs and social practices related to, among other things, birth, marriage and death. In addition, each community naturally had its own “experts”, people knowledgeable in such matters. As it will be detailed below, these local experts would offer ideas and practices rivalling those of the Habsburg authorities and, for that matter, those of the Orthodox Church as well: in the particular matter of vampirism, the Orthodox Church was struggling to gain control over local practices and ideas just as much as the provincial administration. Similarly, the lower level clergy were also trapped in an in-between situation, pressured by higher church leaders from above, and by their flock from below, trying to accommodate their needs.²¹

Further obstacles to a smooth governance were caused by the fact that settling privileges were not fully unified across the region, thus, there were constant frictions between the various sections of the borderland. In general, hajduk military settlements always had more privileges than civilian ones, as their lands were usually tax free in return for military service. Together with the borderland’s generally patchy organization, this situation made it very difficult for the administration to keep people permanently settled, especially because for centuries relative mobility had been part of the settlers’ borderland-specific lifestyle. It often happened that once the obligations were increased or privileges curbed in a given section of the borderland, people would simply move to a neighboring area that offered better conditions. Prince Karl Alexander von Württemberg had to issue repeated regulations on frontiersmen-recruitment in order to stop the constant flux of people within the borderland; in 1728, for instance, he prohibited cameral subjects to join the military frontier in Serbia.²² The coexistence of military and civilian populations was also wrought with conflicts: the civilian population often complained about frontiersmen having much better settling and living conditions, receiving unfair benefits, encroaching on the rights of civilians, and committing violence against them.²³

21 On the more rigid ideas of Orthodox theology related to different kinds of revenants, see Hartnup, “On the Beliefs of the Greeks,” 173–236; See also Zelepos, “Vampirglaube und orthodoxe Kirche”. For examples of the more practical attitude of the Orthodox lower clergy in the Banat, see: Mézes, “Georg Tallar and the 1753 Vampire Hunt.”

22 Langer, “Serbien unter der kaiserlichen Regierung 1717–1739,” 220.

23 Langer, “Serbien unter der kaiserlichen Regierung 1717–1739,” 199, 218–19; It is not by accident that cognates of the “pandur” in Croatia and Slavonia, and “Hajduk” in Serbia, and later also in the Banat often had shades of meaning related to banditry all around the Habsburg-Russian-Ottoman borderland. Cognates of the hajduk can be found with similar meanings in

Finally, despite the efforts to populate the borderland, the thirst for settlers never abated: the hostile natural, sanitary, martial, and criminal environment kept decimating settlers, which in turn gave additional leverage to local communities in enforcing their interests. Consequently, bound as it was to the central power, the new personnel of the Habsburg provincial-level administration was an interface that had to engage on a daily basis in intense negotiations and translations across cultures, languages, and interests.

Medical infrastructure and expertise

Because of its reliance on an abundant and prospering population, cameralist state building elevated public health to the primary agenda.²⁴ It was vital to create a well-functioning medical infrastructure, and the Habsburg borderland is often cited as a prime attempt at the efficient projection of Vienna's medical knowledge and public hygiene policies from the center towards the periphery, the borderland. Each cameral district was supposed to have its own district surgeon, while the provincial centers had a *protomedicus*, a physician overseeing the medical system of the entire province. All the regiments stationed in the provinces had their own military surgeons and physicians. And finally, the military frontier also functioned as a plague cordon: apart from its military significance (which gradually diminished as the century progressed), the frontier's infrastructure served the crucial medical purpose of monitoring traffic across the border and deploying strict quarantine measures in plague times to stop the frequent epidemics spread from the Ottoman lands into the heart of the empire.²⁵ The infrastructure involved in this activity was a hybrid military-medical network consisting of border guards, watch posts that impeded traffic across the green border, and quarantine stations with medical personnel (contagion surgeons, physicians and assistants) positioned at major roads leading into the Habsburg Empire.

Apart from their functions of disciplining the local population and channeling central policies, the medical personnel in the districts, the towns, the army, and the quarantine stations functioned as collectors and generators of medicine-related information from within and across the border. This activity was coupled with the

several languages, e.g. Hungarian “hajdú” which is thought to have originated from the verb “hajtani”, meaning “to shepherd [animals]”; the Russian “гайдук” [gajduk] meaning outlaw, rebel against the Ottomans; and the Ottoman Turkish “haydut” meaning robber or bandit. Zaicz, *Etimológiai szótár*, 261.

24 Horn, “Geschichte(n) von Gesundheit und Krankheit”; Krász, “Quackery versus Professionalism?”

25 Lesky, “Die österreichische Pestfront.”

production of a substantial amount of written documentation. First of all, they were obliged to submit regular reports on the medicine-related situation in their fields of authority. Second, the medical personnel also functioned as a task force of experts to be deployed when necessary. Thus, it was a part of their duty to compile thorough reports of their experiences within these ad-hoc missions and commissions. The topic of interest was not only the plague but other endemic and epidemic diseases as well, such as health problems caused by the marshlands in the area, or the so-called “mining sickness”, a serious respiratory condition affecting miners, which in the eighteenth century was discovered to be caused by the high arsenic content of certain metal ores. In addition, they also wrote about mass attacks of the infamous blood-sucking pests, the “Kollumbacz flies”, the healing qualities of mineral waters, and prepared various legal documents, such as autopsy reports (*visum repertum*), expert testimonies (*attestatum*) and witness accounts (*protocollum*) of cases of strange diseases, murders, and suicides.

Importantly, the medical personnel employed by the borderland’s administration received payment not based on their healing success, like private physicians would, but as a regular allowance, complemented by remunerations for extra missions they were deployed in as experts. This steady financial support coming from the Vienna administration, rather than from the local population, was supposed to give them higher prestige, self-confidence, as well as to ensure loyalty to their institutional backing.²⁶

All in all, the borderland was a paradoxical combination of a particularly centralized, systematized state infrastructure trying to govern a population that, in fact, had substantial leverage in enforcing their interests. Consequently, it was through interaction and conflict with the local population and the circumstances that Habsburg local medical personnel were gradually becoming “experts” of the local medical relations, environmental conditions, the flora and fauna, as well as the culture and customs. Hence they were in a position to step up as producers and organizers of new knowledge generated there, on the borderland. In what follows, the figure of the vampire will be analyzed as a special case of this knowledge-production activity.

“Vampirization”: Contagion physician Glaser’s observations in Medveda

The 1732 case of the vampires in the village of Medveda was neither the first nor the last time that the borderland’s administration had to deal with local ideas of revenants: just as banditry, smuggling and epidemics, revenants were also recurring

problems for the administration.²⁷ However, the mobilization that the vampires of Medveđa sparked was rare, if not unprecedented, and the shape the affliction took was in many ways unusual.

Unrest in Medveđa started in October–November 1731, when a series of deaths shook the village. Given that the problem concerned a hajduk village, the entire investigation was handled within military frames. Taking note of the deaths, and probably suspecting an epidemic, the military commander of the district center in Jagodina, Lieutenant-Colonel Schnezzer organized a commission, which consisted of Glaser, the “imperial quarantine physician” (*Physicus Contumaciae Caesarea*) of the quarantine station of Paraćin, and several military officers, among them the military commander (*Führer*) of Kragobaz (today probably Kragujevac) and corporals from Stalać (Stallada), the settlement Medveđa’s hajduks were probably subordinated to. The commission had to travel to the village to investigate the situation.²⁸

As head physician of the Paraćin quarantine station, Glaser was responsible for overseeing the epidemic situation in the entire province of Habsburg Serbia, as well as in the territories beyond the Ottoman border. This is because the network of stations at the time consisted only of Rakovica overseeing the Karlstadt frontier; Kostajnica (Kostainica) in the Banal frontier (today on the Croatian-Bosnian border)²⁹; Bród (Brod) in the Sava frontier (today on the Croatian-Bosnian border), Paraćin in Habsburg Serbia and Slatina responsible for Little Wallachia.³⁰

The mobilization of the quarantine physician attests to the sensitivity of the borderland to suspicions of epidemic outbreaks in itself, but the location of this particular case was especially precarious: two major trade routes, one coming from Novi Pazar (Novibazar), and the other from Niš (Nissa) met in this area. The route then continued north through Paraćin to Ćuprija (Morava), where it forked, with one road leading towards Pest and Vienna through Belgrade, the other towards Timișoara (Temesvár) through Bačka Palanka (Újpalánka). An epidemic hitting

27 In relation to the Banat’s revenant-management situation, see: Mézes, “Georg Tallar and the 1753 Vampire Hunt.”

28 It is from Glaser’s report and Vice-Governor Anton Otto Botta d’Adorno’s (1688–1774) letter that we know the details of the dispatch. See these two sources in ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1132r–v, 1134r–36; Hamberger published Glaser’s report in Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet*, 46–49. When signing their reports, the officers taking part in the investigations often only provided their family name and their rank or position, but not their first name. Whenever it is known, I use the officers’ full names in the article.

29 Situated in the territory between the Una and Kulpa Rivers, and not to be confused with the Banat’s military frontier to the east.

30 Slatina in Wallachia is not to be confused with today’s Slatina-Timiş in the Banat. On the system of quarantine stations on the military frontier, see: Vaniček, *Spezialgeschichte der Militärgrenze*, 405; Lesky, “Die österreichische Pestfront,” 86–88.

such a major trade route juncture could have dire consequences. On the one hand, if the routes are not closed, the disease could spread unstoppably towards the heart of the monarchy; if on the other hand, quarantine measures are imposed, commerce would suffer huge deficiencies. In order to avoid these scenarios, the disease had to be contained to the village as fast as possible.

Glaser's understanding of the multiplication of vampires

Upon arrival, Glaser examined the sick because his main task was to diagnose the nature of the disease, more specifically to establish whether it was contagious. His medical expertise, however, was seriously challenged by local experts. At first, Glaser pronounced that the sick were suffering from non-contagious tertian and quartan fevers, side pains, and chest aches caused by the strict pre-Christmas fasting habits of Orthodox subjects. That is, he gave an endemic explanation to the unusually high frequency of deaths.

Locals, however, offered a rival diagnosis: people were thought to be dying because of the “so-called vampires, that is, bloodsuckers” (*genannten Vambjères, oder Bluth Seiger*) in the village. Glaser probably was familiar with the term, as the news must have reached him about earlier cases of vampires in the province. Due to the lack of sources, it is difficult to assess what exactly locals and Glaser believed in, but explaining mass deaths in a given community with some sort of revenant activity was not unheard of in other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy: witches were known to be able to cause epidemics even after their death,³¹ and the power of the dead, who were still masticating in their graves (*masticatio mortuorum*), to cause plague was also a matter of discussion at the time.³² Furthermore, on the Moravian-Silesian border the early eighteenth century witnessed numerous mass infestations of revenants, who were thought to have been procreated by a single dead witch who used diabolical machinations to turn corpses into revenants.³³

However, what villagers of Medveda described was different from all of these explanatory frameworks: it entailed acquiring a condition during one's lifetime which destined one to become a revenant after death. Locals located the source of the current affliction in two dead women:

“There used to be two women in the village who during their lifetime became vampirized (haben sich vervampyret), and it is said that after their

31 Mackay, *Hammer of Witches*, 237.

32 Schürmann, *Nachzehrergrlauben in Mitteleuropa*; Ranft, *De masticatione mortuorum in tumulis*.

33 Bombera, “Posmrtná magie na Libavsku”; Slezáková, “Soumrak pověrčivosti.”

death they will also become vampires and will vampirize (vervampyren) yet others.”³⁴

Importantly, the peculiar verb, *vervampyren*, which for the lack of a better word, may be translated as “to vampirize”, is not synonymous with “turning (some-one) into a vampire”: it means the transmission of a condition, the consequences of which may take effect years after “being vampirized”. As the villagers explained to Glaser, the two women, named Stanno and Miliza had in fact died of natural causes two months before the investigation, and their deaths had nothing to do with vampires: Stanno died in childbirth, while Miliza succumbed to an unspecified sickness. However, both were thought to have been vampirized years earlier: Miliza had eaten from the flesh of a lamb in Ottoman lands that had previously been attacked by vampires. Stanno was vampirized in a different way on the other side of the border: in order to protect herself from vampires, she smeared herself with a vampire’s blood. Even though this way she avoided death by vampires, she destined herself to become a vampire after her eventual death. Moreover, as she had the condition in her body, her future children were also destined to become vampires: Glaser was told that just like his mother, Stanno’s (stillborn) child was also to become a vampire.³⁵

It is unfortunately unclear whether locals used some version of the term “vampirize”, or it is entirely Glaser’s coinage, but based on the villagers’ stories, he managed to identify at least four ways of becoming vampirized: 1) being attacked by a vampire, 2) eating from vampirized animals, 3) smearing vampire blood on oneself, 4) being born to a vampirized mother. In the first case, death would follow within days of the attack. In the latter three cases, however, the condition of being vampirized may lay dormant for an indefinite time until death sets in, when it is activated and transforms the victim into a vampire.

Although Glaser never stated explicitly, the ways of acquiring the vampirized condition (through ingestion, contact with the skin, and through the mother-fetus contact) were seamlessly mapped onto contemporary medical explanations of contagion. In early modern medicine, contagions were special: unlike most sicknesses resulting from an inner imbalance of bodily humors, contagions (such as rabies, plague, elephantiasis or syphilis) were thought to be transmitted from one person to another by physical contact.³⁶ Contagion itself was thought to consist of especially potent putrefying vapors, particles or humors. At an individual level, the exhalations and humoral secretions of the sick were inhaled or touched by the people around, and once having

34 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1134v.

35 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1135r.

36 Nutton, “Seeds of Disease”; Carmichael, “Contagion Theory and Contagion Practice”; Gibbs, *Poison, Medicine, and Disease*.

entered the human body through the orifices or through the pores of the skin, they started putrefaction inside the body. They could also be stuck to objects or vaporized into the air and thus travel long distances. Large-scale epidemics, such as the plague were understood as consequences of *miasmas*, that is, clouds of putrefying vapors that emanated from large pools of decaying matter: from the decomposing animals at the bottom of the sea or in animal burial pits, from swamps or open mass graves.

In early modern contagion theory, perhaps the closest analogy would have been rabies or, in contemporary terms, hydrophobia.³⁷ Indeed, the analogy certain authors referred to in the 1732 learned vampire debate³⁸ was close not because of some sort of parallel between the vampiric bite and the bite of a rabid dog: none of Glaser's (or Flückinger's for that matter) corpse-descriptions contain any reference to open wounds or bite-marks. This underlines the theory that the element of the vampiric bite in present-day popular culture is a later addition to the figure.³⁹ The Serbian vampire was draining the victim's life and blood without leaving wounds or punctures on the skin.

Hydrophobia would have been an apt comparison for two reasons. First, the poison of a mad dog was thought to communicate the host's nature to the patient: the rabid person turned aggressive and bit people because the contagious bite had communicated the dog's nature to the victim, just like the vampiric condition was transmitted from vampire to victim. A second similarity is that hydrophobic symptoms often started months, years or even decades after the mad dog's bite, and in some cases vampirization also exhibited a delayed effect. The delay in rabies was explained the same way by Girolamo Fracastoro in the sixteenth century and by Giuseppe Frari (1738–1801) in the eighteenth century, claiming that because dog poison had a particularly heavy, viscous nature, it progressed very slowly through the blood vessels towards the brain.

By his own admission, at first Glaser was reluctant to accept the local diagnosis; supported by military officers he tried to talk some sense into the villagers, but in vain. They were gripped by fear:

“[The villagers] said that before getting themselves killed this way, they would rather settle somewhere else. Two or three households get together for the night, and while some sleep, the others keep watch. And [they also said that] the deaths would not cease until the Praiseworthy Administration agreed to and carried out the executions of the said vampires.”⁴⁰

³⁷ DiMarco, *Bearer of Crazed and Venomous Fangs*, 216–18; Krnić, “Giuseppe and Aloysius Frari’s Works.”

³⁸ Putoneus, *Besondere Nachricht*, 33–34, 38–39.

³⁹ This theory is aptly remarked by Kreuter, *Der Vampirglaube in Südosteuropa*.

⁴⁰ ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1134v.

Due to the borderland's general shortage of settlers, the threat to move away touched a neuralgic point, and this worked on Glaser as well. The physician agreed to carry out the exhumations that locals requested, but (as he explained in the report) only to establish the truth behind their accusations.

Exhumations with perplexing results

Upon examining the ten cadavers, Glaser was perplexed, as the evidence supported the local diagnosis of vampirization. While several of the corpses were decaying in an orderly fashion, some looked fresh. In his report, Glaser described all the bodies, some of them in a single sentence, while others in greater detail. He adopted the local vocabulary to describe the bodies along an axis of the state of decay as “vampire”, “very suspicious”, “half-suspicious”, and “decayed”. In the full translation of Glaser's description of Miliza's corpse, who was one of the two arch-vampires, the structure of the original text is maintained. Following the name, the text is not organized into sections, but flows continuously.

“A woman named Miliza.

Vampire (Vampyér). Age fifty, lay for seven weeks. Came over from the Turkish side six years ago and settled in Metwett. She always lived in a neighborly was never known to have believed or engaged in anything diabolical. However, she told the neighbors that in the Turkish land she had eaten of two lambs which had been killed by vampires (Vampýres), and therefore, after her death she would also become a vampire. It was on this utterance that the common folk based their steadfast opinion. In fact, I have also seen such a person. And because she [Miliza] was known to have had a dry, haggard body, was of old age and lay buried in the moist soil for seven weeks without any garb, she should have already been half-decayed. Nevertheless, she still had her mouth open, light, fresh blood was flowing out of her nose and mouth, her body was bulging, and was suffused with blood, which appeared to be suspicious even for me. And these people cannot be wrong, [because] by contrast, after the opening of some other graves, [in which the cadavers] were of a younger age, used to have a bulkier constitution in life, and died of a shorter and easier sickness than those old people, [the younger bodies] were decayed the way regular corpses are supposed to be.”⁴¹

His rich description allows valuable insights into how Glaser was trying and failing to fit vampirization into the frameworks he was familiar with.

41 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1134v.

Attempts at natural and supernatural explanations

Glaser tried to explain the lack of decay with natural processes, but his observations did not map onto the tenets of the putrefaction theory. Putrefaction in the mainstream natural philosophy of the era was understood as putrefaction-inducing particles and influences (usually referred to as *menstrua*) of the environment inducing the process of a corpse's disintegration into the four basic elements. In turn, the lack of decay was thought to have two main causes: either something was blocking the menstrua's access to the body, or the nature of the corpse and that of the environment were not of opposing qualities.⁴² A cold environment was widely known to hinder decay. Given that it was wintertime in Medveda, the weather would naturally delay putrefaction, but then it was unclear why some corpses did start putrefying in an orderly fashion. Another possible factor hindering menstrua was air-tight conditions and barriers between the body and the soil. However, in this case, all the bodies were apparently interred without coffins or shrouds and were in direct contact with the soil. A third impeding factor may have been sudden death, as it would trap some of the vital spirits inside the body, which could repel the invading menstrua. As Glaser remarked, however, the bodies that were found to be properly putrefying were the ones that died of a sudden, short disease.

A second group of causes that may have hindered bodily putrefaction was the nature of the corpse matching the environment: moist-natured corpses would decay slower in a wet environment, while dry bodies decayed slower in dryer, air-permeable surroundings. By contrast, in the case of the purported vampires, Glaser observed the exact opposite: the soil was moist, nevertheless bulky, young people decayed much faster, while dry-natured Miliza did not, even though she had been underground for much longer.

The discrepancies perplexed Glaser to the extent that he returned to the problem once more at the end of his report. He stated that villagers asked him the question: Why is it that exactly those people decayed in an entirely proper way (*gänzlich, wie sich es gehöret verweesen seyn*) who used to be "stronger, more corpulent, younger and fresher, died of a simpler and shorter disease" (which meant that the disease did not dry them out), and spent a shorter time in the very same soil? Glaser had no answer, and repeatedly admitted in the report: "This reasoning (Raison) does not seem to be incorrect."⁴³

Since he was unable to fit the observations into the natural explanations he was familiar with, he had to venture into the grey zone between the natural and the supernatural. His remark cited about the lack of a known prehistory of diabolical practices in Miliza's case means that Glaser tried to collect testimonies of witchcraft,

42 Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet*, 24–25; See also: Zacchia, *Quaestiones medico-legales*, 238.

43 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF "Vampir Akten – Teil 2," 1135v.

as demonic activity would have explained Miliza's posthumous harmful activity as well as her body's resistance to decomposition. As locals gave no witness testimonies against Miliza, Glaser had to discard this explanation as well.

Eventually, Glaser refrained from giving a definitive diagnosis, even though he did not discuss a further possible explanation, which was very topical in the natural philosophy of the era. Most of the learned contributions to the 1732 vampire debate in Europe engaged with the current controversies about the existence and characteristics of the so-called "third part", often referred to as "astral spirit", an airy, but material substance in the human body that served as an intermediary between the material body and the immaterial soul, and which some authors regarded as being capable of posthumous activity independent from body and soul.⁴⁴ Broadly speaking, debates about body-soul relations pitted against each other iatromechanical authors, who argued for a duality of body and soul, denying the existence of an ontologically separate third part, and followers of animist physiology, who maintained that body and soul should rather be thought of as an inseparable unity (*anima sive natura*), and who often assumed the existence of an astral spirit. The most spectacular clashes were those waged by animist physician Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734) of the University of Halle first against mathematician and philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), and later against physician Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742) and philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754), also from Halle.⁴⁵ As relevant as these debates were for the Medveda vampire case, they cannot be traced in Glaser's report. As a physician, Glaser must have known about the controversies, since only a few months after his report even a military ensign in Belgrade made the connection.⁴⁶ Glaser's motivations are unclear, but apparently he did not see it wise or necessary to address such a controversial topic in an official report.

Although reluctant to provide a clear-cut diagnosis, at several points of the text Glaser adopted local terminology rather than deploying his own Latin and German-based medical vocabulary. First, it is significant that he coined the Germanized expression, *vervampyren* to denote the spread of the affliction, and second, used *Vampyer* to describe corpses which were not in the state of decomposition they were supposed to be in. This way, his report, provides the first known instance of a medical diagnosis of a *contagious* form of revenantism, in which revenants did not simply spread death and cause plague epidemics but were assumed to transmit their own revenant-condition to living people. This combination of elements made the vampire a novel framework, which was both similar to and

44 Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet*; Magyar, "Orvosi vita."

45 Duchesneau and Smith, *Leibniz-Stahl Controversy*; King, "Stahl and Hoffmann"; De Ceglia, "Hoffmann and Stahl."

46 Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet*, 56.

different from existing natural and supernatural frameworks. In this sense, it may be deservedly called an uncanny (*unheimlich*) contact-zone product.⁴⁷

As Glaser's original mandate was to investigate if an epidemic was involved, he was not (or did not feel) authorized to allow the executions, and had the corpses reburied. At the same time, he recommended the military command to comply with the villagers' request, submitted his report to Jagodina, and Lieutenant-Colonel Schnezzer forwarded it to the Belgrade headquarters.

Vampire forensics: Regiment surgeon Johann Flückinger's autopsies

Prince Karl Alexander von Württemberg did not reside in Belgrade but was in his home in the Duchy of Württemberg at the time. Therefore, it was Vice-Governor Marquis Anton Otto Botta d'Adorno (1688–1774) who had to take action. In response to Glaser's report, he dispatched a sizeable high-ranking commission to the village, led by Johann Flückinger, the regiment surgeon of the Fürstenbusch Infantry Regiment.⁴⁸ Regiment surgeon was a very high position. In fact, Flückinger was the head surgeon responsible for overseeing the entire regiment. He was aided by two other military surgeons, Johann Friedrich Baumgarten from the same regiment, and Siegele from the Marulli Regiment, whose commander was Vice-Governor d'Adorno.⁴⁹ The three surgeons were accompanied by military officers Senior Lieutenant Büttner and ensign J.H. von Lindenfels, both of them from the governor's own Alexander Württemberg Infantry Regiment. On their way to the village, they picked up the senior officers of the Stalać frontier company, Captain Gorschik, the lieutenant (*hadnack*) and the ensign (*barjactar*).

Our main source of their activity is the autopsy report (*visum et repertum*) they prepared as a result of their investigations.⁵⁰ It is called *Visum et Repertum* ("seen and discovered"), which is the usual contemporary term for forensic autopsy reports carried out within the frames of judicial trials. The autopsies were usually

47 "Many people experience the feeling [of the uncanny] in the highest degree in relation to death and dead bodies, to the return of the dead, and to spirits and ghosts." Freud, "The Uncanny," 241–43; Marín, "Haunted Communities."

48 Infanterieregiment No. 35, founded in 1683, also called "Böhmisches Infanterie-Regiment" and "Württemberg zu Fuss". At the time was commanded by Daniel von Fürstenbusch. Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht*, Vol. 1, 366–67.

49 The regiment was founded in 1709, its owner was Francesco Cavaliere Marulli, while its commander at the time of the Medveda vampire case was Botta d'Adorno. Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht*, Vol. 2, 193, 221.

50 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF "Vampir Akten – Teil 2," 1138r–1141v.; Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet*, 49–54.

conducted by surgeons rather than physicians, because traditionally it was the surgeon's duty to perform manual operations, while physicians would be equipped with the theoretical knowledge to interpret the surgeon's findings. In practice, physicians were not easy to find, and in legal cases both the observation and the interpretation of signs were done by surgeons. Accordingly, the Flückinger commission's report also contains a mixture of observation and interpretation.

A detailed analysis of the autopsy report lies outside the scope of the present paper and has been amply done in the secondary literature. I will therefore only venture a few relevant supplementary comments.

Reconstructing a two-wave affliction

The commission arrived on 7 January, almost four weeks after Glaser's visit. Considering the tensions Glaser mentioned, it was a huge feat of self-discipline that all this time the villagers refrained from taking vigilante action. The commission's mandate was to carry out a thorough investigation of the entire matter. Based on the testimonies of witnesses, they reconstructed a vampirization-sequence even more elaborate than Glaser's: a two-wave epidemic.

Villagers related that back in 1727, Arnout Pavle, a hajduk from the village, had fallen off a hay wagon and broke his neck. During his lifetime, Arnaut Pavle used to say that after his death he would surely become a vampire, since he had been plagued by one in Cossowa (probably a reference to a village in today's Kosovo) in Ottoman Serbia. It is noteworthy that several researchers have remarked that there seems to be a foreign element in vampire-narratives, as Miliza, Stanno and Pavle all declared that they had been vampirized in Ottoman lands.⁵¹ It can be conjectured that Pavle's name "Arnaut" comes from the Ottoman Turkish *arnavut*, meaning "*an Albanian*", a word used in reference to mostly Albanian-speaking irregular soldiers serving in the Ottoman army. Just like in the case of witchcraft, being a newcomer to a village might have heightened the chances of being accused of the crime. However, this was certainly not the only scenario. On the southern borderland foreign connections seem especially problematic, as many of the villages are likely to have been entirely inhabited by newcomers. In addition, having contracted the vampire-condition "in Ottoman territory" is not very meaningful, as only fourteen years before the Medveda case, the whole region had still been part of the Ottoman Empire.

Pavle managed to avoid being killed only by eating from the soil of the vampire's grave. In the same way as smearing oneself with the vampire's blood, this also meant that after his death he would inevitably turn into a vampire. Following his

51 Bohn, *Der Vampir*, 120; Kreuter, "Der Vampir, ein Fremder?."

prosaic accident with the hay wagon, Pavle indeed returned from the grave, sucking blood and killing several people. The villagers unearthed him as well as his victims, and based on the same symptoms as in all revenant cases, they found that four of them were vampires. They were staked, burnt, and the ashes were thrown back into the grave. The procedure however does not seem to have been thorough enough: the vampires had attacked sheep as well, and anyone eating from their meat was vampirized. This is the part of the story that Glaser also recorded. Miliza had eaten of the vampirized lamb meat, and hence when five years later she died, as a vampire she started killing people. Stanno, who as Glaser noted, had also been vampirized, died of childbirth, and the two women started massacring the villagers. Seventeen villagers fell victim, dying after a rapidly progressing illness and complaining about certain dead villagers tormenting them at night.

Confirming Glaser's observations through autopsies

Having finished the hearing of witnesses, the surgeons ordered the exhumation of fifteen corpses of people who had died in the previous three months. They conducted systematic autopsies on them, recording their name, age, time of death and state of decay, while going into the details of the state of internal organs only for the undecayed corpses. The autopsy report gives the impression of highly disciplined work, because the fifteen exhumed corpses are presented in the form of a numbered list. Within each entry, the text flows continuously but always follows the same structure: name, age, time of death, cause of death, and the state of the corpse. There are thirteen entries, out of which two women's entries contain the additional description of their young children. The results of the dissections confirmed on the inside what Glaser saw on the outside: Flückinger's commission confirmed as vampires all the five corpses Glaser had deemed as such. This is in fact remarkable, for it means the corpses did not change much during the four weeks between the two visits. The two commissions of the plague-cordon infrastructure and the military structure found themselves in the same position of agreeing with the locals.

Flückinger remarked the signs that pointed towards the continued functioning of the vital-nutritive functions. He noted continued bodily growth: hair and nails had grown, and new skin was seen to appear under the old layer that was peeling off. The regiment surgeon's dissections were confined to the chest-stomach area, the seat of the vital functions, of circulation, breathing and nutrition; there is not a single mention of the state of the brain, which at the time was considered to be the seat of animal functions (movement, thinking, feeling, imagination and others). The interest in the abdominal cavity is partly explained by the fact that it was known to be the area that was supposed to be the first to fall to putrefaction,

as it was moist and fatty. The surgeons found the untouched state of the internal organs striking. In Stanno's case, they remarked for instance that "the entire entrails, including the lungs, the liver, the stomach, the spleen and the intestines were quite fresh, just like in a healthy person."⁵²

The most frequently noted feature was the presence of light, fresh, liquid blood in various cavities of the corpse, a sign that had been part of a centuries-old tradition of recognizing revenants in Europe.⁵³ On the one hand, the commissioners found liquid vascular and extravascular blood in various parts of the chest, which they suggested was strange, for it should have coagulated. In the case of Stanicka, a twenty-year-old woman, the commission wrote for example that "during the dissection the often mentioned fresh, balsamic blood was present not only in the chest cavity but also in the ventricles of the heart".⁵⁴ Liquidity points towards life, mobility and an ability to perform the vital functions. On the other hand, in two cases, blood was found also in the mouth and in the stomach: both are considered to suggest that the body was feeding on blood. This fascination with feeding on blood was emphatic in the learned debates as well. The German term which Habsburg officials used for vampires was "blood sucker" (*Blutsauger*), which also points in the direction that feeding was one of the most decisive features of vampires. In fact, it was not unusual for dissecting surgeons and physicians to focus on fluids in the corpse, as disease and health were both almost universally understood as a result of a balance of fluids.⁵⁵ Life in general was thought of as being maintained by the constant movements of highly mobile fluids in the body. Death was supposed to make the fluids stop moving and coagulate.

The surgeons were very diligent in recording the color, texture and the state of the bodies, but they did not venture on far-reaching conclusions. Observations about the apparent continued functioning of the vital functions nevertheless resonated with contemporary iatromechanical vs. animist debates and would be widely discussed later, during the learned vampire debate. The commissioners' findings would also inspire discussions about another topical issue of the time, namely the question of seeming death. In the era, there was no unanimously accepted list of the sure signs of death, and surgeons as well as physicians often warned about the hazy boundaries between life and death.⁵⁶ If a surgeon was to determine death, there were a few signs that he was looking for: the stopping of movement, sensitivity and vital functions (no heartbeat and breathing), as well as pallor mortis, rigor mortis, and

52 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF "Vampir Akten – Teil 2," 1138v-39.

53 See among others: Caciola, *Afterlives*.

54 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF "Vampir Akten – Teil 2," 1139v.

55 Horn, "Vom Leichenöffnen," 800.

56 On this topic, see among others Milanesi, *Mort apparente, mort imparfaite*; Horányi, *A látszatos halál*; Kessel, "Die Angst vor dem Scheintod"; Grubhoffer, "Fear of Seeming Death."

carcass stench as one of the surest signs. Strangely enough, apart from the functioning of vital functions, Flückinger did not record or mention the presence or lack of any of these signs, not even that of stench.

Interestingly, Flückinger's commission said nothing about the element that Glaser found most perplexing, namely the seeming discrepancy between conventional natural philosophical knowledge about putrefaction on the one hand, and their experiences on the other. They did record that Miliza had a desiccated complexion in her lifetime, but did not point out that for that reason she should have decayed faster in the moist soil than the corpulent corpses, which were entirely decayed. Either they did not deem it necessary to include this detail, given that Glaser's report already contained it, or perhaps they lacked the theoretical knowledge university-trained physicians like Glaser had. The fact that they failed to record this discrepancy had consequences, because later only the *Visum et Repertum* was published, while Glaser's report was not. Thus, the learned debaters could not engage directly with a fellow physician's explicit contemplations about the matter.

The reports prepared by the two commissions provide insights into how the expertise of the local arms of the central power were challenged and ultimately conquered by that of locals. Just like Glaser, Flückinger's commission also substituted their own medical vocabulary with the local usage, classifying undecayed corpses as being "in a vampire state" (*im Vampyrenstande*), and although we do not know the exact details, local power dynamics certainly influenced the autopsies. While relating Miliza's autopsy, Flückinger remarks that locals exclaimed when they saw how bloated she was, even though she used to be skinny and barren all her life.⁵⁷ They interpreted this as a sign of having grown fat in the grave on her victims' blood. What is remarkable is that this suggests that villagers were present during the autopsies. The procedure of the dissection was not done in a confined space supervised only by medical personnel: locals could also influence the interpretation of signs. Knowing about the circumstances, one may question whether it is by accident that out of the fifteen dissected corpses the five deemed to have been decaying in an orderly fashion all belonged to the village officers' households: they were the lieutenant (*hadnak*)'s wife and child, the ensign (*barjaktar*)'s wife and child, and the corporal's servant. At the same time, the remaining ten were relatives of ordinary frontiersmen and were identified as vampires. This is all the more suspicious, since Flückinger did not provide a detailed description of what the normally decaying five corpses exactly looked like.

In the end, based on the dissections and yielding to the pressure of the local community, Flückinger authorized the execution ritual. The bodies deemed to be in a vampire-state were decapitated by local Gypsies, burnt at the stake, and their ashes

57 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF "Vampir Akten – Teil 2," 1139r.

were thrown into the Morava River. The meticulousness of the ritual suggests an intense fear of pollution, as even the ashes were not allowed to stay in the vicinity of the village. It also reflects the aim to totally annihilate the cadavers.

The military-forensic framework within which the commission carried out the investigations and executions gave full support to their actions and exhibited trust in their expert diagnosis. In his letter of 26 January 1732 to the Viennese Aulic War Council, Botta d'Adorno lauded them for the “hardships they endured and the extraordinary efforts they made” requesting the council to offer monetary compensation to the surgeons.⁵⁸ On 11 February, the War Council forwarded the request to the Aulic Treasury, underlining that the three surgeons should be recompensed not only for their travel expenses, “but also for the many hardships they endured during the exhumation, the examination and the burning of the corpses that were found to be suspicious.”⁵⁹

The Treasury in turn ordered the provincial government of Serbia to calculate the exact costs the surgeons had to spend and to detail exactly how many days the mission had taken up. The same order also talks about vampires as a tentative reality, referring to them as “those so-called vampires or bloodsuckers, [whose presence is] fairly strongly felt there, in Serbia”⁶⁰

In this way, the reports provided the provincial administration with officially accepted evidence to support the existence of the newly crafted affliction of the vampire contagion, which subsequently passed into the learned world only to be reshaped again and again ever since. The history of translations from local fears through highbrow treatises to the current movie culture started out from a productive, if conflicted, interaction between Serbian popular culture and the Habsburg medical administration on drawing the boundaries of death.

Conclusions

On the southern borderland of the Habsburg Empire, the early decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the enchantment of the Habsburg occupying administration's personnel with the figure of the vampire, which was thus (re-)born as a typical contact-zone product. Military, civilian and medical officials had to accept the expertise, knowledge claims, and social practices of “the other”. They developed a symbiosis in which revenant executions were allowed to happen as long as they were duly requested, overseen and documented by the authorities. Understanding the

58 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1132r-v.

59 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1142r.

60 ÖStA FHKA AHK HF “Vampir Akten – Teil 2,” 1131r-v.

local populations of the Habsburg borderland as active participants in knowledge production contributes to similar claims about colonial spaces outside Europe.

Even though often overlooked in the secondary literature, contagion physician Glaser's report was seminal, because it marked out the direction of investigation for Flückinger's surgical commission: the latter arrived on site already with a physician's contemplations about the unusual diagnosis of vampirization in their hands. Glaser, and Flückinger in his wake described and, to some extent, subscribed to a novel, contagious kind of revenant etiology, where a living person was believed to acquire (not to say, get infected with) the destiny of having to become a vampire after death. For Glaser, the turning point was that his experiences went against the conventional natural philosophical theory about the dynamics of putrefaction: corpses, such as Miliza's dry body surrounded by an opposite-natured, moist soil, did not result in fast decay the way theory predicted.

The activity of Glaser's and Flückinger's commission was born out of a practical and urgent pressure to make sense of the public health situation in Medveda and to be able to give an expert opinion for further judicial action. Even though the main role of their activity was governance and disciplining, they were also pushing against the boundaries of contemporary knowledge on bodily decay. The fact that both Glaser's and Flückinger's commissions surrendered their Latin-German-based medical vocabulary for the sake of Serbian idiom and Glaser's open reflections on his inability to produce a fully convincing explanation to what he saw offer us a glimpse into the learning process through which provincial-level officials were gradually becoming transnational experts in the contact-zone of the southern Habsburg borderland.

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The Lower Clergy and Popular Culture

Introductory Remarks to a Current Research Project¹

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Abstract. The aim of this paper is to examine the role of the Christian lower priesthood in local communities in eighteenth–twentieth century Hungary and Transylvania in cultural transmission. The author intends to map out the complex and changing conditions of the social function, everyday life, and mentality of the priests on the bottom rung of the clerical hierarchy. Particular emphasis is placed on the activity of priests active at the focus points of interaction between elite and popular culture who, starting from the second half of the eighteenth century, often reflected both directly and in a written form on the cultural practices of the population of villages and market towns. The theoretical questions and possible approaches are centered around the complex relations of the priest and the community, their harmonious or conflict-ridden co-existence, questions of sacral economy, stereotypes of the “good priest” and the “bad priest” as shaped from above and from below, the subtleties of “priest-keeping”, the intentions related to preserving traditions and creating new customs, and the different temperaments of priests in relation to these issues.

Keywords: popular culture, lower clergy, local communities, cultural transmission, power relations, Hungary, Transylvania

Introduction

It does not promise to be an easy job to outline the complex set of relations connecting the lower clergy and popular culture with regard to any historical period. The difficulties of this far-from-enviable task only increase if one wishes to position this exploration in the Carpathian Basin, an area renowned for its denominational versatility. The hopelessness of the enterprise is ultimately driven home when one realizes that the subject area is fairly unexplored, sources that lend themselves to translation into data and to qualitative analysis have not been identified, and the

¹ This paper is based upon an introductory paper in Hungarian by the author: Bárth, “Alsópapság és népi kultúra,” 9–42. After 2018, I carried out that research within the frames of MTA–ELTE Lendület Historical Folkloristics Research Group (Project LP-2018-10: *The lower clergy in eighteenth–twentieth century local communities in Hungary and Transylvania*).

present paper is limited to a certain length. When in spite of all of these disheartening conditions I venture to outline the research trends, possible models and future research perspectives of this subject area, I commit myself to face all the customary difficulties of such review papers, their proneness to contingency, shortcomings and occasionally the researcher's subjective influence.

I must advance that the following review is based largely on the experiences of my own research, mostly into eighteenth century (early modern) subject matters, and only occasionally am I able to add nineteenth- and twentieth-century data. At the same time, due to the character of the subject matter, the two and a half centuries between 1700 and 1950 allow for an unbroken thread of investigation into several key matters which may be captured with relative accuracy at least on the level of formulating questions. As regards the representation of various denominations, there may be a slight imbalance in favor of the Roman Catholic lower clergy due to my base of research sources. I am not in a position to discuss all the major denominations present in Hungary with equal weight. I do, however, intend to draw certain conclusions of general relevance to practically all trends of Western Christianity present in Hungary throughout the eighteenth–twentieth century. Indeed, with certain reservations, they may bear some relevance to the widely different religious practice of Jewish and Orthodox Christian believers. Examining the relationships of the latter denominations would be the long-term task of a specifically dedicated paper constructed from the angle of comparative religion.

It goes without saying that in the introduction of a paper it is crucial to clarify the basic concepts of the title. Both “the lower clergy” and “popular culture” are concepts that, contain a dichotomy in their nature: they define themselves in relation to their counter-pole. It might seem that defining the lower clergy is the easier job. According to the generally accepted interpretation, this category in social history is a collective term for clerics positioned on the lowest rungs of the clerical hierarchy. It is an accepted term mainly in the case of the Roman and Greek Catholic churches, which may also be extended to the priests of the major Protestant denominations active in Hungary (Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian) and of the small churches of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the case of the Catholic lay clergy, the category mostly covers the clerics active at local parishes (vicars and chaplains), while at the opposite pole we find the top echelons of the clerical hierarchy (bishop, ordinary, vicar general, diocese officials, cathedral priesthood, canons, etc.). How we would class the middle stratum which plays an intermediary role is debatable—while the bishop overseeing the parishes in his diocese often rises from the ranks of the lower priesthood through appointment, and his job is to comply with and execute instructions coming from above, the archdeacon was in many places invested with privileges and functions almost equal

to those of a deputy bishop, and could take an active part in clerical leadership. As regards the monastic clergy, it is even harder to delineate various strata of clerical society based on its internal hierarchy. Insofar as (non-leading) members of the monastic clergy lived in close proximity with the local communities of towns or villages, engaging in everyday interaction, naturally they deserve our attention, even if this attention must inevitably be narrowed down. Within the complex internal power structure of the Protestant churches, we simplify the question and explore the relations of the pastors serving in local parishes. If we generalize and clarify this distinction, one that is far from rigid and would normally require case-by-case judgement, we may declare that the central category in our present investigation is *the clerical stratum which bears direct influence on local society and culture*.²

An even more complex problem is that of defining *popular culture*, even though we may be spared a detailed discussion by the existing summaries of the subject. As regards the early modern period, an apt definition useful even today was provided from the quarters of the historical disciplines by Peter Burke, who outlined what he call popular culture.³ This partly contains a general definition of culture⁴, and partly a detailed description of the social groups that carry the culture. The latter was one that broadened the previously common notion equating *the people* with *the peasantry* by including a broader range of culture-mediating groups (urban artisans, craftsmen, students and itinerants)⁵ in the domain of popular culture. Burke was also intrigued by the mediating role and double cultural identity of priests, pastors, and preachers active in local communities. In the text that follows we shall use this definition in our approach to the popular culture of the eighteenth century which was to undergo complex changes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries best conceptualized through the processes of the rise of the middle classes and acculturation. Accepting the prevailing ethnographic definitions, we shall look for the popular culture of the past two centuries primarily in the society of the village and the small market town, i.e., in peasant communities. Some of these issues of ethnographic interest may be extended, with some reservations, to the urban middle classes.

2 Cp. Bárth, *Alsópapság*.

3 Burke, *Népi kultúra*, 11–12.

4 Burke, *Népi kultúra*, 11.

5 Burke, *Népi kultúra*, 45–110.

Main trends in the socio-cultural study of the lower priesthood

It is not the purpose of the present review to survey the breadth and depth of the literature of the available extensive European research history concerning the connection between the culture of the lower clergy and local communities. The bibliography containing the works referenced in the present work does not aim for completion either. Within European research, I will mostly refer to works written in German, English and French, which may be seen as fleeting examples and serve to demonstrate the versatility of existing approaches. Even the review of the considerably more modest Hungarian explorations falls short of totality, and merely aims to indicate research trends. Clearly, it is within the historical studies of the various denominations that we need to look for forerunners of a systematic study of the subject. Both Catholic and Protestant clerical history have always considered it their mission to study the basic stratum of clerical society, but similarly to the political historical approach on general historiography, major summaries and monographs mostly feature the history of the leading institutions and clerical leaders, while the single historical agent from the lower clergy is rarely accorded close observation. A significant shift in attitude came in this respect after the appearance of clerical history inspired by the social sciences (sociology, anthropology and ethnography), which in Western Europe pointed attention partly toward the “social history of the church”, and partly toward the everyday life of ordinary people. It is in this spirit that a line of spectacular “bottom view church histories” have emerged with a range of geographic and thematic focuses. Besides, stepping past the denominational orientation, surveys deploying the latest approaches in historical writing also devoted some of their attention to this subject. In France it was on the fringes of the Annales circle, in the English-speaking areas the trends of historical anthropology, while in Germany in the field of new social history and *Alltagsgeschichte* that examinations appeared highlighting the cultural mediating role of the lower clergy and covering the time span from the late Middle Ages to the present day. Added to all of this was the influence of the micro-historical perspective adopted after the shift in historical scale taking place over the 1980s.⁶ This resulted in the publication of a considerable number of monographs, dissertations, thematic volumes and case studies, from which I will point out a few as we go along.

An important work rarely quoted in Hungary in the context of the late mediaeval mentality of the English clergy is Eamon Duffy's seminal monograph.⁷ Written over two decades ago, *The Stripping of the Altars* was the first to point out that the church in pre-reformation England had not been nearly as decadent and defunct as it was later made to appear. The Irish historian presents the everyday clerical life of the age as a

⁶ For a comprehensive description of these tendencies, see: Burke, *New Perspectives*.

⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

comprehensive and functional system of piety among the common folk. If we shift our attention to the introductory chapter of Keith Thomas's monograph (*Religion and the Decline of Magic*), deservedly seen as an indispensable primer, we find that the image it presents does not differ considerably even if the historian's interpretation is different: it interprets the same late-mediaeval clerical practice as a form of "white magic".⁸

In Thomas's survey, the basis for a harmonious coexistence of medieval priesthood and believers came from the system of mutual service, whereby the community physically sustained its priest, and the priesthood served the needs of the community, primarily through such means as benediction, exorcism and the *sacramentalia*. A classic of English historical anthropology, Alan Macfarlane's book introduces the life of a seventeenth-century vicar, Ralph Josselin, and his entire family and world view based on his diary.⁹ British historians have shown increasing interest in the area since the 1980s, which is indicated by the collection of papers that placed the local vicarage in the center in order to offer approaches to the lay religiosity of the four centuries between 1350 and 1750.¹⁰ In his PhD dissertation written around the turn of the century, one of the authors, Donald A. Spaeth, laid an important milestone in providing an understanding of the relations of the lower clergy in the Church of England and the local communities.¹¹ He describes the period of 1660–1740 as a perilous age, and provides a model-like outline of the conflicts between the priests and their parishioners, the various clerical character types and the manifestations of popular religiosity. His work deserves the attention of researchers, regardless of denomination.

Selecting representative examples from the extensive French-related material is an even more daunting task. 1971, the year when Thomas's monograph was published, also saw the appearance of a classic on the history of Catholicism in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries by Jean Delumeau, an outstanding representative of the rejuvenated French historiography.¹² In presenting the structural constitution, institutionalization, and internal reforms of Catholicism at the time when it became a world religion, Delumeau places great emphasis on the way the church handled manifestations of local religion, and on the history of the influence of the lowest levels of church leadership. In his comprehensive work published three decades later, Bernard Hours asks the same questions on a similarly broad time scale of three centuries but with an exclusive focus on the French Catholic Church.¹³ In his wide-ranging survey, Hours relies on works of social history produced by the

8 Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 25–50.

9 Macfarlane, *The Family Life*.

10 Wright, *Parish, Church and People*.

11 Spaeth, *The Church*.

12 Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*.

13 Hours, *L'Église et la vie religieuse*.

enlivened French clerical history of the late twentieth century. Outstanding among them is the oeuvre of Bernard Plongeron, particularly his book on the everyday life of eighteenth-century French priesthood.¹⁴ Starting in the 1960s, crucial sources are explored regarding the same subject matter by Dominique Julia.¹⁵ In his book describing “the man of the enlightenment” Julia offers a portrait of “the priest”.¹⁶

Besides French historians, English researchers have also produced considerable scholarship concerning the French priesthood of the eighteenth-century. In his gigantic two-volume work published at the turn of the millennium, John McManners summarizes several decades of research. In terms of structure, types of questions raised and conclusions drawn, the book may serve as a model for examining any other region in Europe.¹⁷ Investigating the lower clergy in the decades preceding the Revolution in France also attracted the attention of Timothy Tackett in the early phases of his career. Focusing on the life of the parishes in a single diocese between 1750 and 1791, Tackett’s 1977 book arrives at important conclusions of a social and political historical nature.¹⁸

The literature available to us on the German Catholic and Protestant lower priesthood is also fairly extensive. Due to German clerical historians with an interest in *Volksfrömmigkeit* and ethnographic studies perceptive of historical questions, we could start this survey in the interwar period.¹⁹ However, only in recent decades has methodical thematic research gained strong impetus. This is partly thanks to innovative trends in German historiography, which went back to the concept of popular or folk culture, already “retired” in ethnography by that time, and aimed to shed light on the life of the lowest strata of society. Joining the strand of research termed “historical cultural studies”, in the 1980s Rainer Beck published a number of seminal studies on the subject, one of which was also translated into Hungarian, turning Hungarian scholars’ attention to the subject.²⁰ In spite of the fact that neither Beck’s work nor its reception were free of apologetic tones concerning ethnography, his insights based on early modern sources regarding priestly personalities and their role in the local communities are highly instructive for us. On behalf of German ethnography, the Würzburg school led by Wolfgang Brückner and the related yearbook (*Jahrbuch für*

14 Plongeron, *La vie quotidienne*.

15 Julia, “Le prêtre au XVIII^e siècle,” 521–34.

16 Julia, “Der Priester.”

17 McManners, *Church and Society*.

18 Tackett, *Priest and Parish*.

19 See e.g. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche*; Veit and Lenhart, *Kirche und Volksfrömmigkeit*.

20 Beck, “Der Pfarrer und das Dorf”; Beck, “Népi vallásosság.” See also, contemporaneously: Peters, “Das laute Kirchenleben.”

Volkskunde) appear to be of outstanding significance.²¹ Several of Brückner's papers analyze overarching processes of the early modern period, and the relationship between the clerical leadership and popular religion.²² One block in the 1988 volume of the annual is dedicated entirely to "the priest and the people in the nineteenth century".²³ Continuity of interest is reflected, among other things, by papers in the volume written in the 1990s²⁴ and published in 2002. Most outstanding among them is the achievement of Professor Walter Hartinger from Passau.²⁵ Further papers by clerical historian Andreas Holzem²⁶ and Werner Freitag²⁷ indicate that despite the supposed opposition between historians and ethnographers, their fields of interest show considerable overlap. After his book on pilgrimages of the early modern period, which met with mixed reception,²⁸ in 1998 Freitag wrote one of the best monographs on the present subject. He studies the parishes of a small area throughout the four centuries between 1400 and 1803, examining the various aspects of the local role of the church.²⁹ In a famous series produced by the "new critical social history" movement hallmarked by Jürgen Kocka and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Götz von Olenhausen published an excellent analysis concerning the forms of behavior exhibited by the Catholic priesthood of the Freiburg archbishopric in the nineteenth century.³⁰ Frank Fätkenheuer focused the lens of his micro-historical investigations on northern Bavarian priests and pastors in the early seventeenth century, and their role in their communities.³¹ At the same time, clerical history, which is less of a social historical perspective in the German-speaking areas, has also produced a line of monographs associated with close geographical areas that paid some attention to the lower clergy, varying in depth according to their criteria.³² Similarly to the French examples, examining the influence of the clerical

21 Typically, the subject attracted the attention not only of purely religious ethnographic research. A chapter on the priest and his vicarage was an inevitable part of the seminal reviews of the Marburg school of custom research: Weber-Kellermann, *Landleben*, 91–97.

22 Volume 10. of the series summarising these research efforts is of significance in this respect: Brückner, *Frömmigkeit*.

23 Particularly the case study on Würzburg County is one interest in this context: Weiß, "Wandel von Rolle."

24 Besides Brückner and Hartinger's paper, primarily: Dippold, "Klerus und Katholische Reform."

25 Hartinger, *Religion und Brauch*; Hartinger, "Weltliche Obrigkeit."

26 Holzem, "Westfälische Frömmigkeitskultur."

27 Freitag, "Religiöse Volkskultur."

28 Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit*.

29 Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*.

30 Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten*.

31 Fätkenheuer, *Lebenswelt und Religion*.

32 E.g. Baumgartner, *Die Seelsorge*; Schlägl, *Glaube und Religion*; Haag, Holtz and Zimmermann, *Ländliche Frömmigkeit*; Bünz and Lorenzen-Schmidt, *Klerus, Kirche und Frömmigkeit*.

enlightenment on the priesthood is seen almost as an independent research question.³³ Besides Catholic monographs, hefty tomes have been dedicated to the changes in the role the Lutheran priest and parish experienced over the eighteenth–twentieth centuries.³⁴ In the most recent manual on religious history, Tobias Dietrich offers a synthesizing summary of the entire subject area.³⁵

The research history of this subject area has followed a very similar course in Hungary. Although interest in this theme was obvious in ethnography, for a long time it was not explicit. As regards the role the lower clergy played in village communities, it has mostly been researched by social ethnography—a branch of the discipline relatively late in its inception.³⁶ The scientific history of folklore studies has not examined this subject area separately; instead it mostly considers the role of the parish priesthood in nineteenth-century folklore collection as self-evident. Neither has religious ethnography devoted separate papers to it. However, thematic chapters of monographs, particularly those which offer in-depth soundings of small localities, have paid a varying amount of attention to the relations of this social stratum.³⁷

Hungarian clerical history has also paid a certain degree of implicit attention to the lowest strata of clerical society. One of the leading figures of the “Pannonhalma school” active in the interwar period, Tihámér Ványó, produced an excellent monograph on the methodology of writing histories of local parishes,³⁸ a book of considerable value and relevance to this day. His obvious intention was to contribute to the professionalization of research into local clerical history.³⁹ In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the same author, along with other scholars under Benedictine supervision,

33 Müller, *Fürstbischof Heinrich von Bibra*; Gottschall, *Dokumente zum Wandel*. For an exemplary analysis about a representative of “Gegen-Aufklärung”, see: Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment*. Another American historian discusses the relationship of the priests of Saxony of the Reformation era with their local community: Goodale, “Pfarrer als Außenseiter.”

34 Greiffenhagen, *Das evangelische Pfarrhaus*; Schorn-Schütte and Sparn, *Evangelische Pfarrer*.

35 Dietrich, “Klerus und Laien.”

36 A chapter in a relevant manual quotes some of the sporadic and occasionally sweeping conclusions of research conducted before World War II: Jávor, “Az egyház,” 792–96. Interestingly, in Hungarian ethnographic custom research, there is hardly any mention of the local social aspects of ordination and the subsequent first mass. Cp. Bálint, *Népünk ünnepi*, 49–51. Excellent and mutually complementary German monographs in this respect are: Kania, “Geistliche Hochzeit”; Haunerland, *Die Primiz*.

37 E. g. Bálint, *Népünk ünnepi*, 47–51; Bartha, *A hitélet*, 98–99; Bárt, “A katolikus magyarság,” 355–56; Bárt, *Jézus dicsértessék!*, 96–102; Bárt, *Szentgyörgy megyéje Alcsíkban*, 329–55.

38 Ványó, *A plébániatörténetírás módszertana*.

39 For an excellent example of parish history from the angles of social and cultural history, see: Hoss, *A kaposvári plébánia története*.

offered excellent examples of “bottom view clerical (diocesan) history”.⁴⁰ The 1950s brought a predictable halt in this strand of research, which was not continued at quality standard until after 1989.⁴¹ What gained impetus about this time was the research of visitation documents—a change partly fueled by ethnographers’ interest in clerical sources.⁴² Inspired partly by the achievements of scholars in other countries, and partly by the inherent dynamic of Hungarian clerical history, this is also the period when István Fazekas completed his important dissertation. Ever since 1993, when its monograph version came out, this work has served as a model of its kind.⁴³ Fazekas presented the problematic of the lower clergy based on source material from 1641–1714. These time boundaries were marked out based on church visitation records as his primary source. The study contains chapters based on both quantitative and qualitative research. We see numerical accounts of the distribution of the lower clergy according to mother-tongue, age, and place of birth; their levels of education are classified according to region and degree. Fazekas describes the normative sources that give us an idea of the culture and education these priests possessed. He also juxtaposes their passages with listings of books owned by the priesthood or possibly of books they had written. A separate chapter is dedicated to the relationship of the priests and feudal lords, the friars and chaplains serving at parishes, and the types of career options available in the age. Particularly significant from our point of view are the chapters that account for the relations of the priest and the village, as well as the priest and the higher clerical authority (the *visitator*), which include concrete case studies and a whole line of general conclusions.

Paradoxically, István Fazekas’s pioneering publication seems to have discouraged for a while, rather than encouraged, the younger generation of clerical historians to develop an interest in this direction. Excellently written, the work probably produced the illusion that the subject had been exhausted, even though the author repeatedly emphasized that the handful of case studies were intended to serve as a collection of samples and models. Over a decade had to pass before the second Hungarian monograph of the lower clergy was produced, preserving the same basic questions and working method but focusing on another diocese and a later period. Tamás Dénesi’s doctoral dissertation about the clerical leadership and pastoral practice of the Veszprém diocese in the eighteenth century is one of the best examples of

40 E.g. Vanyó, *A katholikus restauráció Nyugatmagyarországon*; Csóka, *Sopron vármegye*; Piszker, *Barokk világ*; Jánosi, *Barokk hitélet*.

41 For one example, see: Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*.

42 Tomisa, *Visitatio Canonica*; Tomisa, *Katolikus egyház-látogatási*.

43 Fazekas, “A győri egyházmegye.” See the same study in the context of other thematic papers: Fazekas, *A reform útján*.

diocese histories in Hungary.⁴⁴ The author's intention was not to produce a monographic account of this diocese in the eighteenth century; not even to give a detailed description of the emergence of the institutional structure, but much rather to focus on the background intentions of this emerging structure, as well as on the channels of communication available to the top echelons of the church and the lower reaches of leadership. Most instructive from the perspective of our subject matter are the chapters that describe the personality, education, attitudes, and day-to-day struggles of parish vicars through concrete examples.⁴⁵ In the years following the 2006 completion of this excellent dissertation, there seem to be signs of enlivening interest in the subject among young clerical historians. This is most palpably represented by the Pécs atelier of clerical history, which studies the third largest diocese of the Transdanubian area. Zoltán Gőzsy and Szabolcs Varga have recently produced papers of seminal interest in this field.⁴⁶ Our present volume also gives reason for hope regarding Hungarian clerical historians' continued interest in the subject and the ongoing exploration of the conditions of dioceses located the east of the Danube.

As regards similar investigations among Protestant congregations, once again, interest goes back several decades. Local strands of Protestant clerical history have always placed considerable emphasis on preserving the memory of their pastoral forebears; general summaries covering larger geographic spans and relying on a broader base of sources were produced relatively early.⁴⁷ Particularly important for us are the case studies which present the life, culture and motivations of an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century pastor, embedded in the context of social history.⁴⁸ Réka Kiss defended a dissertation comparable in its methodological precision to that of István Fazekas, and covering a small area based on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visitation records. Recently published in the form of a book, her monograph⁴⁹ is dedicated not only to pastors, but the relevant chapter is one of its central sections.⁵⁰ Kiss's work is the first monograph in Hungary to align questions posed by ethnography with those of historical anthropology in its investigations concerning the network of relationships between the church and local communities based on a broad base of early modern source material. Besides investigations of

44 Dénesi, *Alsópapság*.

45 Separate attention must be paid to his pioneering remarks concerning archbishop's tiaras, which also appeared in a separate paper: Dénesi, "Esperesi koronák."

46 Gőzsy and Varga, "A pécsi egyházmegye"; Gőzsy and Varga, "Kontinuitás és reorganizáció"; Gőzsy, "Az alsópapság helyzete."

47 Kósa, "Protestáns egyházias," 454–56.

48 E.g. Kósa, *Művelődés, egyház*, 267–88; Szigeti, "Tizenyolcadik századi lelkészsorsok."

49 Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*.

50 Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*, 146–200.

a historical nature, over the past three decades we have seen major ethnographic and anthropological research efforts focusing on the relations of priests and the local community in the recent past and the present. Due to their political historical dimensions, in this part of the world studies in this subject area have presented an extremely complex problematic.⁵¹ A similarly complex and extensive area of examination is the scholarly approach to the priesthood of Transylvania and, within that, particularly of Moldavia after the post-communist transition.⁵² Fortunately, we can report promising and laudable initiatives in all these fields.

From this brief review of the foregoing research trends, it can be seen that the question has distinctly appeared both in the historical and the contemporary perspective in the international literature and in related Hungarian scholarship in its wake. Nevertheless, the literature review also points at areas of shortcoming. I wish to point out merely two possible further directions. On the one hand, it would be extremely useful to add new research findings to the rather short list of bottom-view diocese histories.⁵³ On the other hand, there is still a relatively small number of case studies focusing on individual priestly personalities and their local conflicts, applying the scale-changing methodology of micro-history.⁵⁴ Naturally, all of this would require usable sources. Thus, we cannot avoid taking a brief look at the range of possible sources to use.

Quantitative and qualitative source types

It is a basic characteristic of this subject area that it does not allow for drawing up a complete and exhaustive source typology, since its source base may be extended ad infinitum. Research to date has, however, outlined the most relevant types of sources. First and foremost of these are the records of clerical visitation tours.⁵⁵ Indeed, one of the most important goals of these visitations was to check on the personality, culture, pastoral activity, and last but certainly not least, the private lives of priests. This promising and broad vista is over-clouded only by the occasional monotony of the documents and the fact that they use repetitive clichés.⁵⁶ Even though these

51 Lovas Kiss, "Pap, közösség." Sociology of religion also boasts considerable achievements in this field. E.g. Kamarás, *Egyházközösség-építők*.

52 Kinda, "Hagyjátok el"; Kinda, "A protestáns pap."

53 Recent excellent examples in Hungarian: Hermann, *A veszprémi egyházmegye igazgatása*; Mihalik, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*.

54 Cp. Bárth, *Exorcist of Sombor*.

55 For more on this source type, see: Zeeden and Lang, *Kirche und Visitation*; Tomisa, *Visitatio Canonica*; Tomisa, *Katolikus egyház-látogatási*.

56 Bárth, *Esküvő*, 32–35.

records employ a similar structure throughout the country and are almost exactly identical in their focus, when measured by a longitudinal yardstick of the period, they in fact substantially vary in standard when it comes to the specific data of interest. We can be fairly confident that we will find data about the age and place of birth of the vicar in question, also (less commonly) about his social background, studies, earlier places of service, “proper and moral conduct”, and other details. They may indeed constitute indispensable data when a schematic historical overview of a period is required.⁵⁷ From the point of view of our subject area, however, those descriptions deserve distinguished attention where besides the constantly repeated stereotypical phrases, the eager and conscientious visitator goes into more detail about the position of the vicar and his parish, and their relation to the local community. Quite often they go into lengthy accounts of the vicar’s grievances (*gravamina*), most of which are related to the *communitas*. (The vicars would write a list in advance.)

Some of the best records contain the names and transgressions of public culprits, as well as the punishments they had been accorded. As for the grievances of the village against the priest, in my experience they seem to have been rarely discussed in detail in the records but were instead sent to the highest clerical authorities in the form of private letters. In general, from the point of view of quantitative analyses, records of church visitation tours may be pronounced to constitute the largest, most outstanding and most homogeneous body of source material.

Scholarship recognized and exploited this quantitative goldmine fairly early.⁵⁸ The extent to which these sources allow for qualitative analyses depends on how closely they approach the specific cases and conflicts.

A long-known and much researched group of sources concerning the church norms that the visitation tours aimed to control were the normative regulations (synod books, statutes, circulars, manuals, etc.) which carry a varying degree of relevance for our subject.⁵⁹

Without some familiarity with these documents, it would be hard to capture the intentions and requirements of the top leadership concerning the lower clergy, and it would also be impossible to interpret the various forms of transgression. By examining these normative regulations we can track the expectations⁶⁰ strictly aimed at the priesthood (and their continuous changes), as well as the ways in which the church exerted its influence over the habits, customs, religious practices and

57 Cp. Lakatos, *A Kalocsa-Bácsi Főegyházmegye*; Ferenczi, *A gyulafehérvári (erdélyi) főegyházmegye*.

58 For a few of the many possible examples, see: Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*; Fazekas, “A győri egyházmegye”; Goodale, “Pfarrer als Außenseiter.”

59 Cp. Bárth, *Esküvő*, 19–32; Bárth, “Statuta Generalia”; Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*, 133–37.

60 On the notion of the ideal priest as formulated at the Council of Trent, see: Gárdonyi, *A papi élet*.

everyday life of their believers, which the lower clergy, more than anyone else, were expected to mediate.⁶¹ Thus, our expectations may be complex and multi-layered when we turn toward the clerical regulations of the early modern and modern period (coming from Rome, the clerical province, the diocese, the archdeacon's district or the parish),⁶² whose exploration and use have a considerable tradition both in clerical history and in the various branches of ethnography. These may be particularly relevant to scholars of popular culture regarding periods and thematic areas where on certain phenomena these normative sources are the only source of data. When it comes to source criticism, however, it is important to take into consideration the specific characteristics of this type of source (particularly as regards the secondary reflection of reality), but even in the worst case, they are bound to offer posterity a faithful reflection of the basic directions and intentions of the clerical leadership.⁶³

Depending on the data organizing method of various parish archives, it is common practice all over Europe to store the documentation of all former vicars of the given parish in a separate document batch. Creating such a FOND of so-called "personal documents"⁶⁴ renders researchers' job considerably easier when they wish to examine how specific priestly personalities acted and behaved. Occasionally, with the exception of last wills and death-related papers, other documents pertaining to the given person (e.g., papers from the Holy See and the parish) are also transferred to this FOND. Even the quantity of these batches of personal documents relative to others may be telling concerning conformist and more conflict-prone priests.

The only document type which allows for a truly qualitative analysis is the so-called *ego-documents* which contain the personal self-expressions of historical agents.⁶⁵ This category, as it is understood in the wake of German historians,

61 Cp. Rooijakers, "Ecclesiastical Power"; Bárth, "Statuta Generalia." See also eighteenth- and nineteenth-century data on defining the date of a wedding in Hungary, which was a trend most clearly observable on the levels of the lower clergy: Bárth, "A katolikus magyarság," 355; Bárth, *Esküvő*, 52.

62 Variants of regulations on the parish level regulating the religious and moral conduct of the community are described by: Imreh, *A törvényhozó*, 99–120. A comprehensive survey of the "county" of Ciucsângorciu (Csíkszentgyörgy) and its priest, based on a recent exhaustive exploration of sources, is discussed in: Bárth, *Szentgyörgy megyéje*.

63 The degrees of normative sources are also discussed in my book on the levels and attitudes of clerical leadership: Bárth, *Esküvő*. For more on primary intentions, see the examples of the priest of Kolut: Bárth, "Szokás és hatalom."

64 See e.g. in the archives of the Archbishopsric of Kalocsa: Lakatos, Lakatos, and Szabó, *A Kalocsai Érseki Levéltár*, 175–258. For a use of these: Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten*.

65 Schulze, *Ego-Dokumente*; Götsch, "Archivalische Quellen."

includes diaries, journals, letters and confessions.⁶⁶ A special clerical version is the house histories of parishes. *Historia domus*, which in larger quantities may sometimes be suited for qualitative analyses, may compare in individual relevance to the personal diaries of parish priests.⁶⁷ Depending on the given priest's degree of a graphomania, these books may be sources of varying relevance but must certainly not be bypassed. Clearly, correspondence is also a highly diverse genre which does not lend itself to sweeping statements. Nevertheless, it is obvious that letters represent a vital document type in the context of the lower clergy's mentality and culture, and their occasional local conflicts.⁶⁸ A special but extremely valuable source material for personal utterances is the *interrogation minutes* drafted in the context of the most varied cases of jurisdiction and inquest, whether one is reading the hopefully faithful accounts of self-expressions of the accused or the witnesses. As witness statements are the sources that occur most frequently and in the largest numbers, their value has long been pointed out by historical ethnography.⁶⁹ However, with respect to the lower clergy, research has not sufficiently exploited this source type, particularly in Hungary. Documents about priests' transgressions are most commonly available in the minutes of the diocesan holy see and, a fact of decisive importance for us, in the vast collections of single-sheet documents attached to minutes. The reticence of former research in this direction is partly due to the fact that for a certain period, documents of the holy see were classified, and partly to a cautious, somewhat shy attitude particularly noticeable amongst the internal circle of clerical historians.⁷⁰

66 For an example on the way these diaries were utilized, see analyses by e.g., Macfarlane, *The Family Life*; Fätkenheuer, *Lebenswelt und Religion*. It is rare in this subject area to come across analyses of priests' memoirs; one excellent example from Hungary is the paper discussing the intellectual world of an eighteenth-century Franciscan friar, Pater Antonius Hueber: Dusnoki-Draskovich, *Nyitott múlt*, 186–308.

67 For examples of meticulous analyses of parish house histories, see: Csáky, "A népi erkölcs"; Bárt, *Tiszaalpár* (particularly: 123–42); Lovas Kiss, "Pap, közössége."

68 Beck, "Népi vallásosság," 42–43.

69 Götsch, "Archivalische Quellen"; Fuchs and Schulze, *Wahrheit*.

70 Most recently, historian Gabriella Erdélyi, a scholar blessed with a laudable interest in matters of folk culture, has described the possibilities inherent in a particular source document from the Vatican concerning priestly transgressions in the late Middle Ages. Her analysis highlights the everyday life and mentality of Hungarian clerical society in greater depth than any other writing before. Moreover, it relies on a surprisingly early source (within the early modern perspective). Erdélyi, *Szökött szerzetesek*, (particularly: 115–59).

Theoretical questions and possible approaches

After reviewing the most important types of sources, let us outline the theoretical aspects that emerge in the light of previous investigations, with a particular view to future research in Hungary.

1. We have seen that the lower clergy may be placed in the focus of examinations as a social group in their own right. It is possible to statistically describe their origins, education, the languages they spoke or their financial position in a particular historical period and in a particular region. The same parameters can also be examined on the level of the historical actors in a changed-scale analysis, where we “zoom in” on the lower clergy’s mentality and way of thinking, as well as on their everyday life in the closest sense.⁷¹ By examining more extensive data lines, we may also be able to track the changes they underwent in their history.⁷² Certain other sources can, in turn, take us closer to the issue of the clergy’s self-interpretation.⁷³

2. We can unquestionably extend the above described perspective to the relations between the lower clergy and the ecclesiastical leadership. Normative regulations mostly recorded expectations toward the priesthood; compliance with them was controlled by the visitation tours, while sanctions were dealt out in procedures conducted at the forums of the Holy See. Further investigations are required to establish how the system of the church leadership’s expectations changed in as little as a single century; how the image of the *pastor bonus* was transformed, and how related factors were reflected in the mechanisms of leadership.⁷⁴ Special situations arising from the breech of norms (“priests in front of the clerical courts”) also take place against the backdrop of official expectations. These data can be quantified if we inventory the types of transgressions that resulted in priests being accused and summoned to the Holy See of their bishops or archbishops. It is clear that these breeches of norm also have their historical and regional dynamics. A survey of the lower clergy of Transylvania, which is analyze in my paper currently under publication, shows that the most prevalent breeches of norm were drunkenness, verbal and

71 E.g. Dusnoki-Draskovich, *Nyitott múlt*; Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment*; Bárth, “Szokás és hatalom.”

72 Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*; Tackett, *Priest and Parish*; Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten*; Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*; McManners, *Church and Society*; Spaeth, *The Church*.

73 See investigations conducted on the basis of sermons, with regard to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Dürre, “...die Macht.”

74 Cp. Bárth, “Statuta Generalia”; Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*, 286–302. For more on the concept of the “bon curé” in late eighteenth-century France, see: Tackett, *Priest and Parish*, 166–69; McManners, *Church and Society*, vol. 1, 358–83.

physical aggression,⁷⁵ forbidden sexuality,⁷⁶ excessive material greed and neglect of pastoral services (masses, sermons, baptisms, confessions, extreme unction for the dying, etc.). In addition, we frequently encounter swearing, gambling (cards), smoking a pipe or dancing in public. In the context of some of these breeches of norm, besides the interests of the clerical authorities, those of the local community were also hurt. Therefore, sustaining a balanced relationship between the priest and his congregation was an important consideration and a vital duty from the perspective of the church leadership.⁷⁷

3. The third aspect of outstanding importance is to explore the complex set of relations between the *lower clergy and the community*.⁷⁸ Characteristics of the various attitudes shown by priests are usually summarized based on how they behave to their local parishioners. A crucial decisive factor is whether the vicar, when occupying his new posting, chooses the path of integration or resistance.⁷⁹ Does he accept the local community's established system of norms (religious and profane habits, legal customs, and tacit collective "laws") or does he oppose them? All this may well be connected with his personal attitude: is he a natural conformist or much rather a unique personality?⁸⁰ The priest's behavior in these respects would usually shape the reaction of the community which, in its turn, will either accept him as God's local servant or oppose him to the last.⁸¹ In each case, it depended on local conditions how the image of the "good pastor", a fairly changeable perception, was shaped in a bottom view. This model, built on the basis of collective norms, is not necessarily in line with the pastor bonus model of the church leadership, but particularly in the Catholic context, the two were in constant correlation.⁸² Exploring their mutual relations and discrepancies only becomes accessible through micro-level analysis.

75 Cp. Erdélyi, *Szökött szerzetesek*, 143–59.

76 Of the rich literature of this subject area, see a study on early modern instances of the concubines of Catholic and Protestant clerics: Labouvie, "Geistliche Konkubinate." An excellent analysis based on source material from the second half of the nineteenth century: Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten*.

77 On contemporary Protestant parallels to breaches of norm by clerics, see: Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*, 170–200.

78 Cp. Tackett, *Priest and Parish*, 151–221; Weber-Kellermann, *Landleben*, 84–97; Beck, "Der Pfarrer"; Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*, 303–45; McManners, *Church and Society*; Spaeth, *The Church*.

79 Cp. Goodale's statements on the outsider status of priests: Goodale, "Pfarrer als Außenseiter."

80 Beck, "Népi vallásosság"; Spaeth, *The Church*, 155–72.

81 Cp. the conclusions drawn from the case study on Kolut: Bárt, "Szokás és hatalom."

82 Cp. Beck, "Der Pfarrer," 138; Beck, "Népi vallásosság"; Kósa, "Protestáns egyházias," 454–55; Kinda, "A protestáns pap."

4. There are several focal points that emerge if we examine the relations of the lower clergy and the local community. Primary of these is the dimension of power. Before the middle of the twentieth century, the lower clergy usually appeared in communities among the local representatives of the existing social-political establishment.⁸³ They were relying on the symbolic capital flowing from their education and cultural standards. In terms of their financial well-being, priests were closely dependent on the local community and the local feudal lord. This three-sided set of relationships (priest – *communitas* – local lord) is thrown into relief most sharply in the case of conflicts. The structure of local power resulted in an even more complex formula.⁸⁴ Elected leaders of the *communitas*, members of the local intelligentsia (notary, teacher, doctor, etc.), local representatives of feudal power, the local influence of county-level officials, and others produced a highly complex force-field, particularly during the feudalistic period, and subsequently this pressure only increased. Priests were expected to find their place in this complicated formula in a way that in the meanwhile they made the best use of their symbolic power.⁸⁵ In conflict situations, we can observe that the *communitas* was not necessarily united, as it consisted of groupings and cliques that had emerged based on kinship or other social foundations, demonstrating widely different attitudes to the priest, depending on their interests, sympathies and temperament.

5. A study of a specifically narrow focus will be required to examine the role of the parish as an institution in the local society.⁸⁶ Such case studies will offer an insider's view of this crucial element. We do possess some stereotyped preliminary notions of the way in which the parish was one of the most important scenes of literacy or the field of (unpaid) farm labor. But what additional role did this institution play in the life of villages? And how did the community see from the outside the everyday life of the vicar and the members of his household? What did they expect of him? Regarding family life at the vicarage, where was the threshold on the scale between "decent" and "outrageous"?⁸⁷

6. The parish and the priest (together with the teacher, the sacristan, and the bellringer) represented a significant economic hub in the community. The keeping of a priest by the community and the services that he offered in return constituted

83 Beck, "Der Pfarrer," 115–16.

84 Rooijakkers, "Ecclesiastical Power," 46–47.

85 For exemplary case studies of the subject, see analyses of South German examples: Sabean, *Power*, particularly 113–73. See also: Tackett, *Priest and Parish*, 170–93. On the influence of lay tendencies on vernacular religious practice, see: Hartinger, "Weltliche Obrigkeit."

86 Cp. Greiffenhagen, *Das evangelische Pfarrhaus*; Wright, *Parish, Church*; Beck, "Der Pfarrer," 115–16; Petke, "Die Pfarrei"; Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*.

87 Cp. Labouvie, "Geistliche Konkubinate."

a complex economy, which took a different shape in each historical period, and is still waiting for a detailed exploration.⁸⁸ Thanks to the existence of priest-keeping contracts and the minutes of visitation tours, which controlled that the regulations should be respected (or occasionally recorded or renewed), this research can be carried out with great safety on a local scale. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both on the Catholic and the Protestant side, we find that donations in money and in kind appear together. The most important elements of parish revenues (*lecticale*, *sedecima* and *deputatum*) may be reconstructed for centuries. As to the hidden motivations of those involved, they are most palpable in the documentation of conflicts where the most common cause appears to be a clash of financial interests.⁸⁹ A further economic aspect, beyond the circumstances of priest-keeping, was the role of the parish and its kitty as a local credit-institution in the community.⁹⁰ The most emphatic feature in sources dating from modern and early modern Hungary is that *the local community was responsible for the keeping of its priest*.⁹¹ Consequently, the priest would also have a vested interest in a good harvest; he too, would keep fingers crossed for a benign season, and would express his heart-felt condolences if natural disaster or any other factor should bring a bad harvest. Occasionally this most prosaic anxiety is noticeable among the motivations of parish priests making meteorological notes in their *historia domus*. A similarly important consequence is that this way the priesthood had an interest in tax collection (and to some extent, fell to its mercy). Priests would often solicit the help of higher clerical and lay authorities to lend their support in opposing the magistrates of the local community, who were sometimes tardy or reluctant to collect the revenues due to the priest in the required quality or quantity. In such cases, however, there was a genuine danger that church superiors or members of the community might charge the same priest with “excessive material greed”⁹² This ambivalent situation obviously resulted in the relatively common image of the aging priest fatigued by unending struggles and finding solace only in the odd laconic remark he scribbled on the pages of the house history.

7. In return for his keep, God’s servant *provided services to his parishioners* following systems that varied with denomination, age and region.⁹³ In the Catholic

88 Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 117–20; Beck, *Unterfinning*, 460–72; McManners, *Church and Society*, Vol. 1, 330–46. A pioneer work in Hungarian: Bárt, *Paptartás*.

89 Cp. Bárt, *Tiszaalpár*, 128–36; Bárt, “Statuta Generalia,” 151–53.

90 Beck, *Unterfinning*, 468–72; Seider, *Und ist ihme dargelichen worden*. The subject has barely been discussed in Hungary.

91 For more on this subject, see: Imreh, *A törvényhozó*, 105–8; Bárt, *Szentgyörgy megyéje*, 342–55; Bárt, *Tiszaalpár*, 131–35; Bárt, “Szokás és hatalom”; Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*, 165–69.

92 Cp. Beck, “Népi vallásosság,” 43.

93 On exchange relations, see: Beck, “Népi vallásosság,” 46.

context, the priests not only delivered the common sacraments (baptism, confessions, marriages and extreme unction), but also served the needs of the people through *sacramentalia*. In addition, serving mass, offering religious instruction, and holding various occasions of worship were the central tasks of the priesthood. Throughout most of the period we are looking at, the priesthood also supervised local schools.⁹⁴ On the Protestant side, services complete with sermons, religious instruction and rituals related to the turning points of the human life-cycle (baptism, confirmation, weddings, visiting the sick, and funerals) constituted the majority of a priest's duties.⁹⁵ Besides these common activities, members of the given community often demanded the priest to observe a number of local customs which the official clerical leadership regarded in varying lights, ranging from tolerance to prohibition. One good example is provided by the so-called "votive days", which were still common all over the Catholic regions of the country in the last century of feudalism,—usually certain days of the summer which were not only work-free, but also entailed processions complete with flags and large crucifixes, as well as a festive mass.⁹⁶ Customs of this kind, usually tied to some ancient vow dating back to the remote deep-strata of local tradition (often preceding or following a disaster) faced a new priest wishing to integrate into the community as an unquestionable circumstance. Anyone who resisted was at the risk of losing his acceptance. It was similarly risky if, mostly fueled by a zest for moral edification, a priest chanced to interfere too deeply with the tacit internal rules and mores of the locals. Communities were particularly intolerant if a priest threatened to wield what was practically his only weapon—withholding the sacraments and *sacramentalia* (mostly confession, the Eucharist or burial).⁹⁷ A priest who would preach from the pulpit against any of his parishioners (occasionally by name) acted in a way that was unforgivable in the eyes of the entire community.⁹⁸ If a priest should attack youthful gatherings and merriment, and condemn them with jealous rigor, he could easily become the target of collective hatred.⁹⁹

94 From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, this circumstance resulted in a multitude of conflicts with the community of parents loath to send their children to school (particularly in the summer season). Cp. Bárth, "Szokás és hatalom."

95 On the complete system of services offered by priests, see: Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*; Scribner, *Popular Culture*, 1–16; Hartinger, *Religion und Brauch*; Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*; McManners, *Church and Society*, Vol. 2; Hours, *L'Église et la vie religieuse*, 1–46; Hersche, *Mufše*; Bárth, *Benedikció és exorcizmus*; Kádár, *Jezsuiták*, 303–58.

96 Cp. Beck, "Népi vallásosság," 43; Freitag, "Religiöse Volkskultur," 18–21.

97 Cp. Csáky, "A népi erkölcs," 440.

98 Cp. Beck, "Der Pfarrer," 137; Beck, "Népi vallásosság," 43; Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, 114; Fazekas, "A győri egyházmegye," 122.

99 Cp. Rooijakkers, "Ecclesiastical Power." On struggles of this kind experienced by János Fábian, vicar of Dolné Semerovce (Alsószemeréd), see: Csáky, "A népi erkölcs," 437–38.

Groups of the congregation or leading figures of the *communitas* fairly often resorted to the weapon of “telling on” their priest: letters of complaint would stream toward the church leadership in which they would itemize their grudges against the vicar (or chaplain or teacher, etc.). It would probably prove a most instructive exercise to subject the larger, coherent corpus of these letters to profound analysis, exploring not only the structural connections and argumentation techniques of these accusations but also their semantic field.¹⁰⁰ Even on superficial perusal, it is noticeable that the order and weight with which the community lists their grudges is determined by the clerical leadership’s supposed or veritable preferences. If, say, a local custom was violated or (as is most often the case) there was a purely material dispute in the background, the letters of complaint would start with the failings most sorely reprimanded by the church’s official leadership and the list of transgressions of its norms (e.g., the priest’s neglect of the sacraments or masses).¹⁰¹

8. In-depth investigations into the stories behind breaches of norm by priests could be highly instructive from other perspectives as well. As noted earlier, the church’s system of norms and the community’s expectations never fully coincided. There were priestly failings (of character) that would have provoked merciless punishment from above had they come to the top leadership’s awareness. But the community’s tolerance operated in a nuanced and relative fashion. As long as the priest concerned fell into the “good priest” category owing to a balanced flow of services and counter-services, people would usually turn a blind eye to their pastor’s minor frailties. If, however, for some reason this harmony broke, God’s local servant (or, as many people looked on him, “the servant of the village”)¹⁰² could easily find himself in the “bad priest” category, which was likely to have drastic consequences. Before long, the community would launch its letter of complaint, which would then result in a shower of the full inventory of all of his past failings up to the insult at the given moment. If he ever mounted the altar slightly tipsy, if he ever took part in a wedding party or some other public dance, if he ever left the village for a few days in order to visit his relatives, etc.—the community that now turned upon him would ruthlessly level against him charges of drunkenness, improper behavior with the ladies, or neglect of clerical service commonly referred to as “roaming about”.¹⁰³ The stereotype of the “bad priest” automatically attracted an entire string of moral and material grievances.

100 See e.g. Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, 113–43.

101 Cp. e.g. Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 120–24, 127; Fazekas, “A győri egyházmegye,” 122; Bárt, “Szokás és hatalom.”

102 Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 143; Beck, “Népi vallásosság,” 45.

103 Cp. Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*, 178; Szőcsné Gazda, *Erkölc és közösség*, 161–65.

The “bad priest” who broke local norms was also a morally misguided individual and, most importantly, instantly lost the affection of his parishioners. *When order and balance are broken, this also jeopardizes the functioning of the sacral economy.*¹⁰⁴ The reason is that a breach of norms by the priest questions the effectiveness of his sacral activity. This effectiveness, in turn, was a key requirement for the life of the community—his ability was vital in intervening in the case of natural disasters (thunderstorms, hailstorms, floods, fires, etc.) or, similarly, with regard to exorcisms of a healing intent related to the practice of blessings and curses.¹⁰⁵ A priest losing his sacral effectiveness usually resulted in having his clerical role curtailed.¹⁰⁶ Since there was a rather keen competition in the market of magical service providers, parishioners could easily turn elsewhere to find solace against their troubles.¹⁰⁷ Needless to say, a bad priest does not deserve to be kept. As an eighteenth century letter of complaint put it in rather drastic terms, “It is we who keep the priest, so when we choose to, we can discard him.”¹⁰⁸ This example perhaps also retains some of the memory of the ancient Transylvanian Catholic tradition of elected priests and priest retention—a system which survived there up to the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁹ At this time, growing numbers of parishioners were already complaining about the breach of their rights. The deteriorating relationship between the priest and the community (occasionally after as many as ten years of peaceful coexistence) sometimes caused the community to turn their backs on the priest even if he was allowed to stay posted in the location. There were instances when a renegade group of parishioners would refuse to go to mass or, in extreme cases, converted to other denominations. On rare occasions, matters would reach the point of using physical violence against the priest.¹¹⁰

9. As indicated in the title and introduction to my paper, from an ethnographer’s point of view, relations between the *lower clergy* and *popular culture* represent an outstandingly important research aspect. Owing to the discussion of such key concepts as *local society* and *local community*, which we summoned above, we have already been addressing the subject area of those relations. Essentially, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most priests carried out their work

104 Cp. Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 140–41; Beck, “Népi vallásosság”; Scribner, *Popular Culture*, 1–16; Labouvie, “Geistliche Konkubinate.”

105 Bárth, *Benedikció és exorcizmus*.

106 Cp. Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 131–32.

107 Labouvie, “Wider Wahrsagerei.”

108 Archives of the Archbishopric of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), documents of the Holy See, 33/1804. (box No. 31) Complaints against the vicar of Beu (Székelybő).

109 Imreh, *A törvényhozó*, 105–6; Bárth, *Szentgyörgy megyéje*, 330–32, 339–42.

110 On the prevalence of such cases in Bavaria Cp. Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 113–15; Beck, “Népi vallásosság,” 44.

in an environment that may be considered to have conveyed popular/folk culture. Scholars employing the dichotomy of “elite” and “popular” culture as a matter of course, as well as critical pieces highlighting the difficulties of these concepts have emphasized the importance of the channels that mediate between the two cultural traditions (the “great” and the “small” tradition).¹¹¹ Channels of cultural mediation emerged most visibly in the early modern period when, in line with Burke’s well-argued theory, the two cultural traditions split away from each other.¹¹² The fact that priests and pastors active in the local communities play a mediating role has been obvious for a while, but in Hungary we are still lacking the concrete deep-drilling research to explore the essence of this process through case studies, although such a narrowed perspective promises to open hitherto unfathomed depths of cultural history. Here let me give the single example of an early-eighteenth-century vicar in the village of Sükösd in southern Hungary who entered more than a dozen blessing and curse texts into the local registry book in Hungarian, unaware of the large-scale cultural historical impact which the translation of the original Latin exorcisms into the local vernaculars and their “popular” use was to have, as evidenced by the verbal charms of the peasantry of the early modern period.¹¹³ A similarly good example of a mediating role is another eighteenth-century vicar of Ciucsângiorgiu who deployed the complete arsenal of exorcism available to the mediaeval church in the interest of a supposedly possessed woman, and considered her visions genuine.¹¹⁴

Mediation by the lower clergy is far from being a one-sided process: besides a top-down culture transmission, which is more common and easier to grasp, bottom-up processes are equally significant. It is enough to think of the church’s role in early modern common poetry or the two-way relations of church processions.¹¹⁵ The individual clerics involved in them, and the patterns of thought and behavior that play a part in them can only be discerned through biographies on a microscopic scale. It may be disputable in a methodological sense but is obvious from the perspective of content that these investigations can be connected to the various macro-historical factors. Whenever we examine this two-way cultural transmission, we should bear in mind that through their strivings, mentality, attitudes and activities, the lower clergy of any particular period were always closely connected to the paradigms of intellectual history, which allows us to broaden the interpretative horizon of specific narratives in the eighteenth–twentieth centuries.

111 Cp. Burke, *Népi kultúra*; Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit*; Beck, “Népi vallásosság.”

112 Burke, *Népi kultúra*, 245–85.

113 Bárth, *Benedikció és exorcizmus*, 69.

114 Bárth, “Exorcism and Sexuality.”

115 Külliő, *Közköltészet*; Tüskés and Knapp, *Népi vallásosság*, particularly: 320–32; Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit*.

10. While it is clearly impossible to list each of the periods and paradigms in question, I merely cite a few characteristic examples from two and a half centuries ago. It is a special consequence of the conditions in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hungary that the crystallization of the various denominations was somewhat belated compared to countries to the west of us, happening mostly in the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, particularly in areas of former Turkish occupation. According to the sources available, during the period of confessionalization,¹¹⁶ the Catholic lower clergy acted as a branch of the local representatives of the clerical and, to some extent state power structures, also contributing to their construction.¹¹⁷ This was also the time when clerical structures around Protestant pastors were consolidated. The period is excellently suited for in-depth studies of the specific role the lower clergy of both denominational blocks played in the areas inhabited by mixed populations. This could perhaps help scholarship go beyond the often schematic and stereotyped premises of clerical history distorted by denominational bias.¹¹⁸

From the last third of the eighteenth century onwards, a new attitude among priests becomes increasingly palpable: they began to see themselves as reformers of local lay and religious habits and customs. The most noted such figure known to ethnography is Sámuel Tessedik (also a forerunner of ethnographic research), but in fact hundreds of priests were very similar in terms of their thinking and behavior.¹¹⁹ Most of them inevitably came into conflict with their parishioners, and, fortunately for the scholars of posterity, these clashes usually resulted in written material.¹²⁰ A close and meticulous examination of the documents on matters of this kind (letters, interrogation minutes, etc.) could contribute not only to the best possible reconstruction of events, but also, and this is in fact more important for our purposes, to understanding individual motivations.¹²¹ It remains a question how far we can stick the label of “clerical enlightenment” on the tangible shift in mentality in the period, but for want of a better label, this is what we are going to employ.¹²²

116 About the context associated with German historians, see: Reinhard and Schilling, *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*; Reinhard, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*; Schilling, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*; Holzem, “Westfälische Frömmigkeitskultur,” 29–37; Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*, 9–14; Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*, 21–24.

117 For a most instructive case study from Bamberg, see: Dippold, “Klerus.”

118 E.g. Peters, “Das laute Kirchenleben”; Brückner, *Frömmigkeit*, 324–82; Freitag, “Religiöse Volkskultur”; Holzem, “Westfälische Frömmigkeitskultur”; Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*; Kiss, *Egyház és közösség*.

119 E.g. Beck, “Der Pfarrer”; Beck, “Népi vallásosság,” 53.

120 Beck, “Der Pfarrer,” 132–37.

121 Cp. an attempt in this direction: Bárth, “Szokás és hatalom.”

122 For more on this question Cp. Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche*, 346–54. From the ample literature of the connections between clerical enlightenment and the activity of the lower clergy among local

It requires further research, however, to clarify the points where we can detect the influence of Josephinism with regard to the lower clergy; it appears even more challenging to form a detailed view of the transition between internal reform inside the church and the early stages of clerical enlightenment.¹²³ These last questions are key to the analyzing the relations of the lower clergy and popular culture (particularly vernacular religion) in the eighteenth century.¹²⁴ Writing about this group, Sándor Bálint bemoans that the “outgrowths” of Baroque religiosity were nipped in the bud. He refers to the lower clergy with the somewhat simplistic term “the Josephinist priesthood” in what appears to be a reprimanding tone. The activity of this group was not in fact limited to a single decade but had commenced before 1780 and radiated its mentality well into the first decades of the nineteenth century. Not much later, this “distancing” from popular culture was actually the precondition for the same priesthood to take an active part in “discovering folk culture.”¹²⁵ We know from the history of ethnography that the lower clergy enthusiastically dedicated themselves to the goals of the *romanticist* period and played a remarkably serious role in providing descriptions of regions and their peoples, collecting folk poetry and creating the resulting positivist corpuses.¹²⁶ In relation to the emancipation efforts of the very peasantry which carried this folk culture, an area of special interest is the way in which the 1848–1849 Revolution and freedom fights were experienced at the grassroots levels and the ambivalent evaluation they provoked amongst the clergy.¹²⁷

communities, see: Goy, *Aufklärung*; Kimminich, *Religiöse Volksbräuche*; Schlägl, *Glaube und Religion*; Siemons, *Frömmigkeit im Wandel*.

123 Cp. Winter, *Der Josephinismus*.

124 Cp. Plongeron, *La vie quotidienne*; Brückner, *Frömmigkeit*; Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit*, 317–57; McManners, *Church and Society*, Vol. 2; Hartinger, “Aufklärung.”

125 Cp. Burke, *Népi kultúra*; Weiß, “Wandel von Rolle.”

126 Weiß, “Wandel von Rolle.”

127 While the participation of the lower clergy in the war of liberation has been fairly thoroughly researched in Hungary (Cp. Zakar, “Forradalom az egyházban?”, describing the reactions and attitudes of the parish priesthood is still waiting to happen. Particularly instructive from this point of view are the records of the various “historia domus” documents. The house history of the parish of Verőce includes a most deprecating record by the vicar: “One notable event of this year is the sad day of the 15th Martius, upon which day Lajos Kossuth and his fellow-conspirators declared ‘liberty, equality, fraternity’ with regard to Hungary—which subsequently led to most terrible internal warfare, pillage, destruction and various illegal cases of capturing and execution of people and other manners of cruelty, particularly against the R. C. priesthood (to the eternal disgrace of Hungarians). I mention this only briefly, hoping that Hungarian historians will describe the outbreak of these liberties along with all their sorry consequences in detail and in all their circumstances.” (Archives of the Parish of Verőce, Historia Domus III. 1800–1890). For the sake of accuracy, it must be added that the vicar’s view of the events was clouded over by a row that broke out in the village in the wake of the laws of April during

As regards issues of religious history, somewhat paradoxically, the question that most fascinated the best scholars among the ranks of the priesthood was the ancient faith of Hungarians. The line stretches from Dániel Cornides through János Horváth to Arnold Ipoly. In the late nineteenth century, Kabos Kandra testifies to well over a century of sustained interest in the matter.¹²⁸ In the area of folk poetry, a collection of outstanding value among many large textual corporuses was compiled by János Kriza, who coordinated the collecting activity of dozens of collectors in Transylvania, most of them Unitarian pastors and teachers. Exploring the motivations, education and cultural practices of people belonging to or close to the church within local societies is an imminent task. Lajos Kálmány, considered the greatest collector of folk poetry in the first decades of the twentieth century, also devoted some attention to the problem of our pagan religion.¹²⁹ Having served at a number of different locations and experiencing several conflicts with his superiors and the local communities, he was almost destined to conduct representative studies of the lower clergy of the age. His figure occasionally fell victim to re-interpretations by the history of scholarship in line with current political and ideological trends, e.g., when a priest working in one of the villages south of Szeged where the population had streamed out was made to appear as an agrarian-socialist (or even communist) figure because of his emphatic sensitivity to the poverty of the agricultural working class.¹³⁰ It is beyond doubt, however, that it would require separate studies focusing on individual cases to understand how ideas of *Christian socialism* appearing at the turn of the twentieth century trickled down into the social attitudes of the lower clergy active in the villages.¹³¹

It was in the interwar period that the movement of *domestic mission* appeared as a response to secularization, the second great challenge of the period, and was gradually gaining momentum in Hungary. The initiative of the domestic mission took place practically simultaneously in the Catholic and the Protestant denominational blocks, using such methods as were in harmony with their respective pastoral practices. Its primary goal, to consolidate religious practice on the level of local

which many of the local (liberated) serfs questioned the legality of free labour to be performed on the vicar's plough-lands. The vicar complained in a string of letters that the customary spring ploughing had been neglected. People in the village were repeatedly heard saying that "they owe no such thing anymore" and "they are not going to plough or do any other work for the priest ever again." (Archives of the Parish of Verőce, Historia Domus III. 1800–1890)

128 Cp. Voigt, *A magyar ősvalláskutatás*.

129 Ortutay, *Írók*, 277–89.

130 In this context, see the Preface to the volume *Történeti énekek és katonadalok* [Historical Songs and Soldiers' Songs] published in 1952 from Kálmány's legacy and the "ideological" debate which unfolded in its wake (in the 1952 and 1953 issues of *Ethnographia*).

131 Gergely, *A keresztenyszocializmus*.

society, relied particularly on local priests and pastors. Naturally, it could not be taken for granted that they would be active participants. Once again, the responses of the various clerical personality types would require local investigations.

What renders this period particularly exciting from an ethnographic point of view is that it was the age of great ethnographic research, when folk culture, still alive but in its famous “final hour”, was still accessible, but was also in a position to exert influence through the retroactive effect of academic constructs. It is no accident that this was also the period when the activist branch of ethnography, now an institutionalized discipline, also gained ground, particularly manifest in the emergence of the village research movement. Another emphatic example of the church focusing attention on the villages was religious ethnography, which emerged in the interwar period with an ulterior motive of a pastoral nature (“to understand village people’s customs and practices of piety”). The initial idea of this movement came from Germany, and in both cases it essentially relied on the lower clergy’s activity and pragmatically attuned scholarly interest.¹³² The change Eastern Europe’s political climate after World War II interrupted this wave of interest and radically rearranged the social force field on the local level. In brief, in the second half of the twentieth century, the dominant anti-religious ideology and the political dictatorship built on its foundations demanded that the clergy demonstrate markedly different attitudes and forms of behavior from those characteristic previously. These highly intriguing factors appear laudably from a range of different perspectives and in varying contexts in the post-communist historical, clerical historical and, more recently, ethnographic literature.¹³³ A nuanced and complex understanding of this subject area can provide work for social scientists interested in the field for decades to come.

The range of research aspects that I have flagged in my introduction based on my subjective research interests naturally represents only a narrow segment of the possible approaches to the lower clergy from perspectives of clerical history, historical ethnography, and anthropology. It is hoped that over the coming years and decades, more extensive research of the area will unfold in Hungary. As long as the above review of previous achievements and source types, theoretical key points, possible directions, and perspectives of research can contribute to those future efforts, my paper has attained its objective. Correcting possible errors and shortcomings will be the prerogative of future scholarship.

132 Cp. Bartha, *A hitélet*, 5–12.

133 Lovas Kiss, “Pap, közösség”; Schorn-Schütte and Sparn, *Evangelische Pfarrer*, 185–98.

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Integrating Genetic, Archaeological, and Historical Perspectives on Eastern Central Europe, 400–900 AD

Brief Description of the ERC Synergy Grant – HistoGenes 856453¹

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Abstract. Few parts of Europe witnessed so many population shifts in a few centuries as the Carpathian Basin in 400–900 CE. In this macro-region along the middle Danube, Pannonians, Romans, Goths, Gepids, Longobards, Avars, Bulgars, Slavs, Franks and many others came and went. This is an intriguing test case for the relationship between ethnic identities constructed in texts, cultural habitus attested in the archaeological record, and genetic profiles that can now be analysed through ancient DNA. What was the impact of migrations and mobility on the population of the East-Central-Europe? Was the late antique population replaced, did it mix with the newcomers, or did its descendants only adopt new cultural styles? To what degree did biological distinctions correspond to the cultural boundaries and/or ethnonyms in the texts? If pursued with methodological caution, this case study will have implications beyond the field. HistoGenes will analyse c. 6,000 samples from graves with cutting edge scientific methods, and contextualize the interpretation of these data in their archaeological and historical setting. The rapid progress of aDNA analysis and of bio-informatics now make such an enterprise viable. However, the methods of historical interpretation have not kept pace. HistoGenes will, for the first time, unite historians, archaeologists, geneticist, anthropologists, and specialists in bio-informatics, isotope analysis and other scientific methods. A wide range of particular historical questions will be addressed from an interdisciplinary perspective, and fundamental theoretical and methodological issues can be explored. HistoGenes will not only advance our knowledge about a key period in European history, but also establish new standards for the historical interpretation of genetic data. The six-year HistoGenes Synergy Grant was launched on May 1, 2020.

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History and genetics: a new approach

Scientific methods in archaeology, and in particular paleogenetics, have made spectacular progress in recent years. Whole genome sequencing, SNP capture, principal component analysis, advanced computer modelling, and more now provide a toolbox for obtaining data from ancient DNA (aDNA) that is robust and fine-tuned enough to allow for the identification of distinct genetic clusters, even in historical periods in which the European population already shared most of its genetic heritage.² These methods have also gradually become more affordable, although they still require investments that are only viable through large grants. Several highly ambitious projects are being drafted, and the competition for access to samples has begun. When using scientific methods to clarify the population history of Europe for periods in which extensive written evidence is available, however, we encounter a fundamental problem. As yet, we lack a proven method for integrating genetic, archaeological, and historical evidence into a coherent picture of the past. This is what HistoGenes strives to achieve through a broadly conceived pilot project conducted by an experienced team from all involved disciplines.

In fact, the problem is not simply the lack of an adequate method: it is the prevalence of an insufficient approach. Many genetic studies simply identify the clusters that emerge from their data on historical peoples. This is a good way to create maximum media attention, especially when it also allows the creation of a direct link to modern nations: finding an Anglo-Saxon, Hungarian, or Viking “we” in bones that are over 1000 years old caters to the longing to uncover “who we really are.”³ However, this is problematic for several reasons. It tends to direct funds for costly genetic research toward projects producing facile equivalencies that can be trumpeted and that are designed to appeal to the general public. Worse, it can be misused to affirm neo-nationalistic or even racial ideologies. Moreover, this approach rests on nineteenth-century paradigms, which do not represent the current state of historical and archaeological research. It is possible that ethnic designations in the texts correspond to some extent with a shared language and distinctive culture and can be traced to a common origin through joint migration. However, historical and archaeological research since the 1960s has yielded considerable evidence of the frequent re-composition of ethnic groups; thus, in most cases, a high degree of admixture

2 Schiffels et al., “Iron Age”; Furholt, “Massive Migrations?”; Eisenmann, “Reconciling Material Cultures.”

3 Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.*; Jobling, Rasteiro, and Wetton, “In the Blood.”

can be hypothesized.⁴ Whichever position one takes in the ongoing debates on whether and when archaeological groups can be linked with historical peoples, the methodological principle should be clear: historical, archaeological, and biological evidence are not simply natural expressions of a fixed group identity. None can be taken as a proxy for the other. Their equivalence cannot be taken for granted but needs to be demonstrated in each case.

Admittedly, this makes the interpretation of genetic and archaeological finds more complicated. It cannot be tackled by geneticists alone, as has been a frequent practice in the field. This has had the unfortunate consequence that many historians and archaeologists have dismissed results of genetic studies because of their obviously faulty conclusions.⁵ If a recent, high-level study of admixture dates a putative population movement to “the end of the first millennium CE, a time known as the European Migration Period, or *Völkerwanderung*,”⁶ almost half a millennium later than historians would, then there is a problem in communication between the disciplines. Therefore, the interpretation of genetic data should be performed by interdisciplinary teams working together throughout the process: from the design of the project and formulation of the research questions to the joint monitoring of the work flow and finally the interpretation and integration of the data into a historical narrative. This requires researchers (especially the historians) to move out of their comfort zone. Our project seeks to achieve this.

The historical problem

HistoGenes addresses one of the formative periods in European history: between c. 400 and c. 900 CE, medieval Europe emerged after the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire in a process that involved migrations and demographic change and the rise of post-Roman Christian kingdoms in the West and non-Roman “barbarian” societies in the East.⁷ For centuries, the frontier of the Roman Empire, extending along the Rhine and Danube rivers, had divided the continent into a Roman South and a “barbarian” North. Now, a Latin and Christian West was separated from a largely “pagan” East, which only gradually came to be Christianized and integrated among the medieval societies that had emerged in much of the continent. The area where these fault-lines crossed was perhaps most affected by these changes: the Carpathian

4 Geary, “Barbarians and Ethnicity”; Geary, *Myth of Nations*; Pohl, “Introduction: Strategies of Identification”; Wolfram, *Das Römerreich*.

5 Brather, “New Questions”; Pohl, “Transformation of the Roman World”; Feuchter, “Migrationen.”

6 Busby et al., “Role of Recent Admixture.”

7 Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*; Smith, *Europe after Rome*; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*; Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*; Wickham, *Inheritance of Rome*.

Basin, the macro-region along the Middle Danube, roughly between Vienna and Belgrade. In this period, it was a node in the population history of Europe: new groups arrived from the north and east and continued their migration or expansion towards the south and west.⁸ It was situated between the core areas of the Roman world and the broad and thinly populated regions in which, in the Romans' perception, "barbarians" lived. Many former provinces of the Roman Empire experienced fundamental political changes but only a gradual social and cultural transformation. In the Carpathian Basin, the break with classical civilization was almost complete, although contact remained with areas of continuing Romanness to the south and west.

Several very different social models coexisted or replaced each other in the area. These included first the complex society of the Christian Roman Empire. The second model was composed of the "barbarian" military elites who were more or less ready to be integrated into privileged positions in these late Roman societies. The post-Roman rural populations under "barbarian" rule made up the third. A fourth was composed of steppe warriors who built their often short-lived realms on tributes and plunder from the Roman heartlands and relied on local farmers for subsistence. The fifth model was that of decentralized Slavic groups who had no need of Roman infrastructure and built regional political units only over the course of centuries. The final model was that of the Christian empire of the Franks. What is particular about the Carpathian Basin is that for much of the period, unlike most neighboring regions, it was dominated by steppe empires following a Central Eurasian model.⁹

A model area for study: the Carpathian Basin in the fifth to ninth centuries

The period and the area chosen for the present project allow us to test and monitor the various disciplinary approaches particularly well. The Carpathian Basin—that is, modern Hungary and the surrounding areas along the Middle Danube, roughly between Vienna and Belgrade—was a hub for population movements during the centuries after the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire.¹⁰ In Roman times, it was divided by the Danube limes between the Roman province of Pannonia, with its network of cities and roads, and a northern/eastern half settled by Sarmatians. In the former province of Pannonia, the traces of the "Roman" population gradually disappeared during the sixth and seventh centuries, and archaeological and historical

8 Bóna, *Anbruch des Mittelalters*; Pohl, *Völkerwanderung*; Wolfram, *Das Römerreich*.

9 Golden, *Central Asia*; Bemmann and Schmauder, *Complexity of Interaction*.

10 Bóna, *Anbruch des Mittelalters*; Wolfram, *Das Römerreich*; Curta, *Making of the Slavs*; Bemmann and Schmauder, *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa*; Steinacher, *Rom und die Barbaren*.

sources provide only a blurred picture of their fate.¹¹ What became of the Roman provincial population? In the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, Huns, Goths, Gepids, Heruls, Sciri, Suebians, Longobards, Bulgars, Avars, Slavs and Byzantine captives came, settled, and in part left again.¹² The written sources distinguish these groups by ethnic names but provide only vague information about their numbers, composition, and impact on the long-term population history of the country. In 567, the Avars, a group of at least partial Central Asian origin, conquered the entire Carpathian Basin and established a steppe empire ruled by a khagan, which facilitated the expansion of the Slavs over most of Eastern Europe.¹³ This empire existed for over 200 years, and was only overcome by the Frankish armies of Charlemagne around 800. In the ninth century, Franks dominated a largely Slavic population, before the Hungarians arrived in c. 900.

Many of these groups observed burial customs that included inhumation and the leaving of grave goods, both practices that can provide extraordinarily useful information for researchers of population history and social and cultural developments. From the Avar period alone, over 70,000 graves have been excavated.¹⁴ As a result, we know much about the cultural profiles of the period. However, there is more potential in this rich body of evidence. There are two main issues that can be addressed in the proposed interdisciplinary research. One is the grassroot-level social structures as reflected in the cemeteries of small communities. How did the way of life in Roman provinces such as Pannonia change when the Roman order disintegrated? A pilot project on the Longobard migration to Italy¹⁵ in 568 provides material for comparing the development of “barbarian” settlements in Pannonia and Italy before and after 568.¹⁶ The (debated) “Transformation of the Roman World” had many faces.¹⁷ The issue of basic social structures can be addressed by a combination of archaeological assessments of cemetery structure, genetic data on kinship relations, C- and N-isotope analyses of richer and poorer diets, anthropological evidence of labor or combat (provided by skeletal remains), and written information about local communities.

The second issue is the origin and composition of the inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin during the frequent changes in rule, which encompasses the extent

11 Bierbrauer, “Keszthely-Kultur”; Vida, “Local or Foreign Romans?”; Vida, “Conflict and Coexistence.”

12 Pohl, “Gepiden”; Vida, “Many Identities of the Barbarians”; Vida, “Conflict and Coexistence.”

13 Bemmann and Schmauder, “Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa”; Pohl, *Avars*.

14 Daim, “Avars and Avar Archaeology”; Bálint, “Avars, Byzantium and Italy.”

15 Amorim et al., “Understanding.”

16 Koncz, “568.”

17 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*.

and impact of migrations, the homogeneity or hybridity of the ethnic groups mentioned in the texts, and the degree of correspondence between cultural and genetic groups. Examination of this issue requires a critical assessment of the relationships between broader genetic clusters, SR-isotope analysis, the archaeological record of long-distance cultural similarities and differences, and textual evidence about ethnic groups, migrations, and mobility. Was this essentially a population continuum dominated by changing elites who came and went? Or are we witnessing a succession of different populations, as the written sources seem to suggest? Byzantine texts claim that “to disappear like the Avars” even became proverbial—was this because the Avars were exterminated after their defeat, or did many of them simply change their identity and become Slavs? Genetic and other forms of bio-archaeological analysis can provide extensive data that will push forward discussions about population history and the impact of migrations.¹⁸ These data will not per se resolve many of the unanswered research questions specified below. However, if HistoGenes succeeds in integrating these data with the archaeological and historical evidence in a differentiated way, this would constitute a breakthrough in the field.

Project design and general goals

HistoGenes will use the extraordinary archaeological evidence in the Carpathian Basin to create a more profound picture of the changes in population, social structure, and culture during the period. It will employ cutting-edge methods of scientific archaeology, bio-informatics, and population genetics to arrive at a new level of knowledge about the population history of Eastern Central Europe. Samples will be drawn both from the core area of the Carpathian Basin (Hungary and the adjacent lowlands) and from the neighboring regions of Austria, Germany, Croatia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, and northern Italy for comparison. The team will collect c. 6,000 samples for genetic, isotope, 14C, and anthropological analysis. Core cemeteries will be comprehensively analyzed rather than sampled. This will be done in an integrated workflow involving four groups of investigators who will seek further innovation in the processing of the samples and in the modelling of the data. These data will provide an unparalleled open-access resource for further studies of European genomic history in historical periods. The selection of the samples, the monitoring of the process, and the interpretation of the data will be conducted by the four groups, which comprise historians, archaeologists, population geneticists, and bio-informatics, all working in close cooperation to arrive at a well-balanced historical interpretation of the data. The goal is to find a common language between the disciplines.

¹⁸ Samida and Feuchter, “Why Archaeologists”; Eisenmann, “Reconciling Material Cultures”; Geary, *Herausforderungen und Gefahren der Integration*.

In particular, we will assess the value and limitations of written evidence in assessing the uses of ethnonyms and the fundamental categories of ethnicity, identity, community, and migration for interpreting the archaeological and scientific data. This will be accompanied by reflections on the methodology of using bio-archaeological data and “classical” archaeological evidence to arrive at historical conclusions. Thus, we seek to establish a best-practice model for the interpretation of biological data in history and counteract the return of biological determinism and the emergence of old and new nationalist narratives in Central and Eastern Europe. We will disseminate the results to the scholarly community in high-level scientific, archaeological, and historical journals and monographs, in databases, and in online resources and apprise the general public through a major exhibition and the use of digital humanities tools.

The main applicant for the project is the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which is coordinating the historical and anthropological research under the leadership of Walter Pohl (Institute for Medieval Research, Vienna). Genetic testing is being performed by the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History, Jena) under the direction of Johannes Krause. At the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, Patrick Geary directs the complex biohistorical analyses, and Krishna Veermah of Stony Brook University is conducting the bioinformatics evaluations. In Budapest, the archaeological evaluations are being coordinated by Tivadar Vida in the Institute for Archaeological Sciences at the Eötvös Loránd University, while the sampling, the preparation of the samples, and some genetic tests are being carried out in the Laboratory of Archeogenetics in the Institute of Archeology at the Research Centre for the Humanities from Eötvös Loránd Research Network by Balázs Gusztáv Mende and Anna Szécsényi-Nagy. The regional research groups are led by senior researchers: Tina Milavec (University of Ljubljana, Department of Archaeology), Vujadin Ivanišević (Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade), Falko Daim (University of Vienna, Institute of Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology, University of Vienna), Lumír Polaček (Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno), Matej Ruttka (Institute of Archaeology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Nitra), and Szilárd Sándor Gál (Mureş County Museum, Târgu Mureş).

Research questions

The project will address the following major issues in the history of the transition from the Roman to the post-Roman world in the region.¹⁹ The first is the dissolution of the Roman system and the fate of the “Roman” provincials and their Christian culture.²⁰

19 Pohl, “Introduction: Strategies of Identification.”

20 Pohl et al., *Transformations of Romanness*.

Eastern Central Europe has rarely featured in these debates, and this project will ask what population and cultural continuities can be discerned in the region through the Avar period. The second is the putative Roman-barbarian dichotomy. How different were the emerging post-Roman structures between this area of apparent de-Romanization and neighboring regions with more gradual transformation? What, for instance, were the differences between the ways of life under Longobard rule in Pannonia before 568, and in Italy and Pannonia after 568, or indeed under the Avar Empire?²¹

The third and fraught issue, the role of ethnicity, follows from these considerations.²² From early medieval chronicles to modern scholarly narratives, the history of the period has always been told in terms of collectives whose cohesion was taken for granted: “the” Romans, “the” Longobards, “the” Avars, “the” Slavs. This represents a cognitive scheme in the written sources by which collective agency and political distinctions were understood in ethnic terms. Current attempts to minimize the role of ethnicity are unhelpful because it is a key feature in the sources. Yet, we cannot take these ethnic classifications for granted as modern scholarly categories, and this raises serious issues about the classification of the material culture. Attributing all distinctive features in the archaeological record to particular ethnic groups may ease integration into an overall historical narrative, but it may also be misleading. Did Longobards, Pannonians, or Gepids who adopted Avar culture turn into Avars? Questions like this need to be re-examined on a paradigmatic and methodological level.

The fourth issue the project will investigate is the nature of migration in this region. The conventional image of “the great migrations,” as represented by colored lines on a map, has been deconstructed in the last decades. Current discussion has dealt with the extent to which these “migratory events” were in fact simplified perceptions that condense long-term mobility into a single violent mass migration.²³ Theorists prefer to speak of transnationalism (understood as networks of mobility) rather than migration. Nevertheless, large-scale military exploits, such as the Longobard conquest of parts of Italy and the Avar move to the Carpathian Basin, appear to have involved tens of thousands of individuals. Genetics and isotope analysis can provide clues. In the careful and fine-tuned combination of absolute dates in written sources, (mostly) relative dates in the archaeological record, and the corresponding genetic data, we can construct robust hypotheses on migratory movements.

A final and rather understudied issue is the social structure and cohesion of local communities and the role of kinship and status within them. The social position and cultural profile of women is also a key concern here. A challenge will be

21 Amorim et al., “Understanding.”

22 Pohl, “Introduction: Strategies of Identification”; Geary, *Myth of Nations*.

23 Burmeister, “Archaeology and Migration.”

to relate the micro-studies of small communities and their cemeteries, as accessible through the methods of archaeology, genetics, and other scientific methods, to the more general narrative perspectives offered by historical accounts.

Project aims

1. Tracing the population history of the Carpathian Basin in the fifth and sixth centuries and the degree of continuity of the late Roman population²⁴

HistoGenes will also contribute to discussions about the “transformation of the Roman World,” and the divergent developments in Eastern Europe (and specifically, in the former Roman province of Pannonia) and the West—among them, the former Roman core area, Italy.²⁵ Can we find indications of continuous settlement in genetic and isotope data? The Carpathian Basin was a node in the migratory movements of the fifth and sixth centuries; many smaller and larger groups passed through, and some stayed for longer or shorter periods.²⁶ Does the variety of ethnonyms observed in the written sources correspond to a similarly varied genetic record?

2. Reconstructing the populations of the Avar Empire and the neighboring regions, 568–c. 800

Did parts of the post-provincial population remain after a mixed group left Pannonia in 568?

Who lived in Pannonia under the early Avar Khaganate? How was the population composed, and does its genetic signature correspond to its cultural profiles? Concerning the origins and the genetic composition of the Avar military, a preliminary analysis of some of the richest Avar graves (seventh century) has shown substantial Central Asian parallels. This eastern influx corresponds to written evidence; can it also be detected among the lower-status warrior population? Can genomics resolve the debate over whether changes in culture in the late seventh century can be explained by new waves of immigration?²⁷ In the course of the seventh century, material culture became quite homogeneous.²⁸ Was this a cultural unification of a

24 Pohl et al., *Transformations of Romanness*.

25 Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

26 Knipper et al., *Coalescing Traditions*.

27 Csáky et al., *Genetic Insights into the Social Organisation*.

28 Pohl, *Avars*; Bálint, “Avars, Byzantium and Italy.”

population that continued to be heterogeneous, or did it correspond to a process of genetic admixture and homogenization? Isotope analysis and genetic traces may shed light on internal migration—was there a high degree of mobility within the Avar realm? Can local migration across frontiers be detected?

3. Placing the Avar Khaganate in relation to its neighbors and successors

Did long-range human mobility accompany cultural exchanges? How do social developments in the Avar Khaganate compare to the post-Roman Longobard kingdom? One of the long-term outcomes of Avar domination was Slavic expansion over most of Eastern Europe. The earliest Slavs (sixth/seventh century) are mentioned in texts, but in many regions have left little archaeological traces. Skeletal evidence from the eighth century onwards in Slavic environments can be used to assess traces of Avar-Slav interaction, especially in border areas.²⁹ Soon after the fall of their empire in 795/96, the Avars disappeared from the sources. What happened to the population that had been buried in Avar style in the eighth century? Continuity between the Avar period population and new population groups in ninth-century Pannonia will be studied in the Carolingian center of Mosapurc-Zalavár.³⁰

4. Small worlds and large realms: focusing on the social structure of the Carpathian Basin

With the genetic mapping of kinship relations in cemeteries, we can trace the structure of small communities in the region—did these burial communities follow similar or different models, and how did these change over time? With the mapping of kinship relations in cemeteries, we can acquire a better understanding of how communities were formed, what family actually meant at the time, and how kinship relations were represented through the burial customs. How did biological origin correspond to social status? How do social structures and ways of life compare to those in neighboring regions? Anthropological study and DNA analysis of pathogens (c. 500 samples) will give general clues about health, especially about the debated impact of the Justinianic plague.³¹ Isotope evidence on diet already indicates that repeated transformations of nutrition came with the changes that took place in the Carpathian Basin in the time period studied. As the late Roman infrastructure was abandoned, people had to turn to new ways of subsistence. C and N isotope data suggest millet

29 Curta, *Making of the Slavs*; Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*.

30 Szőke, “Mosaburg/Zalavár.”

31 Bos et al., “Draft Genome of *Yersinia Pestis*”; Feldman et al., “High-Coverage *Yersinia Pestis* Genome”; Spyrou et al., “Historical *Y. Pestis* Genomes.”

was a well-established staple crop during the fifth century,³² while its importance decreased in the sixth century.³³ Existing evidence on climate change in the period will be incorporated into the project and complemented by a smaller speleological pilot study on gendered and kin-based forms of representation: Representation on a family level, anthropological sexing of skeletons and models of warrior masculinity are among the issues that will be explored.

HistoGenes will not only collect and interpret data on the transformations in Eastern Central Europe to arrive at a substantially refined picture of the period. A key feature in the project is the systematic reflection of the epistemological process and its methodological implications. The aim is to create a reliable precedent for further interdisciplinary studies involving scientific archaeology and population genetics. This will mainly be achieved by a close collaboration between team members and by an open network involving many other scholars in the field (“connective structure”). We will look for interpretations that match the complexity of the historical process rather than straightforward historical narratives. Additionally, we will reflect on the scholarly language in which we can communicate results and seek to avoid both the misunderstandings caused by specific ethnonyms and terms such as ethnicity, community, or migration and also their reifications. At the same time, we will not abandon “loaded terms” that are often hard to replace. Furthermore, we will experiment with translating the results from the paradigmatic structure of one discipline into another.³⁴

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32 Hakenbeck et al., “Practising Pastoralism.”

33 Alt et al., “Lombards on the Move.”

34 The project is available on the following website: <https://www.histogenes.org/>.

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New Volumes on Late Antique and Medieval Latin Literature

Latin irodalom a kora középkorban: 6–8. század. A keresztény Európa születése [Latin Literature in the Early Middle Ages, Sixth–Eighth Centuries: The Birth of Christian Europe]. By Tamás Adamik. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2014. 599 pp.

Latin irodalom a Karoling-korban: 8–9. század. A keresztény Európa megerősödése [Latin Literature in the Carolingian Period, Eight–Ninth Centuries: The Consolidation of Christian Europe]. By Tamás Adamik. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2017. 485 pp.

Latin irodalom az átmeneti korban: 9–11. század: A keresztény Európa kiteljesedése [Latin Literature in the Period of Transition, Ninth–Eleventh Centuries: The Completion of Christian Europe]. By Tamás Adamik. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2020. 464 pp.

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Planned for four volumes, the third volume of Tamás Adamik's much-awaited medieval literary history was published in September 2020. The author, Tamás Adamik, Professor Emeritus of Classical Philology at Eötvös Loránd University, compiled his first works on the history of classical Latin literature during the 1990s as an outcome of his academic activity. In 2009, he published a synthesis of classical Roman literature, summarizing its four great epochs. These are the main antecedents of his works of late antique and medieval literature to be reviewed here and placed into its academic context.¹

1 Adamik, *Római irodalom az archaikus korban*; Adamik, *Római irodalom az aranykorban*; Adamik, *Római irodalom az ezüstkorban*; Adamik, *Római irodalom a késő császárkorban*. Adamik, *Római irodalom a kezdetektől a nyugat-római birodalom bukásáig*.

The three volumes published so far of literary history are similarly the outcome of Professor Adamik's decades-long teaching career and related research. One of the most important themes of his university courses was to introduce his students to the history of medieval Latin literature. Unquestionably, the volumes represent a much-expected enterprise, since most authors that he discusses are little known even to students of history, literature, or classical philology, not to mention other readers with less interest in this cultural field. Thus, his work fills a genuine gap in Hungarian, partly because in several cases, he shares previously untranslated texts, and some which have been hardly available so far. These new books combine the virtues of a classical literary history with those of an anthology. The author emphasizes the important function of understanding the social context in the assessment of the literature of each period. Therefore, he gives an overview of the historical background in each chapter, making the linguistic and cultural context of individual authors and works more comprehensible.

The role of Latin is indisputable in medieval cultural history, as for centuries it was not merely the language of literacy and teaching, but also the language of social contacts in educated and clerical circles. Due to various historical and cultural changes, by the age of Humanism, national literary languages had been born, or at least developing, which not only competed with Latin at the level of everyday use, but also gradually became suitable for literary and philosophical communication, and today still carry elements built from medieval living Latin.

It is therefore undeniable that there is a need for an overview of medieval Latin literature in the languages of university education, including Hungarian. If it might seem paradoxical to review in an English-language journal books written in Hungarian, we should not forget that Adamik was for many decades a professor at the university that issues this journal, whose two main profiles are history and literature. Therefore, it seems highly appropriate to reflect on its pages on a series that touches these two disciplines constantly and in parallel, but at least alternately.

Comprehensive literary histories to which Adamik's volumes are comparable are all monumental undertakings of many decades. Apparently, the author made good use of some items of this set, as for example, in the first four cases of the next examples that do not necessarily show mere structural parallelism. The two-volume Latin literary history by Franz Brunhölzl, chronologically maybe the most recent one, follows a territorial division in its structure, discussing individual authors within this framework. The same method characterizes Adamik's first volume. In the same way as Brunhölzl, Adamik also adds a detailed bibliography to each author.² A major publication from the beginning of the twentieth century

2 Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*.

is the work by Max Manitius. He follows throughout his three volumes a structural division according to literary genres or disciplines, and a subdivision according to the authors and various works.³ The third example is Robert Curtius's 1948 Latin literary history in German, which was made accessible in an English translation in 1953.⁴ The author extends the limits of the discussion to the age of the Enlightenment and, in his unique thematic division, he attempts to capture the distinctive aspects of European thought evolving through centuries. Also, one of the most famous histories of Latin literature is the work of F.J.E. Raby discussing medieval Latin poetry, where the individual volumes are devoted to ecclesiastical and secular poetry.⁵ Since Raby analyses only poetry, this allows him to offer an almost complete overview of his narrower field.

This reducing pattern has been followed by some editors who invited various specialists to give a synthesis of individual periods. For example, in the case of *Letteratura latina medievale*, edited by Claudio Leonardi in 2002 and published in several editions since, the literary history of individual centuries is written by different authors.⁶ As reflected by the editor's foreword, each chapter, encompasses different methods of cultural, and literary history, and textual analysis. It is clear that multi-author undertakings, even if individual contributions are outstanding, are not comparable to those of single authored works, where the undoubted advantage is in the consistency of the text. The 2014 volume of *Medieval Literature*, edited by Holly A. Crocker and D. Vance Smith, represents new fields of discipline. It goes beyond traditional editing concepts, and as its subtitle indicates, also discusses *Criticism and Debates*.⁷ Here, the thematical approach is dominant, marked by the contributions of experts of each field. In fact, it should be considered more of a volume of collected essays, reflecting recent approaches, like gender, human ecology, identity, and others.

It turns out in this short overview of medieval literary histories that the authors' concepts and approaches may differ significantly; consequently, making a comparison of only two of them is difficult, not to mention the whole spectrum.

Since Adamik also discusses two literary works from medieval Hungary, the *Admonitions* of St Stephen, and the *Deliberatio* of St Gerard, it is justified to look at some comparable publications from East-Central Europe. The authors and their works in this region basically appear in national literary histories. In the eleventh century, Hungary is in a peripheral position from the point of view

3 Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. I-III*.

4 Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, English translation, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*.

5 Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*; Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*.

6 Leonardi, *Letteratura latina medievale*.

7 Crocker and Smith, *Medieval Literature*.

of Latin Christianity. It was in this period that the local literatures of the region took their initial steps of which the two Hungarian pieces noted above were the first in their genre. Adamik's decision to integrate these pieces in the overview of the literary history of the period seems to be justified.

Examples from East-Central Europe include Jana Nechutová's synthesis on the Latin literature of medieval Bohemia, and the anthology entitled *Medieval Literature of Poland* edited by Michael J. Mikoś.⁸ Nechutová's book, as its title suggests, also examines Latin literature, but exclusively for Bohemia and in German. In this case, the selection covers the medieval Latin literature of Bohemia in a broad sense of genre and chronology. The second example shares common features with Adamik's works in that it has a longer introductory study, but is basically an anthology, offering its literary examples in English, based partly on Latin, partly on Polish language medieval literature. All these examples draw attention to the importance and, at the same time, the difficulty of selection, and to the fact that even in the case of synthesizing works, a compilation of different aspects may be justified.

Adamik does not attempt to give a complete overview of medieval Latin literature. Nevertheless, his selection criteria are clear. Each volume offers some novelty that makes the reading an enjoyable experience. The first book includes the essential introductory essay, discusses periodization, terminology, and introduces the political context that affected literature. Chronologically, the first volume covers the earliest period; thus, it is the most novel part in its content, namely in the personalities, genres, and last but not least, in the new characteristics of the changing poetry. Its structure follows regional divisions, distinguishing five major territories (Italy, North-Africa, Gaul, Spain, and England together with Ireland), and creates sub-chapters according to authors, discussing their genres and specific works. Each chapter is supplemented by a well-structured bibliography, and the volume also includes a name and subject index.

Each volume follows the same structure, which in the case of the second one about the Carolingian era comprises a chapter on the main characteristics of the period, and fifteen chapters about various authors and literary works. The geographical framework in this volume is the Carolingian Empire itself. The authors of the era were either directly connected to the Court of Charlemagne, or were members of a monastic community, who worked in a wide variety of genres. This period is also called the Carolingian Renaissance, primarily because it brought about spiritual renewal by uniting the Neo-Latin and Germanic peoples into a single Christian community. The works of ancient authors were primarily considered as formal,

⁸ Nechutová, *Die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen*; Mikoś, *Medieval Literature of Poland*.

linguistic samples to be filled with Christian content. Basically, they sought to raise the cultural standard, in which Charlemagne's personal support and his cultural program often played a significant role. The concept of the *translation studii* applied in his court also confirmed the high prestige of the rich literature of the period.

In the third volume, Adamik refers to the ninth to the eleventh century as a period of transition between two great epochs, the Carolingian era and the Golden Age of twelfth-century Renaissance. As a consequence of the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, Latin Christianity was divided into smaller units, which brought along the emergence of "national" literatures and historiographies, in which the literature of the peoples accepting Christianity was also included from the tenth–eleventh centuries onwards.

At the same time, medieval Latin literature remained transnational, as the universal linguistic and cultural unity did not show great differences even in its literary genres. That period also saw the emergence of some new genres, such as the sequence (*sequentia*), the historical epos, the beast epic, or the romance, the latter indicating the spread of literature that meets the needs of the secular world. An important detail of Adamik's work is its presentation of *Roudlieb*, the eleventh century romance of knightly adventures, which has been studied since its discovery in the nineteenth century but is still not widely known. Adamik gives a partial translation of the romance, introduces its research history, and adds an extensive bibliography.

The third volume is especially interesting from the point of view of Hungary and East-Central Europe, since that is the period when the Christian monarchies were established in this region and the first works of Latin literature were born. Adamik understandably focuses on the Latin literature of Hungary. It would have been relevant to provide some contemporary examples of the Latin literature of neighboring countries as a comparison. It is possible that the author may have reserved this additional aspect for the fourth volume of the series.

What are the main strengths of the three-volume work by Tamás Adamik, representing six centuries of Latin literature?

Primarily, it helps clarify some still extant misconceptions about the Middle Ages. In a narrower sense, perhaps the most important of these is the stereotype that medieval authors could not use Latin well enough. Regarding the inevitable transformation of language, Adamik refers to Saint Jerome, who wrote in the third century that "the Latin language itself changes daily from area to area and over time".⁹ Adamik also distinguishes the linguistic state of the individual periods of the Middle Ages and concludes in the third volume that the tenth century represents a decline of the use of Latin, where "grammatical control" is weaker than in both previous

9 "ipsa latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore" Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 357. col.

and subsequent periods (p. 26). However, he acknowledges that this, in turn, gives a degree of freedom and opportunity for experimentation with the language, that is, for the authors. The work of Tamás Adamik is also important since it helps to eliminate the views that the Middle Ages was a period of general ignorance. On the contrary, the author highlights that most authors were well versed in classical scholarship, and Adamik also points out the wealth of literary themes and genres. A third great novelty of the books presented here is that they draw attention to authors outside the general literary narratives. They are, among many others, the North African Christian authors of Late Antiquity, including Dracontius, Fulgentius, and Luxorius. Adamik does not only outline their oeuvre, but also gives excerpts of their texts in existing translations, or often in his own new interpretation. In the third volume, the author highlights that after the Hungarian state foundation, the transmission and adoption of Latin-language culture, and at the same time the emergence of Latin-language literature, began almost immediately. This way the *Admonitions* of St Stephen is featured in a comparative context. It is an added strength of the undertaking that there is emphasis also on female literature, for example, by presenting the lyrical and dramatic works of Abbess Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim.

Research into medieval Latin literacy has been present in Hungary, touching on a high number of aspects and disciplines, especially since the last third of the twentieth century. It would be difficult to list the related publications in the fields of chronicle research, codicology, hagiography, liturgy, and literature, as they are so numerous. Nevertheless, there has been no similar overview of medieval Latin literature in Hungarian. Therefore, Professor Tamás Adamik's synthetizing literary history and anthology wrapped in cultural history, with a rich and carefully selected bibliography is an excellent handbook for further research: a colorful selection of medieval literature published in an easy to read style.

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The Eurasian Way of War. Military Practice in Seventh-Century China and Byzantium. Asian States and Empires. By David A. Graff. London–New York: Routledge, 2016. 208 pp.

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The name David Andrew Graff is familiar to those interested in premodern Asian military history. The sinologist author has studied warfare in medieval China throughout his academic career and since 1998 has been the editor of the *Journal of Chinese Military History* and secretary of the Chinese Military History Society. In 2002, he published a fundamental monograph on medieval Chinese warfare in the series *Warfare and History* published by Routledge.¹ A professor at Kansas State University, he is an acknowledged authority on Chinese military history.

The significance of the monograph reviewed here, *The Eurasian Way of War. Military Practice in Seventh-Century China and Byzantium*, extends beyond East Asian or Chinese military history. It attempts to answer questions of technology transfer and warfare, such as the spread of military innovations, and questions the validity of regional ways of war by comparing seventh-century Byzantine and Tang warfare.

The book raises a bold question in comparing late antique military manuals from empires located at the opposite edges of the Old World. The two key texts are the *Strategikon*, written at the turn of the seventh century and attributed to the emperor Maurice, and a lost Chinese military manual (*Li Jing bingfa*) by a seventh-century Tang general, Li Jing, which has survived only in extracts. Graff did even more: he exhaustively described seventh-century Chinese and Byzantine warfare and attempted to explain the convergence of these two independent systems.

Consequently, the book is of interest not only to military historians but also to researchers interested in global connectivity, interactions between the steppe and the sown, and the history of technology. The positive reception of this monograph

1 Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*.

by scholars in the fields of Mongolian studies,² Chinese-Türk cultural relations,³ late antique history⁴ and military history⁵ illustrates its popularity in various disciplines.

The structure of the monograph is logical and practical, consisting of seven chapters: the first historiographical chapter on the relationship between war and culture is followed by a presentation of the seventh-century Chinese (Sui and early Tang) and Byzantine armies, highlighting their resources, weaponry, and tactics (chapters 2 and 4). The second half of the book offers interpretative answers to the above questions, emphasizing the role of literary and textual traditions in the record and transfer of military knowledge. The investigative chapters (6 and 7) present the sporadic diplomatic contacts and interactions of these remote superpowers as well as the intermediary role of the nomadic confederacies and empires that lay between them. Finally, the author explains the comparable features and convergences of these two separate military systems, which had similar adaptive answers to nomadic threats.

The historiographical essay on the relationship between war and culture explores the question of how the contents of a seventh-century Chinese and a European military manual could be so similar despite the vast geographical distance. Since the mid-twentieth century, a belief in general principles of war was replaced by a cultural-historical approach that studied various ways of war and strategic cultures. The most prominent military historian of our day, John Keegan, even described war as an “expression of culture.”⁶ The notion of a *Western way of war* as a particular and timeless European type of warfare deriving from the tactics of ancient Greeks hoplites and characterized by quick problem solving, decisive battle, and frontal attacks⁷ stems from this culture-centric approach. Its counterpart, the *Oriental way of war* was characterized by “evasion, delay and indirectness” by Keegan.⁸ The information obtained from the two main sources presented by this book contradict this static framework. During the seventh century, Chinese warfare was too western and aggressive, while the Byzantine way of war proved to be too Asian and defensive, which questions the exactness of these categories. In his book, Graff cut the Gordian knot and introduced the term *Eurasian way of war*.

The two empires, the Sui/Tang China and the Eastern Roman Empire, possessed similar resources, and their territories and populations were comparable; the main difference between them was their geographic layout. China was basically a continental

2 May, “Review of *The Eurasian Way of War*.”

3 Skaff, “Review of *The Eurasian Way of War*.”

4 Decker, “Review of *The Eurasian Way of War*.”

5 Davies, “Review of *The Eurasian Way of War*.”

6 Keegan, *History of Warfare*, 12.

7 Hanson, *Western Way of War*; Hanson, *Carnage and Culture*.

8 Keegan, *History of Warfare*, 387–88.

power with limited use of the navy, while the Eastern Roman Empire surrounded the Mediterranean Sea, which resulted in its having a powerful fleet that was able to exploit its long and articulated coastline. The geostrategic considerations addressed in the book are difficult to grasp, however, because of the lack of maps. The two empires also differed in the number and organization of soldiers: China introduced the system of part-time military service (*fubing*) in the Warring States period, while the Byzantine Empire formed a permanent and professional army smaller in number. At the same time, the expeditionary troops numbered between 12,000 and 20,000 in both areas.

The armies of these two states used weaponry on a similar technological level; the only significant exception was the frequent Chinese use of handheld crossbows. At the same time, at the end of the sixth century, several types of military equipment appeared in the East Roman army as well as in early Avar burials. These artefacts—lamellar armor,⁹ traction trebuchets, and single-edged ring-pommel swords¹⁰ (wrongly described as sabers in the book)—were formerly unknown in western Eurasia while frequently used in ancient China. The two military manuals report on similar tactical elements, and risk calculations played a comparable role in the military decisions of both states.

Campaigns relied on fundamental logistical planning like transfer, accommodation, and food supply. The author's comparison of Chinese and Byzantine logistics, however, fails in the absence of recent and relevant literature on the logistical support of the East Roman Empire.¹¹ He ascribes the poor logistics of the Byzantine Empire to the damaged roads and lack of distribution centers for supplies, which contrasted with the canals that interlaced Tang China. In fact, a dense network of fortresses and fortified cities with granaries served the logistical needs of the East Roman army between the fourth and seventh centuries. Fortifications were not only designed for passive defense but also for an active distribution of the food supply.¹² The Danube as the main artery of riverine transport compensated for the lack of canals in the frontier zone.¹³ The author rightly argues that fortresses and sieges played a significant role; however, some minor inaccuracies occur in his descriptions of major sieges.¹⁴

9 Bugarski, "Contribution"; Glad, "Empire's Influence on Barbarian Elites"; Glad, *L'armement*, 113–27.

10 Csiky, *Avar-Age Polearms*, 233–34; in the Byzantine context: Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad, a church's crypt): Quast, "Einige alte und neue Waffenfunde," 361; Glad, *L'armement*, 319, 324.

11 Haldon, *General Issues*; Whately, "Organisation"; Sarantis, "Military Provisionining."

12 Sarantis, "Waging War in Late Antiquity," 36–40.

13 On the Danube fleet and transport: Bounegru and Zahariade, *Les forces navales*; Karagiorgou, "LR2"; Curta, "Amphorae and Seals."

14 The author attributes the Avar siege of Constantinople in the summer of 626 also to the Persians

The seventh-century Chinese and Byzantine military practice matched even modern expectations in terms of organization, discipline, and risk management. This consciousness derived from the accumulation of several generations of experience passed on in the literary and textual traditions that characterized both bureaucratic empires. Both states had a great tradition of writing military manuals that were used and even brought to campaigns by generals. The administrations of both armies kept a large number of records, lists, and reports. These documents survived only as paper fragments from the Western Regions of Tang China or in the form of late antique papyruses from Egypt. These living traditions inherited from Antiquity led to the continuous development of armies and generalship.

The vast distance between China and the Mediterranean calls into serious question all historical comparisons between these remote areas; however, the two empires were aware of each other and had diplomatic and commercial relations beginning in the Han-period. These accidental and sparse encounters and the blurred and uncertain information they had on each other limited the spread of military innovations.

Both empires had close contacts with their northern nomadic neighbors (the Turks and Avars), who provided a link via the Eurasian steppe zone between the East and West. After reviewing sources and literature on the origin of the Avar elite and enumerating, based on the *Strategikon*, a series of East Asian military innovations adopted by the Byzantines, the author concludes the Avars,¹⁵ migrating from Inner Asia, acted as a transmission vector of East Asian technology.

The description of Avar-Byzantine interactions contains several inaccuracies. The development of the saber cannot be dated to the period of Avar migration (mid-sixth century); it was a process that occurred approximately hundred years later.¹⁶ Moreover, the paramerion, interpreted as a single-edged sword or saber, was a weapon of the Middle Byzantine period (ninth–tenth centuries).¹⁷ The Chinese origin of P-shaped suspension loops is highly questionable since they appear contemporary with the European specimens at the end of the sixth century in China.¹⁸ Ring-pommel swords represent a new element in the list of weapons of Asian origin: such swords were frequent in the burials of the early Avar elite from the Danube-Tisza Interfluve (Central Hungary) and had no local precedents. At the same time,

located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, although they could not have participated in the siege: Hurbanić, *Avar Siege of Constantinople in 626*, 205–7.

15 New palaeogenetic data on the origin of the Avar elite: Csáky, “Genetic Insights.”

16 Csiky, *Avar-Age Polearms*, 192–214, 318–25.

17 Haldon, “Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology,” 31; Theotokis, “Military Technology,” 448–49.

18 The earliest P-shaped suspension loop from China is dated to 569: Koch, “Überlegungen,” 574; Csiky, *Avar-Age Polearms*, 311–14.

this weapon type had been popular in China since the fourth century, and new Inner Asian finds confirm the possibility of Avar transmission.¹⁹

Lamellar armor and stirrups were in use in China long before their arrival in Europe around the formation of the Avar Qaghanate in the Danube Basin.²⁰ Like other researchers, Graff regards the European appearance of the traction trebuchet a result of Avar transmission. The exact date of the adoption of stirrups and traction trebuchets by the Byzantines is not as clear. Stirrups, while first mentioned in Maurice's *Strategikon*, are not listed there among the innovations of Avar origin; the work does not even emphasize their novelty. Moreover, archaeological evidence from the Balkans indicates that stirrups were in wide use among the Byzantines at the end of the sixth century, although their shape and manufacturing technique distinguished them from stirrups found in Avar burials.²¹ According to some philological analyses of the *Strategikon*, Byzantines used stirrups in the first half of the sixth century.²²

Traction trebuchets replaced early Roman torsion artillery, especially the onager, offering a simpler technique, larger projectiles, and a greater range. The early sixth-century sources refer to this siege engine as a *helepolis*, which was used by the Byzantine army even before the arrival of the Avars to Europe.²³ Theophylact's anecdote about Bouzas, a Byzantine traitor at the siege of Appiaria who allegedly taught the Avars how to build siege engines, reveals further contradictions. Besides the literary topoi included in the story, it points to the fact that not only the Avars used such siege engines earlier, but also the Eastern European Kutrigurs preceding them.²⁴ Traction trebuchets were already known in the Arabian Peninsula in the early seventh century,²⁵ which questions the hypothesis that transmission occurred through the steppe and suggests the transfer of Near Eastern technology was via the Sasanians.

Graff regards the Avar transmission of the mentioned weapons and military equipment as proved. However, he refuses to consider the possibility of a nomadic mediation of tactical elements and ideas because of the lack of literacy among the Avars. Furthermore, the direction, date, and way of transmission of these weapons and military equipment are also uncertain.

19 Csiky, *Avar-Age Polearms*, 233–34, 315–18.

20 On Chinese lamellar armor: Dien, “Study of Early Chinese Armor”; Csiky, “Transformation of Horse Riding.”

21 Bugarski, “Ostava iz Streževa”; Ivanišević and Bugarski, “Les étriers byzantins.”

22 Kraft, “Lat.-griech. scala”; Šuvalov, “Dva železnykh stremeni.”

23 Petersen, *Siege Warfare*, 411.

24 Kardaras, “Episode of Bousas (586/7).”

25 Chevedden, “Artillery of King James I”; Chevedden, “Hybrid Trebuchet”; Petersen, *Siege Warfare*, 406–29.

In the final chapter of his book, David A. Graff formulates a comprehensive thesis according to which not only was the military equipment of the armies in Sui/Tang China and the Byzantine Empire in the sixth-seventh centuries similar, but so too were their tactics, the logistics of their campaigns, and even their long-term strategic targets. Graff ascribed these common points to the similar challenges these empires faced. Throughout their history, both empires confronted the troops of nomadic confederacies of the Eurasian steppe, which determined their weaponry, tactics, and strategic thought, which were partly conveyed in their literary traditions and partly used by the nomadic federates (or mercenaries) serving in their armies.

Nomadic art of war fundamentally influenced Byzantine and Chinese warfare and transformed the armies of both empires. However, these two states experienced these impacts in different ways, and not only nomads impacted their military affairs. The biggest difference between China and Byzantium resulted from the three-hundred-year-long fragmentation before Li Jing, a period that was characterized by non-Han, nomadic rule in northern China. Barbarian rule was manifest not only in the imperial family and the power of a small elite but in the appearance of several nomad groups that had immigrated to the empire and acculturated to the Chinese civilization while still preserving their language, customs, and way of war.²⁶ The position of this barbarian elite is comparable to the Germanic kingdoms on the ruins of the West Roman Empire. These rulers accepted their dependence on the (East or West) Roman emperor,²⁷ while northern barbarians in China founded imperial dynasties. In contrast, the East Roman Empire maintained its Roman imperial power, legal system, and culture, as well as its Greek language and Christian religion. In this empire, the army employed nomadic cavalry only as federates and experienced significant Germanic influence on its military affairs.

Ignoring the fundamental political, social, and cultural differences between the two empires, the author emphasizes religion and human resources as distinguishing factors. The Christian Byzantine Empire provided strong ideological support for its armed forces, while China's enormous human resources—enabling massive invasions of Korea or the Türk Qaghanate—compensated for its religious fragmentation. Following Luttwak,²⁸ Graff characterizes the Byzantine “grand strategy” as one of diplomacy, bribery, and alliance-building, which was only valid for some periods and regions. The Byzantine Empire's responses to various threats²⁹ was shaped by the

26 Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*; Lewis, *China between Empires*, 54–85; Holcombe, “Xianbei in Chinese History”; Dien and Knapp, *Cambridge History of China* 2.

27 Scholl, “Imitatio Imperii.”

28 Luttwak, *Grand Strategy*.

29 Sarantis, “Waging War in Late Antiquity.”

ever-changing combinations of imperial ambitions and regional strategies instead of an overarching vision or grand strategy.

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Zwischen dem Reich und Ostmitteleuropa: Die Beziehungen von Jagiellonen, Wettinern und Deutschem Orden (1386–1526). By Stephan Flemmig.

Stuttgart: Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig–Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019. 706 pp.

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The present volume is one of the latest examples of a series of works that testify to the strong international interest in the Jagiellonian dynasty over the past two decades. Professor Stephan Flemmig of the University of Jena has been studying the neighboring polities of the Holy Roman Empire since the beginning of his academic career. In his dissertation,¹ he provided a comparative analysis of the cult of Bridget of Sweden (†1373) and Jadwiga of Poland (†1399), and some years later, he dedicated a monograph to the history of the mendicant orders in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Bohemia and Moravia.²

The Lithuanian–Polish Jagiellonian dynasty, the Wettins, who ruled Saxony and Thuringia, and the Teutonic Order are in the center of Flemmig's monograph. It discusses the history of the diplomatic relations between these three actors, aiming at giving a full overview. Because of this claim for completeness, and because the volume covers a very long period of 140 years (1386–1526), the author assigned a difficult task to himself. His method, while not providing anything “unexpected”, required a huge effort: collecting the complete set of secondary literature, the edited and archival sources, and doing their analysis. The subject carries much potential, as the connection of the Teutonic Order and the Kingdom of Poland, not independent of the bloody conflicts of the later periods, most importantly of those in the twentieth century, has always been in the forefront of both German and in Polish medieval scholarship. As it is the case with other ruling dynasties in the Holy Roman Empire,

1 Flemmig, *Hagiographie und Kulturtransfer: Birgitta von Schweden und Hedwig von Polen*.

2 Flemmig, *Die Bettelorden im hochmittelalterlichen Böhmen und Mähren (1226–1346)*.

research into the Wettin family, who amongst others, held the title of Electorate of Saxony, also has a long tradition. However, their eastern, most importantly Polish, and Teutonic connections in the late medieval period have not been subject to an in-depth analysis.

The first chapter of Flemmig's book provides a brief overview of the international politics of the period, or more precisely, the state of the art in Western and Central European national historiographies. The author then discusses the situation concerning sources, the actors with international contacts, and the different forms of their written and personal communication. The study of the history of diplomacy in the past decade or two has received a new impetus, and because of the abundance of new studies it would be unfair to blame the author for not considering particular recent titles. Nonetheless, taking note of communication history and other approaches of the so-called New Diplomatic History and their possible application would have been helpful.

After the introductory chapter, Flemmig does not discuss the events in thematic blocs but in a chronological order, fitting the chapter structure to the chronology of the Polish–Lithuanian rulers. This fact and the temporal scope of the analysis of the monograph (1386 and 1526) may confirm the impression that what we are holding in our hands is a Jagiello-focused monograph. This however does not mean that the chapters are not balanced in discussing the Jagiellonian–Teutonic–Wettin relations. The author is always keen on providing the contexts in the form of short subchapters.

Apart from the Polish–Lithuanian “core areas” ruled by Casimir IV, from 1471, it included Bohemia, but from 1490 the Jagiellonian dynasty also laid their hands on the Kingdom of Hungary, and from 1498 to 1510 a member of the Wettin family was the grand master of the Teutonic Order. All these factors led to the broadening of the research horizon, which up to 1471—with some exaggeration—followed one or two threads, and the more and more meticulous description of the topic based on an increasing amount of sources. For this reason, it would have been fully acceptable if the author had begun his enquiry with the year 1466 or 1471, that is from the Second Peace of Thorn concluded between Casimir IV and the Teutonic Order (1466), or from the ascension of his son Vladislaus to the throne of Bohemia (1471).

In the cavalcade of topics—meaning mostly the period starting with the reign of Sigismund I the Old in 1506—the author sometimes fails to keep a strict order, therefore the penultimate chapter is not an easy read. Nonetheless, we have a whole spectrum of international relations unfolding in front of our eyes. We encounter issues of vassalage, border conflicts just as much as the Ottoman threat or those of the recurrent conflicts with the Teutonic Order. But admittedly, the manyfold material that forms the basis of the entire book was probably very difficult to control. Therefore, it is to be welcomed that every chapter begins with a general introduction

that sketches an overall picture of the state of the Jagiellonians and the Wettins and ends with a summary of the most important findings.

Fortunately and understandably, in Flemmig's undertaking, a monograph of dynastic inspiration, the German–Polish viewpoint is not exclusive: Hungarian and Czech issues, and sometimes even “interior” policies are also discussed, reflecting mostly on Czech but occasionally also on Hungarian scholarship. These parts, especially those referring to the Kingdom of Hungary, are admittedly brief (pp. 33–34) though. Nonetheless, even in its present form, the volume is important not only for the “main audience”, that is Polish, Lithuanian, and German scholars, but is of great benefit also to those interested in the Kingdom of Bohemia and Hungary, especially during the Jagiellonian reign, because it offers well-founded and novel points in understanding the foreign policies of these kingdoms. As we expect of monographs that build on the historiographic traditions of different countries, Flemmig's book opens completely unknown worlds to the reader.

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Comical Modernity: Popular Humour and the Transformation of Urban Space in Late Nineteenth–Century Vienna. By Heidi Hakkarainen.

New York–Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2019. 279 pp.

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It seems that this “laboratory of modernity”, as late nineteenth-century Vienna is frequently labeled, never ceases to inspire historians, and with good reason. Four decades after Carl E. Schorske’s classic *Fin de Siècle Vienna*¹ and following its multiple reinterpretations and revisions,² yet another fresh and insightful monograph has appeared on the experience of urban modernity in the Habsburg capital. Heidi Hakkarainen (University of Turku) chose a subject matter which offers both new sources and new methods to investigate how urban change was lived, viewed, and criticized by the Viennese.

The author investigates namely the textual and visual sources of Viennese popular humor between 1857 and 1890; that is to say, from the implementation of the Ringstrasse-project until approximately the completion of *Groß-Wien*’s unification and the beginnings of a huge new urban planning phase. The time frame also corresponds roughly to turning points in public history; sources are explored from the Liberals’ takeover of the city until they lost power and the Lueger period began. As a spectacular indicator, it can be mentioned that the number of inhabitants almost tripled in Vienna between the two chosen dates (it rose from 476,000 to 1,365,000; p. 3). The extensively discussed transition towards modernity in the Habsburg capital generated much laughter, yet popular humor has never before been analyzed as an alternative, divergent way of interpreting modernity. Humor, however, has the ability to express lived experiences, fantasies, desires, anxieties, or ambivalent

1 Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna*.

2 A concise summary of the historiography of the Schorskeian tradition and its critique: Szívós, *A másik Bécs*. Amongst the most eminent revisions we have to mention those by Steven Beller: Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938*; Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*.

feelings concerning urban change; by exaggerating phenomena it even makes them more visible for the historian. The humorous press is therefore an excellent source for the study of urban modernization from the citizens' point of view, putting aside, for a change, the standpoints of the architects, the city leaders or the urban theorists.

Because the Schorskeian perspective is that of intellectual history, the historiographical tradition based on it is often criticized for being concerned exclusively with high culture and encounters between outstanding intellectuals. The analysis of popular humor seems to be a rational choice—preferable to correcting some shortcomings of previous research—and offers something new. This special discourse on urban life reflects the bourgeoisie's perspective on the city, as the humorous press was written, published, and read mainly by the emerging Viennese middle class. But at the same time, the *Witzblätter*, and more specifically the three most important of them, the analyzed titles, *Der Figaro*, *Kikeriki* and *Der Floh*, with 20,000 subscribers each by the 1860s, were accessible to a wider public, and published readers' accounts too, including workers', immigrants' and women's. Therefore, these texts also serve to nuance the sharp division between high and popular culture—a welcome development which has already been implemented in other fields of cultural-historical research, like by Moritz Csáky in connection with operettas, favored by the most diverse social groups in late nineteenth-century Vienna.³

The sources are thus both appropriate to the research question and inspiringly unexplored. The author's approach is based on contextualization, which, according to her formulation, "is threefold. First, it is necessary to map the social and cultural circumstances that fashioned the uses of humour. For example, in nineteenth-century Vienna, the strict censorship and the development of mechanical printing technology were factors that significantly affected the uses of humour. Second, [the] analysis of humorous texts and images is based on disentangling the different contexts or meanings that these humorous accounts have fused together. [...]. Third, in order to unpack the ambivalent meanings of jokes and cartoons published between 1857 and 1890, it is valuable to consult contemporary nineteenth-century theories of humour." (pp. 16–17) While the first and the second procedures seem to be carefully carried out, one can miss a more profound reliance on contemporary theories of humor, if they are usable and relevant—or an explanation of why they are only shortly mentioned if they are not so. Their keywords are present in explanations, but rarely does the reader learn how these theories affected contemporary joke production, if at all, or how, with what kind of restrictions and critiques can they be applied today. Nevertheless, contextualization is made with much attention, which makes the monograph very readable—not an easy endeavor when it comes to nineteenth-century jokes, which are rarely funny for present-day readers. Yet, Heidi Hakkainen's

³ Csáky, *Ideologieder Operette und Wiener Moderne*.

carefully chosen caricatures, cartoons, and anecdotes are always both instructive and entertaining—the latter means that their material is made definitely understandable.

Bakhtinian and Billigian notions,⁴ namely rebellious versus disciplinary humor, provide the theoretical framework for the first part of the study, which as a result concentrates on power relations (chapters 1–3, *Power and Space, Tensions with City Authorities, City out of Control*). The second part of the book treats humor as an identity-forming force, and “highlights the role of humour in practices of exclusion and inclusion.” (p. 19) (chapters 4–5, *Knowing the City, Urban Types and Characters*).

The first chapter, *Power and Space*, can be regarded as a second introductory section to sketch the change of power relations in fin-de-siècle Vienna and the “battlefield for representations” (p. 40) that resulted from this shift of power. The chapter describes the functioning of censorship, a form of control exercised by the same authority (the Police) “that supervised street lighting, street paving, construction works and other practical matters in the city” (p. 28) which were also frequent objects of humorous criticism.

As the first of several very well-placed cartoons, the chapter offers one when discussing the great architectural competition which preceded the building of the Ringstrasse and its surroundings. The drawings show three imaginary plans that could hardly have won: on the first, Vienna is flooded and functions rather like Venice, on the second, the city is transformed into a kind of tribal village in a jungle, while the third is exactly the opposite, an over-rationalized, geometrical and inhuman future Vienna. According to the author’s comment on the cartoon, “in all of these three plans, there is a clear tension between nature and technology, pre-modern and modern, industrial community and organic, “natural” community. These tensions created a kind of humour that was very closely related to nineteenth-century concerns and fears concerning modernity as well as to the enthusiasm and curiosity evoked by the novelty of the new era.” (p. 39) The reason why it is worth evoking the illustration and its comment in length is that these are the concerns, fears, enthusiasm, and curiosity of citizens, rather than of professionals of urbanism and architecture: a perspective that the reader can find truly refreshing, and one which corresponds perfectly to the ambitions of the book under review. These cartoons could depict not only alternative but also absurd, impossible, or extremely exaggerated concepts of planning a new city; as a result, they have the advantage of going beyond the mental equipment that can be identified by investigating official documents on urban design.

The citizens’ reaction to urban change is more precisely defined in the second chapter (*Tensions with City Authorities*) by a closer examination of their attitudes towards the control and the controllers of this transformation. Given the authoritarian

4 Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*; Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*.

style of the city leaders of fin-de-siècle Vienna, liberating humor had plenty of ammunition. In fact, regulation and overregulated city life soon became one of the main motifs of criticized urban modernity. *Kikeriki* provides a number of funny prohibition signs elsewhere policemen, city watchmen, and other figures of power are ridiculed. Resisting order by making fun of its keepers is a relatively well-known social function of humor. The analysis goes deeper, though, when Hakkarainen argues that humor also expressed “anxiety relating to the experience of becoming a member of an urban mass pervasively controlled by standards, rules and regulations;” (p. 58) that is to say, urban modernity was perceived as a threat to individuality. The phenomena recognized by contemporary theorists like Georg Simmel⁵ and Ferdinand Tönnies⁶ are convincingly shown to be also real fears of citizens by their humorous accounts of the growing anonymity and mechanization of everyday life (often represented by the senseless use of technological innovations such as the telegraph or city railways), or the uniformization of metropolitan space. The latter, a growing concern about a world “losing diversity and substance” (p. 68) is an ideal subject for caricature (and one to which present-day readers can easily relate), visually represented mostly by drawings of phalansteries which are geometrical in the extreme.

Paradoxically, feelings of insecurity concerning the city’s future provoked not only criticism of regulations but also a demand for more of them. The author sensitively detects these ambiguous emotions concerning modern metropolitan space in the second part of the chapter where she investigates concerns about growing criminality, overcrowded spaces, traffic, bad street lighting, accidents, or other manifestations of the “increasing unmanageability of the city [...] related in the first place to the accelerating breakthrough of modern capitalism, as the Liberals took charge in the City Council in the 1860s.” (p. 71) Municipal leaders are blamed for having left several aspects of urbanization, above all housing, in the hands of the capitalist markets. A strong statement in this chapter is that the survey of humorous material shows how “the aspects of the transformation of the city that were most affected by modern capitalism were also those repeatedly criticized in popular humor as chaotic and dysfunctional.” (p. 72)

Further refinement of the *Bürger*’s attitudes to control, regulations, and the authorities in their everyday environment arrives in the third chapter (*City out of Control*) which deals with fears about (publicly) losing control (e.g. falling), and presents examples of laughing at chaos, disorder, and turmoil—situations when the citizen’s body or the city space is more or less out of control. A case developed at length is the comical exploitation of the parallels between the urban landscape dominated by revolutionary barricades and that of construction works. The example

5 Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life.”

6 Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*.

shows how tightly political and spatial order were linked, and also how the images of the 1848 revolution were marked in the citizens' memory. The author's remark ("Despite the fact that it is impossible to know how deep into the unconscious the roots of the humour about 1848 go, I find it safe to say that humour provided the means to ventilate the fears and desires relating to the year of the revolution" p. 113) leads us to a broader question about the use of terms of the book under review.

Interpreting humor as a means of relief is omnipresent in the monograph, and supposedly it is based on a common, internalized Freudian understanding of jokes. As a result, the liberating function of humor is presented as self-evident in a number of examples. I see no problem in analysis resulting in occasionally obvious statements: popular jokes function precisely because they are not over-so-phisticated and they must reveal some kind of common experience or commonly understandable phenomena. There is, however, an unresolved tension between referring to Freud as an unavoidable cultural authority in contemporary Viennese bourgeois thinking and using his ideas to decode humorous material. Hakkarainen accepts Freud's concept that "jokes are socially accepted outlets for taboo subjects and cultural anxiety." (p. 17) But are we still convinced that dreams, slips of the tongue and jokes are direct manifestations of subconscious insecurities and fears? If so, recent literature about the issue would have been welcome. If not, it could have been made clearer when the text analyses contemporary understandings of the *Witzblätter* through the public's supposed Freudian approach; and when, as a historian, the author excavates anxieties corresponding to urban modernity with the help of Freudian interpretation of her sources.

It is nevertheless by commenting on another anxiety—that of losing nature—that Hakkarainen develops one of her most exciting findings. Nostalgia for lost greenery—she argues—"reveals the reactionary and anti-modernist vein from which much of the middle-class popular humor sprang. Yet a longing for nature had something very modern in itself. It is a good example of how late nineteenth-century anti-modernist attitudes emerged from modern experiences, and how resisting modernity acquired thoroughly modern forms of expression." (p. 117) This conclusion fits perfectly into the discourse built by historians of ideas when they claim, for instance that "what we identify heuristically as anti-modernism is in a very complex and entangled relationship with modernism," and that anti-modernism is both a "negative double of modernism" and "the critique of modernism within modernism."⁷ Completing these arguments with empirical material and showing how the ongoing struggle between tradition and progress is translated into the conflict between the natural and the comically unnatural, is highly appreciated.

7 Mishkova, Turda, and Trencsényi, *Discourses of Collective*, 2–3.

Knowing the City, the title of the fourth chapter, is a tricky one: although the author claims that “knowing the city increasingly meant owning the city: memories of the old city distinguished members of the mythical *Wienerthum* from newcomers,” (p. 168) the section is more about how impossible it is to know a city undergoing continuous transformation. Optical illusions, malfunctions of the senses, lost confidence in perception are frequently treated problems in contemporary discourses about modern metropolitan life. This increasingly unfamiliar environment triggered nostalgia for the lost, pre-modern *Alt-Wien*. “It was an imaginary place, a culturally constructed counterpoint to the modern city, representing qualities that were seen to be absent from the contemporary capital: cosiness, security and a sense of community.” (p. 147) Belonging to this lost community is something that makes one a Viennese, and that’s how, through the theme of nostalgia, the book turns towards the huge topic of identity. Two types of comical response to this loss are analyzed in the chapter: caricatures comparing the old and the new city, and personified monuments expressing certain emotions. Humor helps to deal with feelings of loss, which is a collective experience of the *Bürger*—that’s how emotional communities are formed (the term is Barbara H. Rosenwein’s). Interestingly, these emotions had a significant spatial aspect, as “the dichotomy between old and new began to shape the ways of understanding of the urban fabric and city structure;” (p. 150) that is to say everything that was regarded as original and old was concentrated in the city center, while what was new and suspicious appeared in the suburbs. The chapter convincingly demonstrates that humor draws its own mental maps, on which we can find hotspots of modernity’s critique. It is also of interest that this kind of humor, based on common knowledge about the old, and common insecurities about the new, could define the Viennese.

The next, last, and longest chapter (*Urban Types and Characters*) discusses in detail the latter: typical Viennese figures. Emblematic and problematic figures appear in this section: women, Jews, strangers, the underclass. The most ambitious part of the presentation deals with the intersections of gender studies, modernity-theories, and urban history. Starting from the statement that modernity is characterized by the challenging of traditional gender roles, the chapter gives an excellent overview of how urban phenomena reflect the consequences of this shift. The changing city itself is frequently personified as a capricious young woman, changing her clothes and mood all the time. Furthermore, real women were more and more visible—freely circulating in the metropolitan space, creating a disturbance in traditional “normality”. As the modern city was often viewed as a threat to the patriarchal order, anti-modernism was tightly linked to anti-feminism|argues Hakkarainen. As in the previous chapters, the overlapping concepts of gender, modernity, and urban change become readable by means of specific sources: jokes about working women, or about cross-dressers walking on the Ringstrasse—where else?

Likewise, laughter about ethnic minorities and strangers was a convenient way to highlight stereotypes about different groups that were somehow significant in fin-de-siècle Viennese life. The study comments also on the highly problematic relationship between modernity and Jewishness. This huge issue is narrowed down to the question of "how the discourses of Jewishness and of the modern city were linked in the popular humor of the Gründerzeit."(p. 208) Hakkarainen concludes that humorous press, as the creator of a specific discourse on Jews and as a powerful medium, had its role in the rapidly increasing verbal and physical aggression against Jews.

Finally, the chapter pursues the relationship between the city space and urban poverty by examining the role of the underclass in the discussion of modernity. The chapter covers a variety of sub-topics and ends with a conclusion that clarifies their interrelatedness: "As the closer examination of these comical characters has shown, in the Viennese humorous magazines modernity was associated with femininity, internationality, Jewishness and economic inequality. Accordingly, anti-modernist attitudes mingled with anti-feminism, anti-semitism and anti-capitalism."(p. 228)

This conclusion attests once again to the complexity of experiences investigated in the monograph. This thematic richness is consistently completed by a spatial aspect of analysis, by an imagined geography corresponding to the issue in question. The argumentation gains further sophistication and strong empirical support by this proceeding. However, it can be considered both an advantage and a disadvantage of the book that it touches on so many subjects. It permits a richness of thought and a comprehensive overview of modern urban phenomena; on the one hand, it results in a number of rather precipitous encounters on huge themes like psychoanalysis, nationalism, or (inner) colonialism—and their impact on urban change. Precisely because of this diversity of subjects, the text can obviously miss profundity here and there, but in contrast the author exploits her sources in an accurate and creative manner that makes the text not only very readable but also highly insightful. The book will be of great interest to scholars attentive to the refinement of the grand narrative about modernization as a mere history of salvation, just as it will be to urban and Habsburg historians in general.

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The Small World in Which the Great World Holds its Rehearsal

Das Gedächtnis Zentraleuropas: Kulturelle und literarische Projektionen auf eine Region. By Moritz Csáky.
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“Misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past. But a man may wear himself out just as fruitlessly in seeking to understand the past, if he is totally ignorant of the present. [...] [T]he scholar who has no inclination to observe the men, the things, or the events around him will perhaps deserve the title [...] of a useful antiquarian. He would be wise to renounce all claims to that of a historian.”¹

Although Moritz Csáky is less stern than the above-quoted Marc Bloch, because he considers a “general interest in history” equally legitimate grounds for historical research as the intention of orienting ourselves in the present; his latest book demonstrates that for him as well, the study of the past is the path to understanding the problems of our present. The aim of *Das Gedächtnis Zentraleuropas: Kulturelle und literarische Projektionen auf eine Region* is to give a conceptual framework and comparative material to understand the phenomena of globalization. For this, Csáky chooses the study of Central Europe: a region which is defined by difference, plurality, and heterogeneity, a region where conflictual cultural processes once took place that are comparable to the present issues of the globalizing world. This Central Europe escapes virtually all traditional definitions, nevertheless, it gained a concrete political-geographical form in the image of the Habsburg Empire, which consequently provides the focus for Csáky’s book. As a result, historical Austria becomes

1 Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*, 36–37.

once again, to quote the famous poem by Friedrich Hebbel, the “small world” in which the “the great world holds its rehearsal.”² While some four decades ago, it was the problem of modernity that preoccupied researchers of *fin de siècle Vienna*, in Csáky’s vision, it is globalization that the great world rehearsed in the small one, in the Empire of the Habsburgs. Nevertheless, the book provides important perspectives on Viennese modernity as well. It shows that the remarkable achievements of *fin de siècle Vienna* can be attributed to the stimulating nature of a heterogenic cultural context, rather than a hedonistic turn from politics to aesthetics, as Carl E. Schorske argues in his landmark *Fin de siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*.³

Csáky’s latest book can be considered a synthesis of the historian’s main ideas, expounded in a great number of monographs and studies. Hence, it is the outcome of decades of dedicated research. It was around the mid-eighties that Csáky’s interest turned to the field of cultural history. His first major work in this direction was the 1996 *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Moderne: Ein kulturhistorischer Essay zur österreichischen Identität*.⁴ In my view, this has been Csáky’s greatest achievement. Its original structure is exemplary in its ability to transmit the main message about how the genre of the operetta perfectly reflects the cultural plurality of the Central European region. Its historiographical significance lies in its ability to combine the Anglo-Saxon and the Austrian approach to “Vienna 1900.” Austrian historians had been critical of scholars preoccupied with Viennese modernity for using a narrow concept of culture, concentrating solely on “high culture” while completely neglecting the experience of everyday life, the perspective of the “small man” viewing the world.⁵ It was against this academic background that Csáky managed to examine the two levels simultaneously, pointing out the occasions when the two intersected. Additionally, it is striking that while Anglo-Saxon scholars tend to see the Monarchy as an anachronism sentenced to death by its multinational makeup, Csáky, who spent his childhood in a multilingual environment (German, Hungarian, and Slovak), is not startled by this situation; on the contrary, he regards as viable the coexistence of different nationalities in the culturally plural Habsburg Empire. Finally, one cannot but marvel at the scholar’s profound knowledge and genuine love of culture that compares only to the quality of Carl E. Schorske’s work.

According to an interview Csáky gave to the Hungarian *Aetas* review, *Das Gedächtnis Zentraleuropas* had been a long-term project.⁶ Furthermore, it can

2 Hebbel, “Prolog zum 26. Februar 1862.”

3 Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna*.

4 Csáky, *Ideologie der Operette*.

5 Cp. Szívós, “A másik Bécs.”

6 “I am preoccupied with the idea of writing a synthesis of the cultural history of the Central European region.” Deák, “Európa kicsiben,” 240.

be considered a continuation of the operetta book, in the same way as the 2010 *Das Gedächtnis der Städte*,⁷ in which he analyses the plurality of cultures in urban milieus, foremost in Vienna. In his book reviewed here, Csáky develops further some of his ideas already presented in the operetta book, and sheds more light on the background of the phenomena introduced in his book on urban milieus. At first glance, the structure of *Das Gedächtnis Zentraleuropas* falls short in elegance compared to the operetta book. The brief preface is followed by a 120-page “Introduction”, where a series of concepts are presented from the field of cultural studies, which the historian considers useful in dealing with Central Europe. These theoretical and methodological considerations are demonstrated in the following four chapters on four authors: Franz Kafka, Hermann Bahr, Joseph Roth, and Miroslav Krleža. The next two chapters are organized around two specific subjects: the sixth deals with multilingualism, whereas the seventh analyses the creation of the “other”. The final chapter highlights the relevance of the findings for contemporary Europe.

Nevertheless, the banality of the structure is illusory, because there is a constant dialogue between theoretical considerations and their demonstrations, and the chapters dealing with individual writers often change scale and address general problematics. Similarly, the isolation of the theoretical chapter also has a deeper significance than merely facilitating the reading process: by presenting the underlying ideas, Csáky also points to possible paths for future research. The historian probably agrees with François Furet’s assumption that good historical research is above all a question well posed.

Although if approached in this way, the structure of the book may gain new meaning, in terms of representativity, the work still falls short compared to the undertaking on fin de siècle operetta, as it fails to recreate its brilliance. Surprisingly, Csáky does not use his impressive methodological tools at this point (probably the concept of “outillage mental” could have served him well) and short-circuits the question by affirming that literary works represent the current mentality of a society better than diplomatic files.

In the title, a conscious choice is made when the term *Zentraleuropa* (which is already familiar to us from his book on the cities) is used rather than *Mitteleuropa*. The reason is that the latter has severe ideological implications, as it refers to a German cultural imperialist idea. It is worth noting at this point that in the age of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the region was already perceived in different ways, as Csáky informs us. In his synthesis of imperial history published as early as the 1870s, historian Franz Krones stated that studying the cultural history of the Empire’s diverse peoples was necessary to understand the Austrian state,

7 Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte*.

and sharply condemned the view of Austria as a German state, together with the Germanizing tendencies in the Empire's history.⁸ Richard von Kralik, on the other hand, who is primarily considered a literary man but also, in addition to many of his activities, a historian, thought that Germanizing endeavors were not to be condemned, as they were not ordered by the coercive power of the Austrian state but were dictated by a natural cultural process: he saw them as resulting from the superiority of the "unparalleled" German culture.⁹ In my view, we witness the rivalry between the concepts of *Zentraleuropa* and *Mitteleuropa* here, which only reinforces the relevance of Csáky's choice of his concept.

When defining *Zentraleuropa*, Csáky agrees with those writers who emphasize the undefinable nature of the region; however, he is not content with merely affirming this fact. He describes Central Europe as a relational space (relationer Raum), and proclaims a break with traditional mapping, as this visualizes political power relations and demands. The depiction of Central Europe as an enclosed space, the way essentialist conceptions suggest, is not relevant to social and cultural studies. Contrary to these representations, Csáky turns to those thinkers, above all Georg Simmel, Michel De Certeau, Henri Lefebvre, and Yuri M. Lotman, who captured space not as a clearly demarcated unit, but as a performatively created, dynamic process: for them, space is a set of social actions and symbolic codes constructed by social-psychological interactions. Perceived as a space of contact, this region also took on a real territorial form in the image of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire, which can consequently be seen as a historical-political concretization of Central Europe as a close coexistence of different peoples, cultures, languages, religions, and social groups.

Turning to the rest of the work, I find it more expedient to break with the linear presentation; instead, I will proceed along the main concepts introduced in the theoretical introduction, and in reference to them, include the findings in the subsequent demonstrative chapters. Due to its rich implications, the sixth chapter on multilingualism, which I will discuss separately, will be an exception. As a person interested in the Habsburg Empire, I focus primarily on Csáky's contribution to research in this field; nevertheless, this touches on many factors, given the fact that Csáky sees the Empire as a historical-political concretization of *Zentraleuropa*. I also consider it beneficial to present the author's findings and theoretical-methodological considerations by comparing them with the most exciting historical trend in recent research on the Habsburg Empire, usually associated with the name of the American historian, Pieter M. Judson. This has been especially justified since 2016 when Judson presented the most important results of the trend in a grandiose synthesis.¹⁰ This comparison

8 Krones, *Handbuch der Geschichte Oesterreichs*.

9 Kralik, *Österreichische Geschichte*.

10 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*.

will show that the difference between these two important personalities' research into the Empire is mostly imaginary, but in some cases it is real.

Let us start this presentation by examining the concept of *identity*. Although it undoubtedly occupies a central place in Csáky's monograph, he does not pay as much attention to it as to the concepts of *culture*, *frontier*, or *space*. Yet, the term would be worthy of the attention of a researcher with such outstanding theoretical training, both because of its central significance and the recent debates surrounding it. Furthermore, it is also widely used in public life, and Csáky obviously considers it important to distinguish the historian's definitions and findings from ordinary perceptions and from the political use of the concepts. It was precisely the overuse of "identity" that led prominent researchers like Rogers Brubaker to announcing a break with it. In a joint study with Frederick Cooper, Brubaker pointed out, among other things, that the concept of identity is, on the one hand, too static and, on the other, involves too many internal contradictions to be a truly useful analytical tool.¹¹ Judson, who does not usually provide his readers with explicit theoretical considerations, seems to be of the same opinion as Brubaker. Most often, he points out the fact that identity cannot be considered solid but is situation-bound, and is in constant motion, consequently it is more appropriate to speak of identification processes rather than identities. Thus, on several occasions, Judson speaks of self-identification rather than identity.¹² Although Csáky refers to Brubaker, he does not cite his famous study which declares war on the concept of identity. Csáky frequently uses the term, arguing most of the time that one should speak of hybrid identities in relation to Central Europe, which he demonstrates through such cultural icons as Gustav Mahler, who was in a permanent crisis in his quest to reconcile his many-layered identities (Bohemian German, Austrian, and Jewish). In a keynote speech held in Ljubljana, Judson evaluates the term *hybrid identity* as a barren attempt to transcend the fundamental limitations of the concept of identity that prevent us from being able to describe a wide range of identification processes. Csáky himself considers that identity is a multipolar phenomenon, which is constantly evolving, and changing depending on the experiences and the internalization of these experiences. In the meantime, the historian refuses to replace the concept with a term that would express more adequately this aspect of constant movement and change. Obviously a serious feat for them, Csáky strengthens the camp that does not identify with Brubaker's position and thinks the concept of identity is still useful, but draws attention to the importance of the reflected use of the concept.¹³

11 Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond Identity."

12 Judson, "Introduction," 1–18.

13 For example: Abdelal et al., "Identity as a Variable."

Culture is a central notion for Csáky, and Judson's Chapter 6 (*Culture Wars and Wars for Culture*) in the above-cited synthesis, *The Habsburg Empire*, is also organized around this notion. In this chapter, Judson presents how different activists of all stripes of the Austro-Hungarian society referred to the authority of what they called "culture" in order to formulate their vision of the Empire, and sharpened differences with their opponents. In the activists' vision, these "cultures" (of which national culture is crucial, but far from being the only one) were separated by insurmountable contradictions; however, everyday life constantly refuted this assumption.¹⁴ As a result, culture is a notion which historians need to use with extreme caution so that they do not simply reproduce the visions of contemporary activists, which is an error that, according to Judson, many historians have committed in the past. Csáky avoids this trap by defining culture as a dynamic, hybrid and complex space of communication. For him, culture is a set of signs that enables people to make themselves understood; language is only one of many elements. To conceptualize this, Csáky draws on Lotman's theory of the semiosphere, which refers to an abstract yet real space whose essence is heterogeneity. Different signs compete within this space and interact dynamically with each other, their relationship ranging from complete translatability to untranslatability. A flagrant example of the hybrid cultural configurations of Central Europe is the musical world of Vienna. This practice-oriented approach, which sees culture as a set of signs, refutes the concept of national culture that implies a closed, homogenizing, essentialist notion of culture, which is what Judson's activists referred to.

Frontier is central to Lotman's theory of the semiosphere, and consequently also to Csáky's concept of culture. Once again, we have a notion that is of great importance for Judson. In one of his most exciting books, the American historian deconstructed the notion of language frontier. He points out that the view of mixed-language areas as "language frontiers" provided an opportunity for national activists to simplify the complex reality of these regions through the political interpretation of the frontier, which implies a conflicting relationship. It is not so much a real space, but rather the result of activists' efforts to place mixed-language regions in their thinking, which could only make sense to them in the form of nations striving for hegemony at each other's frontiers.¹⁵ Once again, we are faced with a notion the use of which can lead to the adoption of the national activists' worldview. However, this is still not the case with Csáky. He thinks of the frontier in the spirit of Lotman's semiosphere-theory, accordingly, as a zone where the signs cluster. On the one hand, frontiers divide, because different signs, symbols, codes or even people and social groups meet, confront each other, and define themselves

14 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 269–75.

15 Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*.

in their opposition to the other. For nationalist ideologies, frontiers existed only in this sense: they were a zone of forceful conflict, where translation is neither possible nor desirable. Nevertheless, frontiers also unite, as they make communication and interaction possible between the sides. In this way, they can function as a zone of contact, where crossings and translations can be realized. This perception of culture and frontier does not lead Csáky to draw an idealized picture of the Empire. The concurring, contradictory and overlapping communicational spaces (cultures) do not only inspire creativity but also lead to uncertainty, crises, and conflicts as well, which are important characteristics of the Central European region. In his analysis in Chapter Two, Csáky shows how this situation is depicted in Kafka's 1917 novel, where China serves as the metaphor of the empire, where people's inner uncertainty is a greater threat than the invading enemy.

As an editor, organizer, and author, Csáky had been at the forefront of applying current theoretical and methodological trends in research into the region. Thanks to these efforts, important volumes have been published on how such concepts as *lieux de mémoire*,¹⁶ *spatial turn*,¹⁷ or *postcolonialism*¹⁸ can be applied to the history of the region. Postcolonialism stands out as important in the present book as well, foremost in the analysis of Joseph Roth's *Das Falsche Gewicht*. However, several researchers, including Pieter M. Judson, have expressed concerns about the applicability of the postcolonial discourse. In their view, this would confirm the narrative of the nationalist activists. The researcher would thereby introduce concepts into the legitimate scientific language that activists of the era used to manipulatively describe the relationship between their nations and the Empire.¹⁹ Perhaps it is sufficient to cite the example of the Hungarian independents of the Austro-Hungarian Empire who complained about the colonization of Hungary. The past "colonial" status of Poland and Ukraine is also an integral part of the myths of national victimhood critically examined by Csáky in other contexts. In fact, we face the problem that Reinhart Koselleck pointed out in his excellent study of asymmetric counter-concepts: there is a serious danger in learning about historical processes based on the same counter-concepts as those that contemporaries experienced and used for interpreting the world, as these strict dualities are created for their political effectiveness. Historical research should not base its interpretation on the same dualities in which contemporaries interpreted their world.²⁰

16 Le Rider, Csáky, and Sommer, *Transnationale Gedächtnisorte in Zentraleuropa*.

17 Csáky and Leitgeb, *Kommunikation – Gedächtnis – Raum*.

18 Feichtinger, Prutsch, and Csáky, *Habsburg postcolonial*.

19 Cp. Surman, "Postkolonialismus," 181–87.

20 Koselleck, "Zur historisch-politischen Semantik," 211–59.

Thanks to his theoretical reflections, Csáky evades this trap. From postcolonial studies, he primarily adopts the theory of Homi K. Bhabha about the “third space” in order to more fully grasp the processes taking place at the frontier. By third space, Bhabha means a frontier zone, in which migration and mobility take place, and which is in constant movement. It is in this space that cultural codes and traditions meet and mutually influence each other. This third space is not only an abstract notion of cultural history but can actually be identified in the age of Austro-Hungary. These spaces create hybrid identities, which the author demonstrates by evoking the personalities of the writer Scipio Slataper and the composer Gustav Mahler. The notion of third spaces questions the validity of the vision of a homogenous, authentic national culture and thus evades the dangers Judson points out. In fact, it paints a picture of the processes that take place at the frontiers that are similar to what Judson shows in his empirical research.

Nevertheless, it seems that the application of the terminology of postcolonialism has its downsides. Several scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the application of metaphors and notions of the colonial rule to European phenomena leads to a simplifying interpretation, as it divides the world into wrongdoers and victims, and leads to significant nuances being glossed over. To give an example from my field of research: the problem of interpreting the past, which is also an important area in Csáky’s work. Krijn Thijs warns his readers by analyzing the metaphor of the master narrative, that its “master-slave” interpretation according to which master narratives suppress slave stories, while legitimately emerging in a certain colonial context, is inadequate for the analysis of European processes. Instead of a “master-slave” interpretation, he suggests a master-copy interpretation of the master narrative that implies a model-value master narrative that provides a dominant version of the past in terms of its structuring and the meaning attributed to the past.²¹ In this spirit, in connection with the interpretations of history from the imperial center, it is more advisable to think of applying the concepts of *adaptation* and *resilience*. Incidentally, these current concepts of social sciences seem to be applicable in various areas of the Empire’s history, therefore they could have been addressed in Csáky’s long methodological introduction.

In the field of historiography, the case of Václav Vladivoj Tomek is a telling example of adaptation. The work of Tomek, historian at the Charles University in the 1850s, was influenced by the ideas of Leo Thun’s secretary of state for education, Joseph Alexander Helfert. Helfert expected historians to create an identity-creating narrative to project the idea of Great Austria back into history. At first glance, Tomek realized Helfert’s idea, but at the same time reshaped it slightly but noticeably in line with his own Czech-Slavic national sympathies. In his work, Rudolf of

21 Thijs, “The Metaphor of the Master,” 60–74.

Habsburg's victory over the Bohemian King Ottokar was not presented as one of the great moments of the founding of Austria, but a deviation from the road leading to it. The Bohemian king was seen as the first to create an empire comparable to Austria, that, due to his defeat, would come into being only in 1526.²² Clearly, we are not faced with the interpretation of the past forced on the colonized by the colonizer, but with a creative adaptation of the guidelines from the center, which takes local peculiarities into account.

As indicated above, the sixth chapter on the language issue is reviewed separately because of its significant implications. In one of his long studies, Gerald Stourzh, an outstanding researcher of the Habsburg Empire, thoroughly criticizes the concept of national indifference used by Pieter M. Judson (and researchers with similar historical views, such as Tara Zahra and Jeremy King). He acknowledges that certain forms of national indifference could indeed be clearly identified but considers it more important to analyze the Empire's complex linguistic conditions. While national indifference may surely exist, Stourzh argues, linguistic indifference is impossible.²³ The basis of Csáky's analysis is the theory of Robert W. Evans, who considers that the language issue was the most important problem of the Habsburg Empire, and that it was essentially more responsible for its fall than political differences. This is the reason why it is not the political aspects of national conflicts that need to be addressed, but the social history of language. In connection with the use of language, Csáky points to a threefold process that proved to be fatal for the Empire. Multilingualism in the region is a rule rather than an exception (as illustrated by the example of Arthur Koestler), which means not only the knowledge of several languages, but also identification with the social groups and cultures represented by the languages. However, censuses from 1880 onwards required everyone to specify a single language as their language of use (*Umgangsschprache*), which was very far from the actual social practice. This played into the hands of national ideologists, who identified language as a criterion of national belonging. Thus, in the depths of nationalist political battles, the issue of language can be detected. For explaining why national ideologues found language as a criterion of national affiliation, Csáky turns again to the concept of the semiosphere. In the Central European semiosphere, it is a mere illusion that there are homogeneous communication spaces hermeneutically isolated from each other—in fact, there are plenty of contact zones between them. The contact of cultural spaces leads to mixes and similarities that are most evident in everyday life. In essence, only the specific, spoken language has the characteristics that allow for clear differentiation, thus understandably gaining symbolic power in the context of nation-building. This sheds light on why practical

22 Tomek, *Handbuch der österreichischen Geschichte*.

23 Stourzh, "The Ethnicizing of Politics," 283–323.

measures concerning language use could swell into political chaos, as has been the case with the Badeni regulations of 1897.²⁴

Finally, let us go back to the opening idea of this review: Moritz Csáky's research is guided by the contemplation of the present, and high sensitivity to contemporary problems. This does not mean instrumentalizing history, but rather analyzing past phenomena that show structural similarities with today's dilemmas, thus teaching us to conceptualize them. In the last chapter, Csáky gives an explicit overview of the main European dilemmas of our days. Of these, I will only touch briefly on the issue of a common interpretation of the European past. Csáky rejects the ambition to create a common European memory in which the French, Poles and Germans, for example, have a unified image of each historical event. Instead, Europeans should recognize that the memory of their neighbors is as legitimate as their own. Translated into the vocabulary of the *pact mémoriel*, a concept developed by André Burguière,²⁵ this could be formulated in the following way: the European *pact mémoriel* should not be imagined as a forced agreement on a common interpretation of certain historical events, in which the parties end up making compromises far beyond their tolerance leading to a pact that no one really feels their own. Instead, this pact must touch the deeper layers of our thinking and replace the reflex of striving for homogenization and unification at all costs with the intention of accepting diverse experiences.

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²⁴ The regulation of 1897 declared that both Czech and German should be the language of administration in Bohemia, implying that civil servants in the region must know both languages, which outraged German nationalists.

²⁵ Burguière, “Nemzeti örökség,” 145–66.

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