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Making Foreigners in Pre-Modern Central Europe

Introductory Remarks

Julia Burkhardt 

Special editor of the block

This issue of *Historical Studies on Central Europe* deals with ideas of ‘foreignness’ and their usage in pre-modern Europe. In medieval realms, regions, and cities, just as today, ‘otherness’ and ‘foreignness’ served as legitimizing tools. They were particularly used in times of socio-political change, when discourses revolved around the definition of a political community, its members’ claims to specific rights, or around key categories that constituted forms of belonging. While features like kinship, status, religion, or common customs could shape identities in a constructive way, other forms of defining social groups appeared rather destructive, among them attempts to classify people as ‘others’: ‘making foreigners’ could thus serve as an argumentative tool to deny people a significant role in public affairs or to define privileged groups with specific political rights.


Against this backdrop, this issue offers a diachronic and comparative approach to researching argumentative uses of ‘otherness’ and ‘foreignness’ in pre-modern times. The articles assembled with case studies from Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland-Lithuania between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries discuss, why ‘foreignness’ became a political issue in certain phases, how it was semantically framed and what argumentative purpose it was supposed to serve. While our issue does not aim at covering all aspects of the topic, it offers a new approach and seeks to encourage in-depth comparative studies.

The articles in this volume originate from contributions in a session on *Making Foreigners in Pre-Modern Central Europe: Legitimation Strategies in Times of Socio-political Change (14th to 16th Centuries)* organized for the Fourth Biennial MECERN Conference (University of Gdańsk, 7–9 April 2021).¹ I sincerely thank my colleagues for their willingness to contribute to this challenging topic from their research areas. Special thanks go to the editors of this journal, particularly to Balázs Nagy, as well as to our reviewers, who greatly supported us in shaping our approach and realizing it in this issue.

1 See Stöckle, Cynthia. “Tagungsbericht: Networks – Cooperation – Rivalry. The Fourth Biennial Conference of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN), 07. 04. 2021 – 09. 04. 2021 digital (Gdańsk).” *H-Soz-Kult*, 7 September 2021, www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-9051, accessed: 21 November 2022.

Vos autem estis advena

John of Luxembourg and the Political Argument of Foreignness in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia

Christa Birkel 

Institute for Historical Sciences, Department of Medieval History, Heinrich Heine University
Düsseldorf, Universitätsstraße 1, Building 23.32, 40225 Düsseldorf, Germany; christa.birkel@hhu.de

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Abstract. While Count John ‘the Blind’ is celebrated as a national hero in Luxembourg, in 1939 the Czech historian J. Šusta famously coined his image as the ‘King Foreigner’ (*král cizinec*). In fact, due to the murder of the last male Přemyslid, Wenceslas III, for the first time in history, the Kingdom of Bohemia was forced to elevate to king a representative of a non-Bohemian dynasty. To what extent was the first Luxembourg on the Bohemian throne considered ‘foreign’ in fourteenth-century Bohemia? What factors did his contemporaries use to define a potential otherness? The paper shows the phases of the rule of John of Luxembourg where the aspect of ‘foreignness’ determined public discourse, and the goals various groups of actors intended to achieve by recourse to it.

Keywords: Middle Ages, political history, medieval Bohemia, foreignness, medieval historiography

On 18 April 1989, the *Tageblatt*, Luxembourg’s second largest daily newspaper, published the results of a survey which asked the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy to name the most important personalities in Luxembourg’s history. In second place, just behind Grand Duchess Charlotte (1896–1985), who had died four years earlier, was Count John of Luxembourg (1296–1346), also known as ‘the Blind’. To this day, there are numerous references in popular jokes, satire, and fiction to the count, who went blind in his later years. John is also a popular motif in the visual arts, and the composer Laurent Menager dedicated a march, the *Marche Jean l’Aveugle*, to him. In 1346, already completely blind, he rode into the Battle of Crécy as a liegeman of the king of France, where his death created an excellent basis for the mythification of his person. The figure of Count John was used to create identity in Luxembourg’s state- and nation-building processes of the nineteenth century, during which he was quickly stylised as a national hero. To this day, John remains a hugely popular figure in Luxembourg: in 2009, showmen at the annual *Schueberfouer*, a fair which was in

fact founded by Count John in 1340, donated a stained-glass window to the chapel at the *Glacis*, the square where the fair takes place. The window shows the count as a glorious knight in accordance with the heroic myth, demonstrating how the story of John has been passed down through the ages.¹

In Central Europe, where John of Luxembourg ruled as king of Bohemia from 1310/11 to 1346,² the count's image is quite different. Josef Šusta summed up his perception in the catchy formula of the 'King Foreigner' (*král cizinec*) he coined in 1939.³ Over time, however, Czech historiography has abandoned this one-dimensional assessment of John of Luxembourg. For example, Ivan Hlaváček has pointed out that John does not deserve "the mere derisive name of a royal stranger", which describes only one of his many facets.⁴ However, the 'King Foreigner' invites us to examine the extent to which John of Luxembourg was already considered 'foreign' in contemporary Bohemia, moreover, to ask what and whom John's Bohemian contemporaries generally regarded as or called 'foreign'. The mere fact that in 1306, for the first time in their history, after the assassination of the last Přemyslid King, Wenceslas III, the Bohemian elites were forced to raise a representative of a non-Bohemian dynasty to king⁵ gives reason to believe that the 'otherness' of the ruler from outside Bohemia may well have found its way into the political discourse of his time.

State of research and key questions

The topic of identity and community formation as well as the emergence of a sense of belonging and togetherness in medieval Bohemia is a 'well-tilled field'. According to Martin Nodl, nationalism and national consciousness in medieval Bohemia are "among the most discussed questions in Czech medieval studies."⁶ František Graus and František Šmahel have worked extensively on this issue since the 1960s.⁷

1 Maas, "Johann der Blinde, emblematische Heldengestalt"; Margue, "Jean l'Aveugle, prince idéal."

2 Margue, "Die Erbtochter," 38.

3 Šusta, *České dějiny*; Schlotheuber, "Die Bedeutung von Sprachen," 359; Schlotheuber, "Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«,," 116. In this tradition, Jörg K. Hoensch entitled the first chapter dedicated to John of Luxembourg in his well-known monograph on the Luxembourgs "King Foreigner as Ruler of Bohemia", Hoensch, *Die Luxemburger*, 51.

4 Hlaváček, "Johann der Blinde," 166.

5 Bobková, "Das Königspaar Johann und Elisabeth," 47.

6 Nodl, "Nationalismus und Nationalbewusstsein," 187, with reference to the most important research literature in footnote 3, 189–90, as well as Jaworski, "Zur Frage vormoderner Nationalismen," 398.

7 Graus, "Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins"; Šmahel, "Česká anomálie?"; Šmahel, "The Idea of the »Nation« in Hussite Bohemia," and the more detailed Czech-language version published two years later Šmahel, *Idea národa v husitských Čechách*; Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen*.

As recently as 2021, Šmahel published a new monograph on Bohemia at the end of the Middle Ages, in which he also revisits the national question.⁸ The topic has hardly lost any of its popularity and still continues to fascinate. Instead of focusing once again on the direct reference points that brought about the cohesion of a community in medieval Bohemia,⁹ the main purpose of this brief overview is to trace what Rainer Schwinges has called ‘negative solidarity’: the solidarity of a social group, which may present itself in contrast to other groups.¹⁰ Janosch Freuding has recently highlighted again that people tend to react to their own insecurities with strategies of othering in order to make ‘the foreign’ more foreign and ‘their own’ more their own—an idea that will also be considered here.¹¹ Since it is not the intent of this paper to deal with these negative elements of defining communities exhaustively, our remarks start from the assumption that the demarcation of the ‘indigenous ethnic group’ from foreigners in Bohemia “predominantly had the character of a Czech–German antagonism”, which will be outlined here on the basis of the research literature, thus made accessible for comparison.¹²

A review of the literature makes clear the central position of the chronicles produced in late medieval Bohemia for the investigation of the topic.¹³ Therefore, this paper proceeds as follows: based on the most important narrative sources of the fourteenth century and the relevant literature, first, the following questions will be addressed:

- Who raised the aspect of ‘foreignness’? (II)
- What were the factors used to define ‘foreignness’, and how were notions of ‘foreignness’ expressed linguistically? (III)
- When were thoughts about one’s own otherness or the otherness of others expressed publicly? What conclusions can we draw from these findings about the motives and intentions of the authors of such ideas? (IV)

After this stocktaking, the scope for future studies on the topic will be explored as well as the potential for research arising from a deeper study of the documentary source material (V).

8 Šmahel, *Europas Mitte in Bewegung*.

9 They are, among others, treated by Schwinges, “»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation.” On the five sources of identity of the early medieval *Bohemi* according to Cosmas, Kalhous, *Bohemi*, 82.

10 Schwinges, “»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation,” 506.

11 Freuding, *Fremdheitserfahrungen und Othering*, 47.

12 Šmahel, *Europas Mitte in Bewegung*, 248. On the perception of other groups of strangers by medieval Bohemian authors, Marani-Moravová, *Peter von Zittau*, 164–81; Adde, “Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil”; Aurast, “»Nachbarn« als Fremde?”

13 Jaworski, “Zur Frage vormoderner Nationalismen,” 409.

Origins of the issue of 'foreignness'

As in other regions, the discussion of 'foreignness' in Bohemia is directly linked to the emergence of a 'we-feeling'. According to František Graus, this sense of belonging can be traced back to the eleventh century and initially manifested itself in ecclesiastical circles.¹⁴ An early testimony to the demarcation of one's own community from other communities is the *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague, who died in 1125.¹⁵ When the demographics of Bohemia changed fundamentally in the course of the so-called 'Eastern settlement',¹⁶ this also had an impact on the question of the 'us' and 'others' dichotomy. In the thirteenth century, the Přemyslid kings and other important Bohemian territorial lords invited in German colonists. In order to advance mining and expand the urban system, Ottokar II needed craftsmen and specialists, who left their homeland further west, heading for Bohemia.¹⁷ At the same time, the migration of German merchants to Bohemia was already in full swing. Meanwhile, enclosed German-speaking settlement areas emerged in Bohemia, and a German-speaking patriciate gradually developed in the cities. Soon, two groups speaking different languages—the Czechs and the Germans—lived side by side on Bohemian territory. Around 1300, the German population in Bohemia represented one sixth of the total population.¹⁸ Up to the second half of the fourteenth century, the patrician class in Prague's Old Town was ethnically majority German.¹⁹

For the first time since the Brandenburg administration of Bohemia following the death of Ottokar II in 1278, after the assassination of Wenceslas III in 1306, the inhabitants of the kingdom were confronted with the eventuality that Czech might not be the natural language of their future ruler.²⁰ In 1310, this eventuality became reality when John of Luxembourg, who was partially educated at the French royal court,

14 Graus, "Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins," 21. With Schwinges, "»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation," 508, it should be pointed out that the clergy formed the group of people who were able to record anything in writing at that time.

15 Aurast, *Fremde, Freunde, Feinde*; Kalhous, *Bohemi*, 81; Aurast, "Wir und die Anderen"; Jaworski, "Zur Frage vormoderner Nationalismen," 406; Hilsch, "Cosmas von Prag"; Schwinges, "»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation," 499.

16 Graus, "Die Problematik der deutschen Ostsiedlung."

17 Adde, "Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik," 122; Adde, "Les »Diplômes inauguraux«," 10; Adde, "Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil," 43–45; Hilsch, "*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*," 106.

18 Adde, "Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik," 122; Hoensch, *Geschichte Böhmens*, 100.

19 Šmahel, *Europas Mitte in Bewegung*, 241–46; Adde, "Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik," 122.

20 Graus, "Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins," 25–26.

spoke fluent German and French, and understood Latin,²¹ prevailed in the race to the Bohemian throne. The early phase of his reign saw the creation and dissemination of a second key source for our topic—the *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'*, the first chronicle in the Czech language, whose historical account ends with the 1310 accession of John of Luxembourg. Its still unidentified author described the last two decades of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century from his personal experience and wrote his chronicle in the interest of the Czech nobility.²² According to Peter Hilsch, the negative image of foreigners is the “most striking feature of the chronicle.”²³ On the basis of lexical analyses, Éloïse Adde has specified that, on the other hand, no ‘group of foreigners’ carried such a negative connotation as the Germans.²⁴ In any case, the chronicle can be seen as clear evidence that, by the beginning of the fourteenth century at the latest, ‘foreignness’ was more than an exclusively ecclesiastical concern.²⁵ The pamphlet *De Theotunicis bonum dictamen* is classified by František Šmahel as the “earliest manifestation of a bourgeois national self-confidence.”²⁶ While Wilhelm Wostry dated the anonymous pamphlet, written in an urban milieu, to the second quarter of the fourteenth century,²⁷ Czech medievalists now agree that the document should be assigned to the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁸

In addition, the *Zbraslav Chronicle* also informs us that categories such as ‘sameness’ and ‘otherness’ have certainly been considered by the Czech nobility in the context of political decision-making. According to the accounts of Peter of Zittau, whose historical work is considered extremely credible, the barons preferred John of Luxembourg to Walram, brother of the Roman King Henry VII, because in view of his youth, John would learn the customs of the country more easily than Walram, who was about thirty years old at that time.²⁹

21 Schlotheuber, “Die Bedeutung von Sprachen”, 357; Hoensch, *Die Luxemburger*, 25.

22 Adde, “Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik,” 119–20; Adde, “Environnement textuel et réception du texte medieval,” 169; Adde, *La Chronique de Dalimil*, 9–11; Hilsch, “Die Königsaller Chronik und ihre Autoren,” 15; Adde, “Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil,” 12; Wolf, “Deutsche sind Fremde?,” 109; Hilsch, “Johann der Blinde,” 26–27; Hilsch, “*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*,” 105; Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen*, 219; Schwinges, “»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation,” 512; Jaworski, “Zur Frage vormoderner Nationalismen,” 407; Graus, “Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins,” 28.

23 Hilsch, “*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*,” 105.

24 Adde, “Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil,” 31–32.

25 Graus, “Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins,” 29–32.

26 Šmahel, *Europas Mitte in Bewegung*, 251.

27 Wostry, “Ein deutschfeindliches Pamphlet aus Böhmen,” 214.

28 Šmahel, *Europas Mitte in Bewegung*, 251; Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen*, 222.

29 “Inter illos vero viros, qui communi profectui Bohemie intendebant, quidam dicebant: Ecce, rex iste gloriosus Romanorum filium habet Johannem et fratrem Walramum; unum igitur

Factors defining 'foreignness' and their formulation

One of the major factors that determined 'foreignness' in fourteenth-century Bohemia is customs. Thus, 'Dalimil' discusses a Duke Soběslav II (1173–1178), who when talking about his sons' education at the imperial court, is concerned that his descendants might forget the Czech language and customs there.³⁰ Twenty years after the accession of John of Luxembourg to Bohemia, the Abbot of the Zbraslav Monastery, Peter of Zittau, wrote about the novelties regarding customs (*De novitatibus morum*). On the one hand, he recognised developments—and not for the better—in changing fashions: long beards instead of short-cropped, burnt-in curls, long and pointed hats, short and skimpy sleeves, tight boots, and beaked shoes displaced the common style of dress.³¹ Like 'Dalimil', he considered the tournament system introduced by the Germans a 'bad habit', which contributed to the general moral decline.³² Peter of Zittau attributed the origin of this societal change to the popular unreflected adoption of the habits of the 'various lords' who had ruled over the Kingdom since the extinction of the Přemyslids, the 'natural' kings

ex hiis duobus ab ipso postulabimus, cui venustam nostram puellam Elizabeth, regni nostri filiam, matrimonialiter copulabimus. Sic fiet Deo regente in regno Bohemie novus rex et nova lex et bona. Hec autem et talis facta est longi consilii brevis conclusio, quod plus expediat filius quam frater regis regno. Dixerunt enim: Adolescens iste faciliter mores terre nostre discet, cum filiis nostris crescet, ipsosque ex hoc semper plus diliget, et ipse, quasi in regno natus sit, ab universis indigenis dilectior fiet," Emler, ed., "Petri Zittaviensis Cronica Aule Regie," Book I, Chapter 95; Schlotheuber, "Die Bedeutung von Sprachen," 358; Schlotheuber, "Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«,," 114–15.

30 Brom, ed., *Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*, Chapter 68. Adde, *La Chronique de Dalimil*, 226; Adde, "Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil," 19.

31 "Sunt quidam istorum mirabilium inventorum, qui more barbarorum barbas longas nutriunt, nec has radunt. Sunt et alii, qui dignitatem deformando virilem morem secuntur in crinibus per omnia muliebrem; alii crines suos in latum more lanificum percuciant in rotundum auretenusque diffundunt; alii calamistro crines tornant, ut comis crispantibus et circumvolantibus humeros suos ornent. Mitrarum usus, qui fuit primitus, nunc penitus est abrasus. [...] Curta et arta cum quadam menda circa cubitum dependente in tunica, que quasi auris circumvolat asinina, iam iam videntur plurium vestimenta. Pilea longa superiusque acuta, diversimode colorata portantur in urbibus, plus in via. Nullum iam cernimus tam contemptum in agris arantem rusticum, qui non deferat latum capucium et oblongum. De caligis et sotularibus crura et pedes artissime stringentibus senibus et prudentibus sepe admiracio fit et risus. Nunc clerici parvas crinibus suis tectas deferunt in capitibus coronas, magnos vero in lateribus gladios et cultellos; e contra raro videmus laicum, qui in cingulo zonam non habeat ad orandum. Tanta ac talis surrexit abusio ac novitatum detestabilium inventio, quod eas non solus, sed cum pluribus reprehendo et describere ipsas nolo," Emler, ed., "Petri Zittaviensis Cronica Aule Regie," Book II, Chapter 23; Marani-Moravová, *Peter von Zittau*, 185; Schlotheuber, "Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«,," 106.

32 Schlotheuber, "Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«,," 121–22; Graus, "Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins," 27; Hilsch, "Johann der Blinde," 25.

of Bohemia.³³ Francis of Prague later adopted Peter's *De novitatibus morum* chapter almost in its entirety for his chronicle, giving it the title *De novitatibus morum, que temporibus regis Johannis ortum habuerunt* (on novel customs which arose in the time of King John).³⁴

However, in medieval Bohemia, language is usually emphasised as the most significant criterion for distinguishing between natives and foreigners.³⁵ For example, 'Dalimil' recommends to John of Luxembourg at the beginning of his reign that he should only tolerate Czech nobles in his council. He advises the barons to consider only persons of their own 'tongue' in the election of the king and to disregard foreigners.³⁶ In the *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'*, the 'tongue' (*jazyk*) functions as the most important criterion of classification, which is even more significant than social characteristics, such as class.³⁷ As an example, the author cites the story of Duke Oldřich (1012–1033/34), who preferred to marry a Czech peasant woman rather than a German princess, because she would bring up her children in the German language.³⁸

Lack of language skills as a sign of foreignness is also encountered in the *Zbraslav Chronicle*: Peter of Zittau, for example, informs his readers that it was considered a great evil that the first wife of Charles IV, Blanche of Valois, spoke only French.³⁹ Eva Schlotheuber also suggests that language was the decisive distinguishing feature between the native and the foreigner for the interpretation of a passage in the *Vita Caroli*, the autobiography of Charles IV. The scene in question is one in which Charles's account has certain Bohemian nobles appear in front of his father,

33 "Nam post naturalium regum interitum passa est Boemia diversum multiplexque dominium, de quo accepit morum consuetudines diversorum," Emler, ed., "Petri Zittaviensis Cronica Aule Regie," Book II, Chapter 23; Schlotheuber, "Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«," 107; Wostry, "Ein deutschfeindliches Pamphlet aus Böhmen," 212–13.

34 Emler, ed., "Chronicon Francisci Pragensis," 404; Marani-Moravová, *Peter von Zittau*, 185.

35 Graus, "Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins," 40.

36 Brom, ed., *Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*, Chapter 103; Schlotheuber, "Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«," 117.

37 Hilsch, "*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*," 106.

38 "Raději sě chci s šlechtěnú sedlků českú smieti než králevú německú za ženu jmieti. Vřet každému srdce po jazyku svému, a pro to Němkyně méně bude přieti lidu mému. Němkyni německú čeled bude jmieti a německy bude učiti mé děti," Brom, ed., *Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*, Chapter 42; Adde, "Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik," 127; Adde, *La Chronique de Dalimil*, 108; Adde, "Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil," 48; Hilsch, "*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*," 105–6; Schwinges, "»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation," 520.

39 "Magno habemus pro gravamine quod ipsa solum loquitur in sermone Gallico," Emler, ed., "Petri Zittaviensis Cronica Aule Regie," Book III, Chapter 2; Schlotheuber, "Die Bedeutung von Sprachen," 361.

King John. The representatives of the high nobility had asked the king to be wary of his son Charles, for he held numerous castles in the country, saying Charles could drive his father out of the realm if he wished, for he was the heir to the kingdom, was of Bohemian descent, and highly esteemed by the Bohemians.⁴⁰ However, *Vos autem estis advena*: “you are a stranger”, the nobles would remind John of Luxembourg.⁴¹ With recourse to Giles of Rome, Eva Schlotheuber makes a plausible case that, in the medieval imagination, a person who was sent as an adult to regions where the language was clearly different from their mother tongue could be judged as eternally foreign (*semper ... advenam*), for that person would hardly ever learn to really speak the local language, no matter how long they stayed there, and consequently the inhabitants of the country would always perceive them as a foreigner.⁴²

Returning to Bohemian sources from the fourteenth century, we should point out that language is not a universal characteristic for determining affiliation. This becomes clear, among others, in the *Theotunicis bonum dictamen*, when the author addresses the reader with the following words:

“May anger not seize you, native, who uses the German language, for among men I consider the use of different languages a gift of God. Those I mark are those who leave their homeland, enter foreign realms and regions like foxes, rule here like lions and are finally driven out like dogs.”⁴³

According to the anonymous author, ‘being native’ and speaking the German language are not mutually exclusive. The fact that German does not necessarily have to be a hallmark of an *alienigena* can be demonstrated in other contexts as well. For example, Abbot of the Zbraslav Monastery Peter of Zittau came from a region that, starting from the reign of King Ottokar II (1253–1278), belonged to the Kingdom of Bohemia but where the use of the German language was dominant.⁴⁴ He nevertheless

40 “Accedentes patrem nostrum sibi suggesserunt dicentes: Domine! provideatis vobis, filius vester habet in regno multa castra et magnam sequelam ex parte vestri; unde si diu ita prevalebit, expellet vos, quando voluerit; nam et ipse heres regni et de stirpe regum Boemie est, et multum diligitur a Boemis, [...]” Emler, ed., “Vita Caroli IV,” Chapter 8; Schlotheuber, “Die Bedeutung von Sprachen,” 360.

41 Emler, ed., “Vita Caroli IV,” Chapter 8.

42 Schlotheuber, “Die Bedeutung von Sprachen,” 360–61.

43 “Non movearis ira, qui idiomate Theutunico frueris, indigena. Nam apud homines diversitate linguarum fruentem donum deicum fore pono. Quos denoto, noto eos, qui relicto natali solo aliena regna seu regiones vulpine intrant, leonine regnant et expellentur ultimo velud canes, De Theotunicis bonum dictamen,” quoted from Wostry, “Ein deutschfeindliches Pamphlet aus Böhmen,” 232.

44 Marani-Moravová, *Peter von Zittau*, 76.

speaks of *nos Bohemi* (we Bohemians) in his chronicle as a matter of course.⁴⁵ This shows that although he was German-speaking, he saw himself as Bohemian.⁴⁶

Public expression of otherness

When Cosmas of Prague wrote about Bohemians and Germans, the structural and social circumstances were different than in the early fourteenth century, when the last-mentioned sources have been written. In Cosmas's time, the Germans were indeed still strangers in the sense that they did not inhabit the same land as the Czech-speaking population. Yet, the Kingdom of Bohemia was part of the Holy Roman Empire, even though it enjoyed a special position. It was not until 1344, during its elevation to archbishopric, that the bishopric of Prague was detached from the ecclesiastical province of Mainz. The Bohemian Church was subordinated to the archbishopric of Mainz until that time, and thus we may assume a certain competition between the Bohemian and German clergy.⁴⁷ This presumed rivalry proves to be very probable with regard to the filling of the most important offices—especially that of the bishopric of Prague: Until the end of the twelfth century, less than a quarter of the bishops of Prague were Czech.⁴⁸

The *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'* was written between 1310 and 1314, thus is synchronous with the change of dynasty in favour of the House of Luxembourg in Bohemia. It was under the influence of another ruler coming from abroad, after Rudolf of Habsburg (1306–1307) and Henry of Carinthia (1307–1310) had already failed to assert themselves as successors to the Přemyslids.⁴⁹ John of Luxembourg brought along a large retinue and numerous advisors, especially from the Rhineland and Luxembourg.⁵⁰ At the same time, the consequences of German settlement now began to clearly emerge, as the economically potent German-speaking patriciate sought to assert itself politically as well—the “original” political community pro-

45 Emler, ed., “Petri Zittaviensis Cronica Aule Regie,” Book I, Chapter 71; Marani-Moravová, *Peter von Zittau*, 78–79; Adde, “Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik,” 123, also cites the example of Gerlach, the abbot of Milevsko, who speaks analogously of *gens nostra* in his account.

46 Ševčík, “Deutsche als Fremde und Einheimische,” 122.

47 Jaworski, “Zur Frage vormoderner Nationalismen,” 407; Graus, “Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins,” 23, 25; Leithold, *Cosmas und die Deutschen*; Leithold, “Cosmas und die Deutschen,” 206.

48 Schwinges, “»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation,” 507–8.

49 Adde, *La Chronique de Dalimil*, 34–41; Adde, “Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil,” 48–49.

50 Schlotheuber, “Die Bedeutung von Sprachen,” 358; Schlotheuber, “Die »größtmögliche Veränderung«,” 110; Abdullahi, “Johann der Blinde”; Hoensch, *Die Luxemburger*, 53–54.

moted by ‘Dalimil’ thus found itself exposed to a multi-layered threat.⁵¹

In his study “The Foreign as an Argument”, Oliver Näpel concludes that a negative portrayal of the foreigner was particularly prevalent in such times of crisis. By degrading the stranger to the point of inhumanity, resistance and his exclusion were thus legitimised, while strengthening the own group’s collective identity.⁵² This theoretical consideration is very much in line with the prevailing research finding that ‘Dalimil’ wanted to present a political programme, an ideology that was not only intended to make the Czech nobility aware of the danger posed by the Germans but was also meant to help them assert or regain their former position.⁵³ With his strong emphasis on the linguistic aspect, the author chose a feature that made it possible to exclude the disagreeable competitors, who were striving for power everywhere.⁵⁴

While Peter of Zittau was aware of the conflicts between natives and foreigners in the kingdom, he labelled them as politically or economically rather than ethnically motivated. This is why he discusses the demonstrative ‘patriotism’ of the ‘self-less’ nobility with an ironic undertone.⁵⁵ Not least for this reason, František Graus

51 Adde, “Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil,” 48; Graus, “Die Problematik der deutschen Ostsiedlung,” 32.

52 Näpel, *Das Fremde als Argument*, 186, 188.

53 Adde, “Environnement textuel et réception du texte medieval,” 170; Adde, “Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik,” 120; Adde, “Les étrangers dans la Chronique de Dalimil,” 52.

54 In this context, Graus, “Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins,” 40, refers to language as the “most important protective wall of their own nationality”. In the same sense, Schwinges, “»Primäre« und »sekundäre« Nation,” 519, speaks of a “narrow and impermeable band for speakers of other languages”.

55 “A principio ingressione sue in Bohemiam inclitus Johannes rex iuxta se frequenter plurimos de Alemania comites ac nobiles sapientia quam potencia insignes habere consueverat, quorum fretus consilio singula fere sui regni negocia disponebat, quibus et vicissim regalia beneficia et officia conferebat. Videntes autem regni Bohemie barones se nonnunquam a secretis regis tractatibus sequestrari, lucrumque et pecunias, quas prius tollere didicerant, extere nationis manibus attraheri, invidia, que prosperis insidiatur alienis eventibus, in quorundam magnatum cordibus non distulit nerviciter radicari. [...] Unde regni nobiles crebro privata concilia et familiaria colloquia celebrant, vias omnes, quas valent, palliata sollicitudine ad eliminandum de regno Alemanos excogitant, demum regalibus aspectibus talibus cum affatibus se presentant: Domine, inquiunt, rex vestra naturalis industria liquido regni statum et condicionem hominum intelligit, nichilominus tamen et de hoc exponere ipsa fides, qua vobis astringimur, enucleacius nos compellit. Ecce isti hospites, qui in regno sunt, simul avaricie student, fiscum regium eviscerant, solum ad hoc cura frequens ipsos sollicitat, ut pecunias per fasque nefasque congregent et deducant, castra et beneficia regni plura occupant, et tamen pacem in stratis facere non sufficiunt nec laborant. Nobis autem, qui in regno nati et regi famulari parati sumus, si domine rex vos curaretis credere atque beneficia terre committere, optime valeretur hec omnia dispendia precavere, per vos pax fieret, rex et regnum proficeret, et que sic modo deducitur, in regno pecunia remaneret,” Emler, ed., “Petri

highlights competition as the reason for the emergence of the negative images of foreigners, especially with regard to Germans: “The driving force of the antagonisms,” says Graus, “clearly appears in the sources to be the self-interest of certain classes”⁵⁶ and “their tangible power-political interests” made “the lords zealous advocates of their ‘national’ interests.”⁵⁷ Although I generally share Graus’s thesis, speaking of ‘certain classes’ seems too general and needs to be examined in greater detail. Specifically, Hilsch emphasises that by no means were all high nobles and clerics dissatisfied with the government of John of Luxembourg.⁵⁸ He makes this point, for example, by noting that the *Chronicle of ‘Dalimil’* was translated into German during the last years of the reign of John of Luxembourg (1342–1346) and that parts of it were changed in this context. It is striking that during this translation process, in many cases, the word ‘German’ was replaced by the more neutral term ‘foreign.’⁵⁹ However, it is important to stress that the author did not regard German Bohemians as foreigners. This becomes particularly clear, when the translator declares Duke Soběslav I (1125–1140)—in ‘Dalimil’s’ view a ‘friend of the Czechs’ (*přítelé českého*)—to be *der Tutschin vient im lande* (the enemy of the Germans in the country). The translator explains the reason for his decision to change the terminology in the following verses, which are an extension of the original version:

“Whoever reviles the Germans
and ostracises them in Bohemia,
is not righteous in my eyes.”⁶⁰

In addition to occasional insertions, the author of the German-language *Chronicle of ‘Dalimil’* altered in particular the last chapter of his model, deleting ‘Dalimil’s’ advice to King John without replacement. In this version of the chronicle, John of Luxembourg was thus not urged to choose his advisors exclusively from the ranks of Czech-speaking barons. Taking into account the translator’s excellent knowledge of inner-city conditions and the Christian-pious remarks that

Zittaviensis Cronica Aule Regie,” Book I, Chapter 126; Hilsch, “Die Königsaal Chronik und ihre Autoren,” 16.

56 Graus, “Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins,” 35–36.

57 Graus, “Die Bildung eines Nationalbewußtseins,” 46.

58 Hilsch, “*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*,” 114.

59 In the German version of the chronicle, for example, Duke Oldřich, prefers a Bohemian peasant woman to the daughter of a foreign king, Brom, ed., *Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*, Chapter 42; Adde, “Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik,” 127; Hilsch, “*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*,” 107.

60 “Wer dy Tutschin smecht und in Behem land echt, den hab ich nit vor frum, Brom, ed., *Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*,” Chapter 68; Adde, “Die deutschsprachige Übersetzung der Dalimil-Chronik,” 128; Hilsch, “*Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant*,” 107.

he repeatedly interspersed, Hilsch comes to the conclusion that the *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'* was translated into German by a member of the Order of the Cross with the Red Star.⁶¹ John of Luxembourg was a special benefactor of the latter, which may have been a reason for his positive memory of the Luxembourg.⁶²

Returning to the context in which the Czech-language version of the *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'* was written, it was the early period of John of Luxembourg's reign over Bohemia, when he had to establish and consolidate his rule. The *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'* is not the only document stirring anti-foreigner sentiment at a time of a change of rule. At the beginning of the so-called *Brno Codex*, which also contains the *Chronicle of 'Dalimil'*, there is a copy of a pamphlet "to warn loyal Bohemians" (*Krátké sebráníe*) against the Germans in general, and against the election of a Bohemian king of German origin in particular. The original was most probably written around the turn of the year 1437–1438 and opposed the election of Albert V of Austria as king of Bohemia after the death of Sigismund of Luxembourg.⁶³ Once again, a publicly disseminated piece sought to polarise public opinion during a change of ruler, certainly aware that this phase usually set the course for the future organisation of rule.

Scope for future studies

In contrast to the often-consulted chronicles, the surviving documentary material has been used far less with regard to questions of diversity, its risks, and opportunities. Based on preliminary analyses of John of Luxembourg's 'administrative staff', Peter Moraw concluded that the leading families of the Bohemian nobility are hardly attested in the king's regular council and are not to be counted among his inner court.⁶⁴ However, Moraw's lists remained a torso and need to be expanded. Thanks to advancing source editions,⁶⁵ it will soon be possible to study John's personal environment between his dominions in Bohemia and Luxembourg in a much more differentiated way:

61 Hilsch, "Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant," 111, 115.

62 Hilsch, "Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant," 114.

63 Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen*, 221; Graus, "Die Problematik der deutschen Ostsiedlung," 33; Wostry, "Ein deutscheindliches Pamphlet aus Böhmen," 204.

64 Moraw, "Über den Hof Johannis von Luxemburg und Böhmen," 114–20.

65 At the University of Luxembourg, the charters of John of Luxembourg held in Belgian, German, French, and Luxembourg archives have been successively edited in the past 25 years, Pettiau and Salemmé, eds, *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch*, vol. 11, part 3; Estgen et al., eds, *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch*, vol. 11, 2 parts. A further volume containing the charters of John of Luxembourg from the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz is available in manuscript form and will be published soon.

Whose advice did the king of Bohemia regularly seek? Who were the members of his court, and who were active in his chancellery? How diverse was the group of those involved in governance? How static or flexible was the composition of this group of people? Who participated in which processes? Which were the constellations of rule that found acceptance, and which were the ones that met with resistance? What was the integrative power that emanated from the ruler's environment? For whom was the foreign king a genuine burden, and for whom was it more of an opportunity? Does a comprehensive evaluation of the documentary material actually confirm the thesis of a correlation between political exclusion and the emergence of strategies of othering? These are just a few issues that are worth exploring in order to better understand how foreigners were 'made' in pre-modern Central Europe.⁶⁶

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Argumentative Uses of ‘Otherness’ and ‘Foreignness’ in Pre-Modern Political Debates in Central Europe

Julia Burkhardt 

Chair of Medieval History, Faculty of History and the Arts, History Department, Ludwig Maximilian’s University, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 Munich, Germany; julia.burkhardt@lmu.de

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Abstract. The article investigates political debates about royal succession and noble participation in fifteenth-century Hungary. The political language of that time was often marked by strong references to ‘own’ (seemingly ‘national’) identities and aspects of ‘foreignness’ that were regarded as (or at least argumentatively marked as) unwelcome. While references like this have been interpreted as supposed proof of a pre-modern form of xenophobia, this article suggests analysing the complexity of political structures, the various layers of communication with different legitimization strategies, and forms of conflict escalation. Drawing from recent sociological studies, medieval discourses and semantics of ‘foreignness’ can then be understood as means of shaping identities and legitimizing claims for societal participation.

Keywords: Medieval Hungary, political history, foreignness, political language, royal succession

Seen from today’s perspective, the topic of ‘otherness’ and ‘foreignness’ as a legitimization strategy in pre-modern Europe is of rather sad relevance: in many regions of the world, in different countries and different social contexts, politicians, publicists and populists use the argument of ‘foreignness’ in political debate. By marking certain people as ‘different’ they try to construct national, cultural or religious ‘identities’ that not only include certain people, but consequently also exclude certain groups for various reasons (among them ethnicity, race, religion, and physical disposition probably being the most frequently referred to parameters).¹ Besides these rather damaging references to ideas of ‘foreignness’ and ‘otherness’, narrations and reflections upon these terms also fruitfully enter political debates about inclusion and exclusion as components of cultural heritage.²

1 This phenomenon has attracted broad attention in sociological and historical research. For some examples of current debates, see Brylla and Lipiński, eds, *Im Clash der Identitäten*; Liebsch, *Europäische Ungastlichkeit*; Buchenhorst, ed., *Von Fremdheit lernen*.

2 Kowalski, Piekarska-Duraj, and Törnquist-Plewa, eds, *Narrating Otherness in Poland and Sweden*.

Just as today, 'otherness' and 'foreignness' were referred to and used as legitimizing tools in previous centuries. In pre-modern Europe, these terms were often applied as argumentative strategies in times of socio-political change, when discourses usually touched on the most fundamental social aspects: they revolved around the definition of a political community, claims of its members to specific rights and prerogatives, or around key categories that constitute forms of belonging.³ Features like kinship, status, religion, or common customs could shape identities in a constructive way.⁴ Other fashions of defining social groups were rather destructive, such as the classification of people as 'others' in order to deny them a significant role in public affairs.⁵

In history, art history, literary and theological studies, the topic of 'foreignness' and 'otherness' in the Middle Ages has been dealt with in great detail and from different perspectives. Previous studies were dedicated to perceptual⁶ or migration history,⁷ offered interdisciplinary⁸ and transcultural perspectives,⁹ focused on visual culture,¹⁰ on inclusive social mechanisms (under the premises of diversity studies),¹¹ analyzed the developments of medieval concepts of 'nation'¹² or discussed the existence of 'racism' and race/ethnicity in the Middle Ages.¹³ In contrast, the analysis of the relevant semantics in relation to their function in political discourse played a rather subordinate role.¹⁴

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- 3 Schnabel-Schüle, "Herrschaftswechsel"; Rock, *Herrscherwechsel*; Bartlett, *Blood Royal*, 397–428. Cp. also Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues, Santos Silva, and Spangler, eds, *Dynastic Change*.
 - 4 Gingrich and Lutter, "Kinship and gender relations"; Gingrich and Lutter, eds, *Visions of Community*.
 - 5 Coskun and Lutz, eds, *Fremd und rechtlos*, cp. especially the Editors' Introduction, 9–56.
 - 6 See the latest volumes: Vercamer and Pleszczyński, eds, *Germans and Poles in the Middle Ages*; Goetz and Wood, eds, *Otherness in the Middle Ages*. See also Aurast, *Fremde, Freunde, Feinde* and the contributions in: Classen, ed., *Meeting the Foreign*.
 - 7 For a sociological perspective, see Lang-Wjtasik, ed., *Vertrautheit und Fremdheit*.
 - 8 López Quiroga, Kazanski, and Ivanišević, eds, *Entangled Identities*.
 - 9 Gaupp and Pelillo-Hestermeyer, eds, *Diversity and Otherness*.
 - 10 Schober and Hipfl, eds, *Wir und die Anderen*; Saurma-Jeltsch, "Facets of Otherness"; Bradbury and Moseley-Christian, eds, *Gender, Otherness, and Culture*; Jaritz "Visual Image."
 - 11 Bernhardt, ed., *Inklusive Geschichte*; Rutz, ed., *Die Stadt und die Anderen*.
 - 12 See for example Šmahel, "Idea of nation"; Šmahel, "Divided Nation"; Szűcs, *Nation und Geschichte*, Graus, *Nationenbildung*; Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism*.
 - 13 Vernon, *The Black Middle Ages*; Heng, *The Invention of Race*. Cp. also the critical remarks by Schiel, "Rezension."
 - 14 Cp. Münkler, "Sprache als konstitutives Element"; Strohschneider, "Fremde in der Vormoderne"; Koller, "Die Fremdherrschaft."

Of course, we cannot close this gap satisfactorily with our special issue of *Historical Studies on Central Europe*.¹⁵ Still, we would like to offer a new approach by discussing argumentative usages of ‘otherness’ and ‘foreignness’ as legitimization strategies in pre-modern Europe and encourage in-depth comparative studies. With case studies from Hungary, Bohemia¹⁶ and Poland-Lithuania¹⁷ between the fourteenth and sixteenth century, we offer a comparative approach to the topic that permits taking into account *longue-durée* continuities in addition to dynamics and changes. We are interested in the reasons why ‘foreignness’ became a political issue in times of upheaval or change. Analytically, this perspective includes both the groups that referred to it, and the semantical expressions of ‘foreignness’. Based on this, we seek to explore the connotations of ‘otherness’ and ‘foreignness’ in political debates and their meaning: In what way did the use of ‘foreignness’ meet argumentative purposes?

Dynastic changes in fifteenth-century Hungary

I would like to exemplify this approach with some remarks on debates about royal succession and noble participation in fifteenth-century Hungary, thus exposing the complexity of political structures and the various layers of communication in the discourses of that time. Drawing from recent sociological studies, medieval discourses and semantics of ‘foreignness’ will be interpreted as means of shaping forms of belongings and legitimizing claims for societal participation.

Such debates often took place in dynastic transformation phases, which included both the establishment of ‘new’ families as ruling dynasties and the subsequent process of coping with those changes discursively.¹⁸ Fundamental dynastic changes did not mean only the establishment of new ruling families. Rather, with every change of rule, disputes between the pretenders to the throne, the accompanying ‘new’ and the previous ‘old’ elite evolved, concerning claims to rule and political participation. In addition to internal constellations, external actors in the context of the European balance of power also had decisive influence on the respective

15 The articles published in this volume were presented in a session on *Making Foreigners in Pre-Modern Central Europe: Legitimization Strategies in Times of Socio-political Change (14th–16th c.)* organized by Julia Burkhardt for the for the Fourth Biennial MECERN Conference (University of Gdańsk, 7–9 April 2021). On the conference, see Stöckle, “Tagungsbericht”. My contribution summarizes key aspects I developed and present in different German language articles (currently being in print). See the forthcoming articles Burkhardt, “Fremde Herrscher”; Burkhardt, “Waffengewalt und Wortgefechte” and Burkhardt, “Communitas regni.”

16 Birkel, “Vos autem estis advena”; Žurek, “Indigenous, or Foreign.”

17 Klymenko, “The Fasting of the Others.”

18 Cp. Hartmann, “Thronfolgen.”

outcome of such conflicts. Numerous contemporary sources document that the decisive events of dynastic transformation phases and the struggle over claims to power and political participation not only appear relevant from the retrospective perspective of historians, but also had a profound effect on the social and political structures of the countries in question. Chronicles, legal texts and polemics document how multifaceted the arguments about the legitimacy of the change of rule and political access rights were. Legal issues such as the dynastic right to vote and the noble election of kings were compared and weighed up and thus determined who decided on the assignment of the royal dignity, or who confirmed it.¹⁹

In regard to the considerable number of dynastic changes, but at the same time also the variety of the socio-political constellations underlying these changes, the late medieval kingdom of Hungary is a particularly fascinating case: between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth century Hungarian kings represented no less than five noble families, a variety that mirrored both the dynastic changes in that period as well as the number of competing families in that region (1. Angevin–Luxembourg 1382/95; 2. Luxembourg–Habsburg–Jagiellonian 1437/40; 3. Habsburg–Hunyadi 1458; 4. Hunyadi–Jagiellonian–Habsburg 1490/1526).²⁰ These transitions turned out to be formative processes that fundamentally shaped the political, material, economic and cultural structures of the kingdom. Dynastic transformation phases were complex and multiple competitive situations, with strong influence from both internal as well as external actors, including the competing pretenders to the throne, various noble parties and foreign stakeholders such as emperors, popes and neighboring princes. The fact that parties formed around the respective candidates resulted from the logic of dynastic upheavals and 'throne disputes'. However, these were no fundamental 'divisions', but rather temporary frictions. And although contemporaries reflected on these developments, sometimes perceiving them as instable or even programmatically complained about their disruptive character, we cannot determine that these situational conflict lines had any discernible effect beyond the actual disputes.

The political language of these debates was, however, continually marked by strong reference to 'own' (seemingly 'national') identities and aspects of 'foreignness' that were regarded as (or at least argumentatively marked as) unwelcome. This is

19 For an introduction, see Rock, "Depositions"; Dumolyn and Haemers, "A Bad Chicken"; Dumolyn and Haemers, "Political Poems."

20 Engel, Kristó, and Kubinyi, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale*; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*; Süttő, "Der Dynastiewechsel"; Burkhardt, "Das Erbe der Frauen"; Mályusz, "Az első Habsburg"; Hödl, *Albrecht II*; Dybaś and Tringli, eds, *Das Wiener Fürstentreffen*. Of course, one should not forget the dynastic change from Árpád to Angevin in the early fourteenth century, see Burkhardt, "Regno Ungarie". Since arguments of 'foreignness' did play a role here as well, it would be interesting to compare possible argumentative continuities; this, however, is a task for further studies.

astonishing in various ways. Since the earliest times, the Hungarian Kingdom had been a multi-cultural entity:²¹ Hungarian kings had settled merchants, scholars and lawyers from other countries in the country or accepted them into their entourage, while well-developed trade routes connected the country with merchants and diplomats from other regions.²² Still, 'otherness' and 'foreignness' remained arguments that were continuously used in political debates, either to deny individuals or groups political participation (exclusive function) or to strengthen the position of one or another group (inclusive function).

In a remarkable way, these connections gained importance during and after the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).²³ Sigismund's ascension to the Hungarian throne was based on his wife's (Mary of Hungary's) position, who had followed her father Louis I (also known as Louis the Great, Hungarian king 1342–82; Polish king 1370–82) to the Hungarian throne in 1382.²⁴ His path to the crown, however, had not been easy. After Mary's succession, several magnate factions that tried to exert influence on the young queen competed for rule and fought against candidates for the throne and against each other with both weapons and words. Consequently, instead of Sigismund's rise to power occurring automatically, it had to be carefully negotiated in 1387. When several influential nobles agreed upon his coronation, they made it dependent upon certain conditions. Among them were royal promises such as relying on the nobles' and prelates' advice, keeping the alliance with his electorate, and protecting the crown, the country and its inhabitants. One particular passage is dedicated to the question of 'foreigners': Sigismund promised not to appoint 'foreign' persons to royal offices.²⁵ Here, the idea of different identities—a 'foreign' identity and a 'local' Hungarian one—became relevant in an astonishingly clear way. Sigismund's royal promise tied his policy to the nobles' consent and thus equipped the nobles with means of exerting pressure. The following years would show that they knew how to make use of it: continuous debates about the 'foreign' counsellors of King Sigismund marked the years after his coronation in 1387. Although Sigismund tried to rearrange the court structure and office holders to his advantage, the noble elite continued to claim political influence when Queen Mary died in 1395 (without having given birth to an heir) and Sigismund was left to rule alone.

21 For a short overview, see Romhányi, "Ethnische und religiöse Minderheiten."

22 Fügedi, "Das mittelalterliche Ungarn"; for discussions on current approaches again Romhányi, "Ethnische und religiöse Minderheiten." See also Bak, "A Kingdom of Many Languages"; Szende, "Alter alterius lingua loquatur"; Szende, "Iure Theutonico"; Kubinyi, "Deutsche und Nicht-Deutsche"; Belzyt, "Demographische Entwicklung"; Belzyt, "Die Deutschen um 1500"; Fedeles, "Ausländer."

23 Cp. for the following also my previous study Burkhardt, "Frictions and Fictions."

24 Hoensch, "Verlobungen und Ehen"; Mielke, *The Archaeology*, 225–62.

25 Document no. 5, in: Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 132–33, here 133.

When after the disastrous defeat at Nicopolis (1396) a diet was held to discuss reforms in the country, the position of the king and his advisors was at stake again. The 1397 diet of Temesvár established that Sigismund should dismiss all foreigners (*alienigeni, advenae*) and expulse them from the kingdom. As János Bak has convincingly argued, the term *alienigeni* ('these who are foreign born') was probably not meant as a national as much as a social distinction in order to protect the privileges of the aristocratic elite.²⁶ And indeed, Hungarian nobles almost constantly referred to their role as the decisive voice in relation to both Mary's acceptance as Hungarian queen and Sigismund's ascension to the throne. The election or approbation of the monarch served as the basis for their claims to political participation in relation to joint responsibility for the realm (in both its domestic and in foreign affairs) and to the representation of the realm itself. Continuous attempts by the nobility to secure a certain degree of participation in a *regnum* that was considered to be much more than just a 'king's realm' and the resulting tensions between the rule of an individual and the necessary consent of a *communitas* hence characterized the beginnings of Sigismund's reign.

This intertwined relation became relevant again when a small group of nobles revolted against the king in 1401.²⁷ The context and origin of this revolt are, however, not recorded in detail: as far as we know, a small group of nobles accused the king of neglecting his royal duties and of damaging the well-being of the realm; Sigismund was captured and imprisoned, while a council of nobles was established in order to deal with day-to-day governmental needs. According to an anonymous German chronicle from the fifteenth century, the conflict had its roots in Sigismund's refusal of the nobles' plea not to employ foreigners in official positions (just as he had promised in 1397).²⁸ As long as Sigismund acted according to their demands and consequently dismissed the foreigners in his employ (the nobles argued), they would consider him to be king. If he did not follow their wishes, he would be a prisoner. Although Sigismund unsurprisingly insisted on his sovereignty, he was taken captive by the armed nobles shortly afterwards.²⁹

26 Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 29. Decree of October 1397, In: Bak, Engel and Sweeney, eds, *The Laws*, 21–28, here art. 48 at page 24: "Preterea eisdem regnicolis necnon ad eorundem instantiam annuimus, ut omnes et quoslibet homines nostros alienigenas et advenas de dicto regno nostro emittimus et emitti faciemus [...]. Nec amodo et deinceps plures homines advenas, seculares videlicet et ecclesiasticos ad honores seculares et beneficia ecclesiastica promovebimus nec predictis auctoritatem promovendi committimus [...]."

27 Burkhardt, "Ein Königreich im Wandel."

28 Cardauns, ed., "Chronik über Sigmund"; on the rebellion and following rule of the nobles, see Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn*, 59–69.

29 On Sigismund's foreign councillors, see Prajda, "The Florentine Scolari Family"; Arany, "Florentine Families"; Beinhoff, *Die Italiener*; Dvořáková, *Rytier a jeho kral*; Sroka, *Polacy na Węgrzech*.

By using the argument of Sigismund's employment of foreigners, the nobles tried to defend their ancient privileges and, when that did not work, to impose them by force. Again, a council of nobles was established in order to decide upon political matters within the realm; it justified its engagement with references to the *corona regni*, thereby claiming to act on behalf of the realm even without the king.³⁰ This remained, however, only a temporary solution: after the king's release in October 1401, a 'mutual reconciliation' between Sigismund and the nobles was officially announced during a meeting in Pápa.³¹ In the following years, Sigismund applied effective long-term measures to secure his position and to integrate former opponents: in 1405, he married Barbara of Cilli—a queen who was born within the borders of the Hungarian realm. Agreeing to marry Barbara of Cilli thus not only meant that Sigismund could secure the loyalty and support of Barbara's family; it also meant that there would be fewer foreign courtiers in the queen's retinue. Furthermore, Sigismund gave offices and estates to loyal supporters in Hungary, and finally, the founding of the Dragon Order in 1408 (undertaken together with Barbara) can be interpreted as a means of integrating active or potential opponents.³²

Debates about the position of 'foreigners' in the king's service and entourage would, however, not calm down. When Sigismund died in 1437, his daughter Elisabeth of Luxembourg and her husband Duke Albert of Habsburg succeeded the king in Hungary. Elisabeth was the only child of Sigismund of Luxembourg and his wife Barbara of Cilli. When Sigismund and his wife realized that no other children were to be expected, they raised and treated Elisabeth as the heiress to their realms—publicly calling her the "rightful heir and successor in all of [Sigismund's] kingdoms, principalities and dominions".³³

As the last descendants of their respective families, heiresses were the key to dynastic continuity.³⁴ They were closely related to their territories, being regarded

30 See the contributions in Hellmann, ed., *Corona regni*; on later usages of the term, see Weinrich, "Natio Pannonica."

31 Document no. VIII, in: Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus*, 75–77.

32 Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 75–85; Lövei, "Drachenorden." On Barbara, see Dvořáková, *Barbara of Cilli*.

33 "...und wann die vorgenannte Elizabeth noch aller unserr kunigreich, furstentume und herscheffe rechte geerbe und nachfolgerynne ist..." Inheritance agreement 28 Sept 1421, no. 6, in: Elbel, Bárta, and Ziegler, "Die Heirat", here 145–147, quote at 146. Should Sigismund father further daughters, Elisabeth would either be allocated one of the kingdoms or should select herself. See also Heimann, "Herrscherfamilie und Herrschaftspraxis."

34 'Heir' (in the male form, Latin *haeres*) was the word that would be used by medieval contemporaries, while the term 'heiress' should be understood as a modern term (created in the seventeenth century) to describe female heirs. Cp. Bartlett, *Blood Royal*, 124–54. Parts of the following text are also presented in my forthcoming article Burkhardt, "Heiresses, Regents, and Patrons."

as the embodiment of political heritage and thus as the bearers of claims to the throne.³⁵ Obtaining the support of the local nobility was thus of utmost importance in order to have their rights—and, of course, those of their respective husbands—acknowledged and accepted.³⁶ Still, this also meant that their husbands could be regarded as 'alien' or 'foreigners' in the new territories. The political language of that time could thus be marked by strong references to 'own' (seemingly 'national') identities and aspects of 'foreignness' that were regarded as (or at least argumentatively marked as) unwelcome. In these times of political uncertainty, polemic recourses to different forms of identity seemed to be of crucial importance: cultural or linguistic characteristics were used to semantically form groups of belonging and, consequently, to exclude opponents as "foreigners".

In 1437, this exact case arose when Sigismund died: Albert and Elisabeth were accepted as king and queen by Hungarian nobles and crowned in January 1438. The couple had to fight hard for the approval of the local nobility in Hungary and thus had to consent to certain conditions of their kingship.³⁷ In a charter dating from December 1437, Albert and Elisabeth promised to respect and maintain the laws and privileges of the kingdom and the nobility. Among the promises was the assurance they would only appoint Hungarian-born individuals to office—a passage similar to that in earlier royal decrees such as Sigismund's.³⁸ Two years later, King Albert was forced to repeat these coronation promises: his continuous absence from the country and a riot in Budapest that culminated in the king's imprisonment had caused severe discontent among the nobles.³⁹ On 29 May 1439, Albert gave his consent to a bundle of provisions that linked his kingship in the lands of the crown of St Stephen to various conditions.⁴⁰ Among several promises regarding matters of defence and dynastic affairs that resembled earlier ones, Albert also consented that

35 Holt, "Feudal Society."

36 Margue, "Die Erbtöchter"; Margue, "L'épouse."

37 On the protests against the couple, see Dvořáková, "Smrt Žigmunda Luxemburského."

38 Document from 17/31 December 1437, no. 8a, in: M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 136–38, quote at 137: "Item alienigenis et forensibus hominibus cuiuscumque nationis et lingue official in ipso regno non commitemus, ne castra, fortalitia, metas possessiones, honores, prelaturas, baronias absque consilio consiliariorum nostrorum Hungarie conferemus, [...] Item supra maritacione filiarum nostrarum agemus secundum consilia nostrorum consanguineorum [sic], nostrorum consiliariorum et aliarum terrigenarum nostrarum."

39 Cp. Burkhardt, "Albert's II Composite Monarchy"; on Albert, see also (though with a focus on Germany) Hödl, *Albrecht II*.

40 The following passage focuses on Albert's promises regarding his position as king. It needs to be mentioned, though, that he also tried to resolve the conflict between different 'burgher' groups in Buda by decreeing in relation to a new parity arrangement between the Germans and Hungarians in the governance of Buda. See on this Rady, "Government."

no offices would be given to strangers.⁴¹ Additionally, another passage specifically referred to Queen Elizabeth, obliging her, as the heiress, to also do without foreigners in her court.⁴²

Explicitly, the law differentiated between “foreigners” (*alienigenae, forenses, extranei*) as defined by origin and language on the one hand and nobles or inhabitants of the Hungarian realm (*incolae regni, terrigenae*) on the other.⁴³ Again, neither the content of the law nor the semantics applied here were new. Rather, the renewed royal promise marked the growing influence of the nobles in the kingdom and (in the concrete situation of the urban riots) exploitation of Albert’s precarious situation in the castle by the nobles in order to transform their interests into legal form.⁴⁴

The argument of ‘foreignness’ was by no means unusual—neither for Albert’s situation nor for periods of dynastic change in medieval Central Europe.⁴⁵ Accusing a ruler of being foreign or employing foreign councillors provided the opposition with the opportunity to shape their own position: while dynastic arguments remained pivotal in the debates of the time, the participation of the political community also grew in importance—and forms of belonging (such as belonging to a certain political community) were among the mightiest arguments.⁴⁶

In the following decades, the different groups ‘foreigners’ vs. ‘residents’ were specified and redefined using qualitative categories: In addition to linguistic and national criteria, suitability characteristics were used in order to make the Hungarians appear ‘capable people’ and the ‘foreigners’ a threat to the realm. In 1495, this development was expressed in quite a drastic form in a decree on church law (issued not

41 See Bak, ed., *Online Decreta*, Law of King Albert 29 May 1439, 497–517, esp. art. 5 at page 499. On the political background, cp. Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 39–41; see also Liktör, “Az első Habsburg-Magyarország”, esp. 230–39.

42 Cp., See Bak, ed., *Online Decreta*, Law of King Albert 29 May 1439, 497–517, here art. 12 at page 500: “Item quod dispositio pro serenissima principe domina Elizabeth regina et eius status honoris conservatione ex quo est heres huius regni, fiat ubicunque vult in regno, sic tamen, quod ipsa domina regina honores et officiolatus suos non extraneis et alienigenis, sed incolis huius regni, quibuscunque maluerit, conferendi et collatos, dum sibi placuerit, ab eis secundum suum arbitrium habeat facultatem auferendi.”

43 For instructive methodological suggestions on the use of language in times of political conflict, see Dumolyn and Haemers, “Bad Chicken.”

44 This is at least suggested in a contemporary song entitled “Of King Albert and the Hungarians” (“Von König Albrecht und den Ungarn”), written by a certain Chipphenwerger, probably a servant to the king. Printed in von Liliencron, ed., *Die historischen Volkslieder*, no. 75, 366–71. On the sources, see Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 340–44.

45 See my forthcoming article Burkhardt, “Fremde Herrscher.”

46 Burkhardt, “Frictions and Fictions.” On foreignness as an argument in times of political change, see Bartlett, *Blood Royal*, 397–428; Sobiesiak, “Czechs and Germans”; Aurast, *Fremde, Freunde, Feinde*.

unanimously, but against the veto of the prelates and barons): according to the law, it was even possible to throw 'strangers' in the water (=drown them) as "public disturbers of the liberty of the realm" if they had "obtained for themselves some ecclesiastical benefices from other than the royal majesty or those who have the right of patronage".⁴⁷

Another example of a much-discussed source in regard to 'foreignness' dates from the time of King Vladislaus II (1490–1516 Hungarian king; 1471–1516 Bohemian king): the so-called Rákös resolution of 1505.⁴⁸ After Hungarian nobles had communicated the need to meet and discuss current political issues at a diet, King Vladislaus finally convened the diet in the fall of 1505. The resolution, agreed upon during the assembly "by the nobles and lords of the Hungarian Kingdom", stated that when the throne was vacant, no foreigner could be elected Hungarian king. Instead, the diet could only nominate an "appropriate and suitable Hungarian" ("Hungarus aptus et idoneus"); foreign candidates, on the other hand, should be denied access to the throne because they would only bring "harm and danger" to the realm.⁴⁹ Although the law of 1505 never came into force, the text was circulated and thus found its way into contemporary political polemics. Since the early sixteenth century, political pamphlets were published in Hungary together with the resolutions of the diet, so that the discourse reflected in these laws was diversified and widely spread.⁵⁰

In order to understand the—from today's perspective somewhat misleading—words of the resolution, it is necessary to interpret the decree against the background of the political and dynastic history of late medieval Hungary. In 1490, when Vladislaus II, who until then had been king of Bohemia, succeeded the famous Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), it was mainly due to the nobility's support. The resolution focuses on securing the noble right to elect and approve the king—in a situation when the ruling king did not yet have a successor (the longed-for male heir Louis II was born in 1506), the insistence on noble participation rights appears

47 Decree by King Vladislaus II (1495), in: Bak, ed., *Online Decreta*, 889–918, here art. 31 at page 897 (English quote at pages 910–11): "Quod si aliqui forenses homines ab aliis, quam a regia maiestate vel illis, qui in hoc regno super quocunque beneficio ecclesiastico ius patronatus, quo hactenus uti fuissent, habent, aliqua beneficia ecclesiastica pro se procurarent et huiusmodi procuracione ius sibi in eisdem contra antiquam libertatem regni vendicantes in eisdem beneficiis residere auderent aut attemptarent, quod tales omnes et singuli, si deprehendi poterunt, ad aquam proiciantur, tanquam publici libertatis regni turbatores." On the political context, see Rady, "Rethinking Jagiello Hungary" and Mályusz, *Das Konstanzer Konzil*.

48 On Vladislaus and his "foreign" entourage, see the latest findings by Kozák, "Courtiers, Diplomats, Servants". See also Neumann, "Dienstleister der Dynastie."

49 Resolution as document no. 16 in Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 158–59.

50 Rady, "Rethinking Jagiello Hungary", esp. 14–15.

to be rather a pragmatic instrument for handling possible dynastic contingencies. Against this backdrop, the 1505 resolution seems to illustrate the rise in power of the Hungarian nobility rather than represent a document of contemporary xenophobia. Instead, the resolution explicitly referenced the responsibility of the noble community (*natio*) for the common good of the country and hence defined and codified the political influence of the noble estates.⁵¹

‘Otherness’ and ‘foreignness’ as social constructs

Still, sources like the quoted royal promises or noble statements have repeatedly been interpreted as supposed proof of an early and purportedly xenophobic Hungarian national consciousness. In contrast to simplifying interpretations such as these, I would like to argue that we should investigate the complexity of political structures, the various layers of communication with different legitimization strategies, and forms of conflict escalation: while dynastic tradition and respective arguments such as continuity, suitability, and family ties obviously were pivotal aspects in the debates of the time, the participation of the political community became more and more important. The examples I have examined so far offer no reason to believe that an ethnically, linguistically, or culturally determinable nation was meant. Rather, the term “foreigners” or “foreigners” was usually applied in a general, unspecific way, which points to the question of contemporary linguistic usage and the functional logic of this reasoning.⁵²

In Hungary, among the most frequently used terms were the words *externus*, *extraneus* and *forensis* as well as *advena* and *alienigena*. The first three can be translated as ‘outsiders’. The terms *externus*, *extraneus* and *forensis* were usually used in the Middle Ages to make it clear that someone stood ‘outside’ a social community—for example, that they did not legally and territorially belong to an urban community. The words *alienigena* and *advena*, on the other hand, had a different nuance: they denoted people who were “foreign-born” (*alienigena*) or who had “immigrated” from another area (*advena*); i.e., those who could be distinguished on the basis of their origin. Despite semantic differences, all of these terms had one thing in common: They fundamentally marked a difference between the ‘other’ or ‘foreign’ and one’s ‘own’.

Against this backdrop, ‘foreignness’ should not be understood as a xenophobic category *strictu sensu*. Drawing from recent sociological work, we should rather understand medieval discourses and semantics of ‘foreignness’ as means of shaping

51 Szűcs, *Nation und Geschichte*. See also Kubinyi, “Az 1505. évi rákosi országgyűlés” on contemporary perceptions and interpretations of the decree.

52 Guerra, “Being Foreigner”; Kortüm, “Advena sum.”

forms of belonging: Distancing oneself from 'foreigners' and their specific customs allowed for defining and legitimizing one's claim to societal participation. This intertwined relation was most prominently described by the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918) in his essay "The Stranger" (1908):

"Being-strange [...] is of course an entirely positive relation, a specific form of reciprocal interaction; the inhabitants of Sirius are not actually strange to us [...] rather they entirely do not exist for us, they stand beyond near and far. The stranger is an element of the group itself, not unlike the poor and the manifold «inner enemies»—an element whose immanent position as member simultaneously encloses something external and juxtaposed." As Elizabeth Goodstein put it, "«Being-strange» [was] thus not a role but a relationship of reciprocal interaction, a form of social life that implicates both subject and other."⁵³

Building on sociological approaches to 'foreignness' as a social construct and argumentative tool in times of socio-political change, the argumentative use of 'otherness' and 'foreignness' in times of socio-political transition periods appears in a new light: not only was it discussed *that* new rulers came to power, but that they 'had come to stay' and had therefore, together with their entourage, claimed a prominent position in the kingdom. The classification of rulers and their entourage as 'foreign' consequently not only referred to the relationship between the 'new king' and the 'old elite'; it also put the power balance of local elites in a tense position between trust and mistrust. In contrast to 'the strangers' and the characteristics attributed to them, one's own identity could be more clearly contoured and thus one's own claim to power better legitimized. If we understand 'otherness' and 'foreignness' as attributions or constructs in social relations, pre-modern recourses to these terms can also be understood more adequately as argumentation strategies deployed to cope with certain political and societal developments.⁵⁴

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53 Quote after Goodstein, "Simmel's Stranger", quote at page 248; Simmel, "Exkurs." Cp. also Stichweh, "Der Fremde"; McLemore, "Simmel's 'Stranger'"; Marotta, "Georg Simmel."

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Indigenous or Foreign?

The Role of Origin in the Debate about the Suitable Candidate in Electing Bohemian Kings in the Fifteenth Century

Václav Žůrek 

Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Jilská 1. Praha 1, 110 00 Czech Republic;
zurek@flu.cas.cz

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Abstract. In fifteenth-century Bohemia, the natural continuity of succeeding kings was interrupted, and the political situation resulted in searching for a new king and organizing the election. This procedure provoked comments on candidates from supporters and opponents. One of the criteria discussed was the candidate's origins. His labelling as a foreigner, or emphasis on alien origin and mother tongue was very often part of the strategy to defame the potential king. The article analyses how this specific criterion was integrated into other requirements to challenge the candidate's idoneity, introducing the various uses of this argument in contemporary sources.

Keywords: Middle Ages, medieval Bohemia, foreignness, George of Poděbrady, Hussites, medieval elections

The idea of determining a suitable candidate for a leading position through an election was not unfamiliar to the Middle Ages; on the contrary, it was standard practice in many contexts. We can refer to church dignitaries or to representatives of cities and universities. In all these cases, the election was conducted according to fixed procedures. In the case of the election of the king, the situation was more complicated, since the dominant model was hereditary succession to the throne, which constituted and symbolized greater stability. Although some medieval authors of theoretical treatises suggested that choosing the monarch by election could lead to the selection of a more suitable candidate, the need for a stable transition from generation to generation had its major advantage not only in the continuity of lineage, but also in predictability.¹ In this paper, I am deliberately leaving aside the very specific example of the election of a Roman king by the prince electors.²

1 Cp. Peltzer, *Idoneität. Eine Ordnungskategorie oder eine Frage des Rangs?*

2 Begert, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Kurkollegs.*

Even in hereditary monarchies, an election was undertaken when the principle of heredity was disturbed by the extinction of the domestic dynasty. In Central Europe, in Poland, Hungary and Bohemia around the year 1300, the original domestic dynasty died out, and thereafter foreign kings were elected and enthroned in various ways, foreign dynasties ruled and for a long time. Usually, at such moments, topics related to foreignness and its political significance formed part of the political negotiations and communication.

In medieval Bohemia, the Přemyslid dynasty died out in 1306, then during the so-called ‘interregnum’ lasting until 1310, the king was elected (*electus*), but this act had no precise regulations and contemporary commentators did not see the act as a suitable and meaningful instrument.³ The chronicler Peter of Zittau’s rather caustic remark about the foolish people “who do not know what they ask for, and do not know what the person they elect is like”⁴ is a good example. In this case, ‘the people’ obviously refers to the so-called ‘political society’ (*société politique*), i.e., the nobility together with the representatives of the urban and ecclesiastical elites.⁵ The troubled period ended in 1310 with the election and accession of John of Luxembourg, who brought the Luxembourg dynasty to Bohemia. It was his personality that became a major theme in the perception of John as a foreigner on the throne, as shown in detail by Christa Birkel’s contribution in this issue of the journal.⁶

In Bohemia, the right to elect their own king was traditionally rooted in a privilege inserted in the so-called ‘Golden Bull of Sicily’ of 1212, which gave Bohemian rulers a hereditary royal title. In addition to defining the electors, in its confirmation of 1348, Charles IV stipulated that the election would only take place if there were no legitimate male or female heirs.⁷

Such an absolute absence of possible heirs rarely occurred in the fifteenth century; nevertheless, there were several more or less successful elections of a Bohemian king in the period after the armed phase of the Hussite Revolution (1420–1434), especially after the end of the reign of the Luxembourgs (until 1437) and before the

3 The extinction of the dynasty in 1306 was followed by a politically troubled period, as the rapid successions of the kings Rudolf of Habsburg (1306–1307) and Henry of Carinthia (1306; 1307–1310) did not allow the establishment and securing of stable royal power.

4 The note refers to the election of Rudolf of Habsburg as King of Bohemia in 1306, or the choice between him and Henry of Carinthia. *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, 109–10: “Henricum [...] pro rege sibi postulat et eligit, quia nescit gens stulta, quid postulat, et qualis sit, quem eligit, ignorat.”

5 It is a social stratum involved in deciding the fate of the entire country. Cp. for instance the approach of Cazelles, *Société politique, noblesse et couronne*.

6 Birkel, “*Vos autem estis advena*”. Cp. Adde, “Élire le roi.”

7 On the Golden Bull, see Wihoda, *Die Sizilischen goldenen Bullen von 1212*. For the confirmation, see *Archivum coronae regni Bohemiae* Vol. 1/2, no. 51, 43–47. Cp. Tresp, “Gewalt bei böhmischen Königswahlen.”

accession of the Jagiellonians (1471). My article will focus on these elections, specifically on the identification and assessment of the potential candidate, the perception of his 'national' identity, and the 'domestic' or 'foreign' labelling in the context of the pre-election campaign.

The electoral principle or mode of choosing a candidate for the throne emphasizes the importance of the complex discourse regarding the appropriate king and his suitability (idoneity). At the same time, it places more emphasis on the personal characteristics of the monarch, his origins, the perspectives of a hereditary title for his family, etc. Potential kings are assessed and evaluated. Moreover, as for example today, these conditions allow for a real campaign in favour of their candidate, which is often based on a negative assessment of the opponent. While there are few relevant extant sources, we can learn many things about the importance of the 'national' identity of candidates. The election usually occurs in a situation of crisis, conflict, and instability; therefore, communication is often rather escalated.

As František Šmahel shows in his seminal study, the idea of a promoter and defender of the right confession was intertwined with the concept of the 'true Czech' coined by Czech Utraquist scholars, and thus the two claims were combined. According to this idea, an appropriate Bohemian king had to be both a true Czech and an Utraquist.⁸

This opinion was repeatedly expressed on most occasions and it also worked the other way around, i.e., not only was the candidate's foreignness emphasised, but also his Catholic belief could be used as a reason for rejection.

In this article, I will discuss selected examples of elections in a chronological order, because the royal election and its course and reflection had a certain development, which culminated in 1458 with the election of George of Poděbrady. Based on the analysis of these different examples, I will then offer analytical insight and conclusions.

The development of the Bohemian royal elections begins at the end of the reign of Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), when the authority of the royal power, on the one hand, gradually declined and, on the other, resistance to the eventual heir Sigismund of Luxembourg grew. This was certainly related to the confessional separation of the Utraquists from the Catholic Church, which was in majority. Sigismund, as the convener and protector of the Council of Constance and the ruler associated with the condemnation of Jan Hus, had no chance of gaining the sympathy of a large part of the Bohemian lords. Moreover, he was perceived as the one who led the crusade against the Bohemians.

8 Šmahel, *Idea národa v husitských Čechách*. This book was first published in 1971. See also Šmahel, "The Idea of the Nation in Hussite Bohemia". Another important book covers only the time before 1400, see Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter*.

Probably the awareness that the Bohemian royal title should be elective, combined with a general opposition, led to the rejection of the rightful heir to the throne and his secretly and hastily executed coronation being perceived as invalid.⁹ In a situation of exacerbated confessional discord, the consensus on not electing Sigismund was widely shared.¹⁰

It was in the atmosphere of emerging political and military conflicts that the originally purely political discourse on the idoneity of a candidate included, in addition to the emphasis on the appropriate nationality (Czech), the confessional aspect. The exacerbated mood gave the country's elites self-confidence. The rejection of Sigismund as an enemy of divine law and a tyrant undeserving of royal dignity grew out of the Hussite theory of the just ruler, and was primarily the work of Utraquist priests and scholars.

An interesting testimony in this respect came from the tense atmosphere of the nascent armed resistance against Sigismund and the first crusades of 1420 preserved in several Czech poems in the Bautzen manuscript.¹¹ These texts demonstrate how the (il)legitimacy of Sigismund was communicated. It is a collection of compositions copied in Czech, which represents a sophisticated form of propaganda aimed at both lay and educated audiences, and also circulated in a contemporary Latin version.

One of the texts, the pamphlet *Porok české koruny králi Uherskému, že neřádně korunu přijal a v království České se násilím tiskne* [A Complaint from the Czech Crown to the Hungarian King that He Improperly Accepted the Crown and Controls the Kingdom through Violence] also exists in a Latin version that was most probably written for the public abroad. It is known by the title *Corone regni Boemie satira in regem Hungarie Sigismundum* and begins with the words *Nuper coram*. After explaining the reasons for not recognizing Sigismund, the unknown author comments on the election and urges that a suitable king should be found for the kingdom. His instructions are quite simple: "Elect for yourselves a man of honour as your King of Bohemia, who has faith and the love of the land!"¹²

The confessional aspect was manifest not only in the rejection, but logically also in the next step—the search for a suitable candidate.

9 Žůrek, "Coronations," 20–22.

10 Šmahel, *Hussitische Revolution*, Vol. II, 1071–188.

11 Bautzen, Stadtbibliothek 8°4.

12 Both texts were last published in the book *Husitské skladby Budyšínského rukopisu*: Latin text 173–78, Czech on 32–40. For the quotation, see page 74: "volte sobě muže ctného, / již za krále vám českého, / jenž má vieru, lásku k zemi!" For the context surrounding the creation of the two texts, see Klassen, "Images of Anti-Majesty in Hussite Literature," 267–81, and most recently Čornej, "Husitské skladby Budyšínského rukopisu." Cp. also Hruza, "Audite, celi! Ein satirischer hussitischer Propagandatext."

This is confirmed by another contemporary statement of a Hussite religious authority, which also commented on the search for a king in the early stages of the armed conflict. Jakoubek of Stříbro, for example, was unequivocal when saying:

“In Deutoronom XXVII, it is laid down that the king is to be a brother, and not of a foreign nation, etc. And a brother he is, if he is of one faith, and of one accord with us in the truth, and resists the Antichrist.”¹³

What is evident from the statement about a prospective king is that there is an obvious emphasis both on nationality and confession. These two criteria work together here, but this was primarily a theoretical view propagated as part of the anti-Sigismund propaganda by Hussite intellectuals.

In reality, the king was actively sought in the family of the Polish king Vladislavus II Jagiello and the related Grand Duke of Lithuania Vitold, who eventually sent the young Sigismund Korybut in his place, who finally did not attempt to establish himself as ruler of Bohemia. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the considerations of the Bohemian Utraquist elites, who were looking for a suitable candidate at the court of the Slavonic king Vladislavus, and as we learn from the instructions of the envoy sent for negotiations to the Polish royal court, one of the arguments was to be the proximity of the two Slavonic languages or nations. At the same time, Sigismund was presented as a hazard since his rule threatened the privileged position of the German language.¹⁴

During the first years of the Hussite Revolution, the protection of the Czech language symbolizing the Czech Kingdom and the entire Czech nation played a significant role within the Utraquist fraction.¹⁵ However, this political situation gradually changed, and in 1436 Sigismund could officially ascend the hereditary throne, but he died the following year without a male heir. As in the Empire and Hungary, the Bohemian royal title was to be assumed by son-in-law and designated heir Albert

13 Jakoubek ze Stříbra, Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana I, 32: “V Deutoronomu XXVII napsáno, že král má býti bratr a ne cizieho narodu etc. A bratrť jest, když jest jednotajné viery a jednotajné při s námi v pravdě hájiti bude a Antikristu se opře.”

14 Novotný, “K otázce polské kandidatury na český trůn“, 132: “Protož prosímeť pro pána boha a pro osvobozenie zákona jeho svatého, všemu křesťanstvu potřebně spassitedlného, aby se k tomu přičiniti ráčil, a ukrutenstvie takového jemu dále k vyplnění všeho jazyka slovanského nedopůštění; neb poraženie našeho jazyka českého, jakož z jistých příčin porozumieváme, polského bylo by vyhlazenie pro příchylnost našemu jazyku přirozenú. Nebť ten král miesta v královstvím Českém Němcóm cizozemcóm zapisuje na shlazenie jazyka českého ve všech miestech jemu příchylných volaje, aby ižádný v těch miestech toho královstvie Češského nezuostával, kdož by dobře německy neuměl.” See also Nodl, “Kráľ požádaný.”

15 Šmahel, *Idea národa*, 144–87.

of Habsburg.¹⁶ Although he had the support of a large part of the nobility and towns, there was still an audible and influential part of the nobility that did not want him and prepared the candidacy of the Polish king Casimir. Once again, the communication and propaganda to prepare for the election of another king was characterised by the emphasis on Slavic reciprocity and the joint anti-Habsburg position. This had great symbolic potential in the context of the situation after the events associated with the anti-Hussite crusades.¹⁷

The idea of the electability of the throne, promoted especially by supporters of the Polish candidacy, had reappeared. Albert, however, did not lag behind and grasped the opportunity to promote his legitimacy, in addition to emphasizing the role and claim of his wife Elisabeth of Luxembourg: outwardly he was presented as the defender of Catholicism, inwardly as the guarantor of the Compacts and also as the natural continuation of the Luxembourg dynasty. An example therefore is the Latin poems of Albert's scribe Nicholas Petschacher. He recalls the German origin of the Luxembourg dynasty, which for him is proof that the king's nationality is of minor importance. Rather, what matters for him is his piety and righteousness. Albert is said to be a second Charles to the Czechs, since both Czechs and Germans are his brothers. In Petschacher's view, that is why he alone will raise Bohemia from the dust, ensure its inner peace, fill Bohemian wallets, and restore the glory of the University of Prague.¹⁸

The resistance to a Habsburg personifying a German, foreign king was, however, persistent, at least judged by contemporary Bohemian literary production. In the chronicler's eyes "Germans are arch enemies of the Czech, Polish, and all Slavonic languages".¹⁹

This view appears in several sources, but found its most explicit expression in the historical pamphlet *Krátké sebrání z kronik českých ku výstražce věrných Čechuov* [A Short Collection from Czech Chronicles to Warn Faithful Bohemians].²⁰ This peculiar compilation of the history of the Bohemian lands is based mainly on

16 For the acceptance of Albert and the negotiations in Hungary, see Burkhardt, "Argumentative Uses" in this volume.

17 Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský*, Vol. 1, 303–18.

18 Šmahel, *Idea národa*, 192–96; Petschacher's compositions were edited by Huemer, *Historische Gedichte aus dem XV. Jahrhundert*.

19 The passage from Old Czech Annals reads: "...v němečskou moc poddánu býti se nezdálo, ješto by to mohlo jíti k velikému zlému nynějšímu i budoucímu, ale i všemu jazyku slovanskému, jakož jest to vždycky shledáváno i ve všech kronikách starých muož býti nalezeno, že sú Němci úhlavní nepřítelé jazyka českého, polského i všeho slovanského vždycky byli a býti nepřestávají, ješto by to bylo k škodě i k hanbě veliké." *Staré letopisy české z vratislavského rukopisu*, 79–80.

20 *O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého*, 32–41.

excerpts from the Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil, a vernacular verse and committed chronicle from the reign of John of Luxembourg.²¹ His allusions and intentions are obvious—to denigrate everything German as foreign and hostile, especially the potential German candidate for the Czech throne. The author constantly repeats that the Czechs, following their historical experience, should not choose a German as their ruler.

There is no consensus in scholarship on the question of dating. According to some, such as Rudolf Urbánek, the last editor of the text *Krátké sebrání* was compiled before the 1458 election of George of Poděbrady as part of an election campaign and effort to discredit George's rivals. More convincing, however, is the dating to 1437–1438, when there was a group of influential magnates who wanted to denigrate Albert of Habsburg, often using the argument that he was of German origin. His foreignness thus played a significant role in the discourse on Bohemian royal power. This is also true for George's election, but here, as we shall see, it is more a positive exhortation to elect a 'native' Bohemian king.²² The author selected excerpts from the Chronicle of the So-Called Dalimil and the fourteenth century anti-German poem *De Theutunicis bonum dictamen*.²³ His choice was deliberate: to preach the disadvantages of a foreign, here explicitly 'German' rule. At the same time, it is obvious that the author is promoting the solution that if a Czech candidate is not available, they should look for another Slav. This text is easy to read as a guide to the selection of King Casimir of Poland:

“Then the Bohemians, if they cannot make a lord of their tongue, should think of another Slavonic tongue, or of any other Christian tongue under heaven, and, though he may not be rich, take him for their lord; for their tongue and liberties are better under the king of every tongue but German.”²⁴

It is important to recall that in Old Czech the term 'tongue' (*jazyk*) represented not only the language but also the community of people speaking it. However, language as a means of communication played a significant symbolic role. This is even more valid in Bohemia in the first half of the fifteenth century, since the

21 A recent analysis of the chronicle is proposed by Adde-Vomáčka, *La Chronique de Dalimil*, 9–233; Rychterová, “The Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil.”

22 A convincing argument for the 1437–1438 dating is presented by Boubín, *Česká “národní” monarchie*, 72–73.

23 For the edition, see Wostry, *Ein deutschfeindliches Pamphlet*, 193–236.

24 *O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého*, 40: “Měli by tehda Čechové, nemohú-li z svého jazyka pána mieti, na jiný Slovanský jazyk nebo na jiný kterýkoliv pod nebem křestianský pomysliť, a, ač by bohatý nebyl, jeho sobě za pána vzieti; neb jich jazyk a svobody pod králem každého jazyka kromě německého lépe stanú.”

vernacularisation of church services and of theological and general scholarly discourse was an important part of the reform movement.²⁵ Moreover, in the multilingual environment of the countries of the Bohemian Crown, especially in Bohemia, the ability to communicate in Czech played a symbolic role of identification with the country. This was evident in 1440 when another election of the Bohemian king took place at the Diet of Bohemia, regardless of the birth of the successor Ladislaus the Posthumous. An *ad hoc* electoral commission formed of the higher and lower nobility, and representatives of the towns had to choose between four foreign contenders (Friedrich I of Brandenburg, Ludwig IV of Wittelsbach, Vladislaus III of Jagiellon, and Albert III of Bavaria).²⁶

In the end, Albert was elected, who before 1419 had been raised at the royal court in Prague by his aunt Queen Sophia and, according to the arguments in his favour, spoke Czech. Moreover, he was known to be familiar with local politics. He was unanimously elected in June, but politely declined at a meeting in Cham in August. He probably did not want to antagonize the Habsburgs, especially since the rule in the heretical kingdom did not promise to be easy.²⁷

It is worth recalling that all contemporary observers and actors noted that Albert spoke Czech. This is documented by a letter from Albert's secretary, Jan of Sedlec, in which he describes the ideal candidate for the royal throne as a man brought up in Bohemia, who knew the Czech language and has always been interested in the Czech land:

"His Grace would be very willing and glad to be of service to the country, as he speaks their language well, and was brought up in the country, and has been and continues to be interested in it all his days."²⁸

The Czech foreman and head of the richest noble family in the country, Oldřich of Rožmberk, also praised this fact and considered it important to mention this in his letter to the Council of Basel. It is evident that in this case language skills were seen as something that helped facilitate identification with the ruler or, here at least, with a potential future ruler.²⁹

25 Rychterová, "Preaching, the Vernacular, and the Laity."

26 On the election, see Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský*, Vol. I, 522–33.

27 Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský* I, 502–63.

28 Freyberg, *Aktenstücke über die Wahl Herzog Albrecht III von Bayern*, 11: "Sein gnad gar willig vnd fro auch wol dartzu genaigett vnd dem Lannd nutzlichen wäre, wann er dy sprach wol wais vnd Im lannd ertzogen auch all sein tag auf dy Behaim gericht gewesen vnd noch ist."

29 *Listář a listinář Oldřicha z Rožmberka (1418–1462)*, Vol. 2 (1438–1444), 81: "Deinde his auditis et allegatis, nominavi Ducem Albertum Bawarie, quaerens, quid sentirent de eodem, adiciens, cum sit princeps potens et parentosus et nostri lingwagii bene enutritus et expertus, filium etiam habens, quis hiis de duobus, an marchio supratactus, vel dux nunc nominatus, valencior videretur."

This also applied to the next Czech king, Ladislaus the Posthumous. “Nothing wins a prince the favour of the common people more than the knowledge of their language”, young Ladislaus was advised by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, and his words rang true.³⁰ Above all, however, thanks to the administrator George of Poděbrady and his closest advisors, it was purposefully ensured that the future ruler learned Czech and was familiar with the Czech environment. In Ladislaus’s case, however, naturally, there was a parallel preparation for the ruler’s duties in the other countries where he was about to rule.

The development of the electoral procedure in Bohemia and the legitimacy of this mode of choosing the ruler culminated in the spring of 1458, when the electoral assembly was held to choose the Bohemian king. Due to the unexpected death without heir of the previously accepted, respected, and crowned King Ladislaus the Posthumous, the need to elect a new king arose, and the claims of succession made by some candidates were weak and invalid even from a legitimist point of view. Nevertheless, there were several contenders for the Bohemian throne. Of the foreign candidates, the most relevant were Prince Charles of France, son of Charles VII, who represented an interesting alternative to the Central European contenders, and Duke William of Saxony, husband of Anna of Habsburg, against whom the attacks criticising the possibility of electing a German as king were probably most strongly directed. It was this argument that emerged as the main one in the election campaign, which in this case was quite intense.

An important signal that may have worked in George’s favour was the election of Matthias Hunyadi called Corvinus as king of Hungary a few weeks before the Prague electoral assembly. The fact that Matthias was married to George’s daughter Catherine, in addition to the fact that a domestic nobleman had been elected king without the corresponding nobility, may have played a role.³¹

Assessments of George of Poděbrady’s election vary across scholarship.³² On the one hand, most historians consider it the culmination of the development after the Hussite Revolution, especially the gradual transformation of the balance between royal and noble power, when the self-confident nobility finally took the kingdom’s political power into their own hands and elected one of their own, a member of the nobility George as King of Bohemia.³³

30 De liberorum educatione, 121.

31 Boubín, *Česká “národní” monarchie*, 74.

32 The most detailed information about the election is provided by Urbánek, “Volba Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého”; cp. also Heymann, *George of Bohemia*, 147–60; Odložilík, *The Hussite King*, 89–93.

33 Čornej, “Pohaslý lesk”; Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský*, Vol. 3, 223–80.

Others argue that it was, on the contrary, a sign of the normalization of the political situation in the country. The pragmatic election of a domestic nobleman, who had previously proven himself as a governor of the kingdom while offering the hope that he would respect the confessional divisions of society, may have been a sign that the situation in the kingdom had calmed down and was similar to that in other countries. In other words, it was not a late outcome of the Hussite Revolution, for in that case there would not have been similar elections in Hungary and in Sweden (King Charles Knutsson was elected in 1448). A domestic election may have demonstrated the rejection of foreign interference in domestic politics and a move towards building a 'national' monarchy.³⁴

The electoral campaign was intense, although it was relatively short-lived. Ladislaus died in November 1457, and the electoral diet began in February 1458. George and his supporters quickly grasped the situation and did not bet on George's confession alone being enough to win the diet, where the Catholic nobility held considerable power. It could not therefore be merely stated that a king of the Utraquist confession would certainly protect his fellow believers from oppression by the Catholics. On the contrary, in this respect George had to represent the power that would maintain the *status quo*, not only in the matter of respecting the Compacts of Basel, but especially in the matter of respecting the rightful possession of property acquired during the revolutionary years. The main argument for George, however, was that he was Czech and therefore a domestic, rather than a foreign ruler. Most surviving sources refer to this idea, and after the election, this topic often sparked relief.

An illustrative example of the election campaign is a pamphlet that has survived thanks to George's energetic opponent, the preacher Nicolaus Tempelfeld from Wrocław (Breslau), copied it into his treatise protesting against the validity of George's election.³⁵ The text urges the audience to realize George had not only proven himself capable of running the kingdom, but that, above all, it was necessary to elect a domestic candidate who would not compromise the holy faith, since under a German ruler the common good would be endangered. The election of a Bohemian is presented as the most beneficial choice for the entire kingdom.

"I think, urge, and persuade you to decide for George of Poděbrady, the long-established administrator of the Kingdom of Bohemia, who knows how to rule and administer, whose sense of justice has spread almost everywhere throughout the German nation. [...] It will therefore be useful to the whole community, more useful to the state, but most useful to our

34 This interpretation was suggested by Boubín, *Česká "národní" monarchie*.

35 Die Denkschrift des Breslauer Domherrn Nikolaus Tempelfeld von Brieg, 169–71.

holy faith, that it should not succumb to or be infected by its opponents, and that he, as a Bohemian, as the saviour of the state, as the most fervent zealot for our faith, as the most conspicuous defender of our articles, and as the best defender of the rights of the kingdom and its inhabitants, should be unanimously elected our king with the general consent and unanimous will; lest, God forbid, a German should be elected monarch, we should easily lose all our honour by the merit and weakening of our faith, by which we have hitherto grown, and lest we should be compelled, unless we conform to the Germans and their faith, to suffer the greatest ruin to our estates and throats.”³⁶

The campaign, however, did not seem to be conducted in the spirit of denouncing other candidates, but rather by emphasizing the Czech origin of the only domestic candidate. The promotion and support of George’s candidacy probably also involved the Utraquist clergy, who otherwise had no vote at the Diet. However, it had effective means of influencing public opinion. Not only could they operate from pulpits, but they probably tried to influence public opinion beyond Prague. Tempelfeld’s treatise from the turn of 1458–1459 informs that Rokycana

“[...] sent to the houses of the townsmen, craftsmen, merchants, to the leaders of the guilds, artisans, and others whom he could, and directly and by instructions he persuaded, requested, and ordered them to vote unanimously for George for various reasons. And he also sent to other cities, castles, fortresses, and towns of his own mind and acquaintance his chaplains and priests devoted to himself, to do the same, pleading for the great advantage of the country and nation and other advantages, that George should be elected king and not another, with the emphatic warning that if the latter were not elected, the election would then undoubtedly fall to one of the German princes, ignorant of the Czech language.”³⁷

36 Die Denkschrift des Breslauer Domherrn Nikolaus Tempelfeld von Brieg, 170–71: “Utile ergo erit toti communitati, utililius reipublice, sed utilissimum fidei nostre sancte, ne ista succumbat aut ab emulis inficiatur, ut ipse tamquam Bohemus, tamquam reipublice conservator, tamquam fidei nostre ferventissimus zelator, tamquam articulorum nostrorum apertissimus defensor et tamquam optimus iurium regni et incolarum protector in regem nostrum omnium consensu unanimitique voto concorditer eligatur, ne quod absit, si princeps eligeretur Theotonicus, omnem honorem nostrum per interemcionem et enervacionem fidei nostre qua usque huc crevimus viliter perdamus et rerum corporumque, nisi nos Theotonicis et fidei eorum conformaverimus, maximis periculis stare cogemur. Seclusis hiis quod si regem Theotonicum habebimus, nec privilegia nostra conservare nec alienata a regno recuperare nec iniurias sive illatas sive inferendas vindicare nec fidem nostram ampliare valebimus in futuro.”

37 Die Denkschrift des Breslauer Domherrn Nikolaus Tempelfeld von Brieg, 167–68: “misit ad domos civium mechanicorum, mercatorum, maystros czecharum et artificiorum et alios, ad

As far as we can judge from other contemporary reports, this feature of the election, i.e., the election of a king of Bohemian origin against foreign candidates, resonated very strongly with contemporary observers. And not only with domestic commentators, but also with those in foreign lands, where it was often emphasized that the Czechs had erroneously chosen a heretic king. Wilhelm of Saxony's envoy Henry Leubing confirmed Tempelfeld's reports about the strong efforts to gain support for George, including from the city's leaders. For Leubing, this was a bold choice:

"[The Czechs] wanted to have a king of the Czech tongue by a presumptuous election, and in order to make this happen, the Prague town council confidentially sent a message to all the leading houses in the city of Prague, and urged especially those who would be present at the election not to vote for anyone other than a Czech."³⁸

The election was unanimous, and some chroniclers also reported that the election of the Bohemian king and the "liberation" from the domination of German kings was the most dominant interpretation of the election for the contemporary Czech public.

The unknown chronicler in the Old Czech Annals first marvelled at the fact that so many foreigners were interested in the Czech throne.

"And there they made a common agreement in the Diet concerning the king of Bohemia, whom they thought would be king, that he should be king of Bohemia; for the foreigners were in favour of it, having made a great request after the death of the king: The king of France, who would have given his daughter to king Ladislaus, Charles his son, [would have] given the land of Bohemia for a king; also William, the prince of Saxony, stood for the kingship."³⁹

In another edition of the same historiographical compilation, the author emphasizes the Czechs' alleged joy at the election, which was supposed to break the rule of German kings. However, he did not fail to stress that this would also save the Utraquists, who would otherwise have been persecuted:

quos potuit, in practica et avisamentis persuadens, rogans et precipiens, ut eum votis suis in eum concurrerent variis ex motivis. Misitque idem Rackiczanus ad alias civitates, castra, fortalicia et oppida sue intencionis et sibi nota capellanos suos et sacerdotes sibi adherentes ad idem faciendum allegans ad hec terre et linguagii gloriosum profectum diversiosque respectus expedencie, ut hic et non alius eligeretur in regem eo signanter attento, quod si ille non eligeretur, quod tunc electio indubitanter caderet super unum de principibus Theotonicis noticiam linguagii Bohemici non habentis."

38 *O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého*, 57.

39 *Staré letopisy české z vratislavského rukopisu*, 122.

“[...] and then they rejoiced that they no longer had a German king... And many of them wept for joy that the dear God had delivered them out of the power of German kings, who thought to do evil to the Czech people, and especially to those who hold to the Holy Scriptures.”⁴⁰

Regardless of this seemingly idyllic moment of the victory of the Czech over the foreign element, the *modus vivendi* eventually broke down during George's reign: a part of the Catholic nobility rebelled and in 1469 elected Matthias Corvinus as King of Bohemia in Olomouc. This election was preceded only by negotiations rather than a campaign. It is clear, however, that Corvinus's foreign origin did not bother them, and that it was more important to agree on the Catholic faith and political programme.⁴¹

After the death of George of Poděbrady in 1471, the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty ascended the Czech throne, thus fulfilling plans that had been debated since the 1420s. The quest for a domestic king was thus complete, but the self-confident Estates retained a significant influence over the exercise of royal authority well into the sixteenth century.⁴²

Conclusion

The analysis of several elections of Czech kings in the fifteenth century demonstrates how the idea of a suitable candidate for the Czech throne changed, depending not only on the political situation, but also on the development of the negotiated coexistence between the people of two confessions in one country. However, the religious aspect was not the only or not even the decisive one. The question of the candidate's origin also played a significant role in the choice of the king. However, as becomes clear from the examples above, there was to a large extent a blending of both identities—national and confessional—and, at the same time, the two demands were partly merging, because in the spirit of the theory expressed earlier in the academic circles of the University of Prague, only a true Czech (*purus Bohemus*) could be a true Utraquist and, thus, take over the administration of the Bohemian Kingdom. At the same time, only such a king could, in the eyes of the Hussite political actors, guarantee respect for the Hussite political and religious programme, defined briefly as the Four Prague Articles and later, after 1436, as the observance of the Basel

40 O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého, 66–67.

41 Kalous, *Matyáš Korvín (1443–1490)*, 135–39.

42 Eberhard, *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen 1478–1530*.

Compacts.⁴³ The candidate's idoneity, however, was not a stable category and was renegotiated anew on every occasion, as well as becoming the subject of political debate in the Bohemian *société politique*.⁴⁴

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43 On definition of the true Czech, see Šmahel, *Idea národa*, 44–48; on Compacts of Basel Šmahel, *Die Basler Kompaktaten*.

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The Fasting of Others

Constructing Interreligious Boundaries through Bodily Practices in Christian Discourses around 1600

Iryna Klymenko 

History of the Early Modern Period, Department of History, Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 Munich; Iryna.Klymenko@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

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Abstract. As cultural historians have shown, various discourses about food and eating are correlated with processes of religious identity construction within European pre-modern societies. This article focuses on such a relationship between bodily and structural contexts during the transformative phase of the late sixteenth century in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. A selection of exemplary polemical sources of Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians illuminates the significance of fasting for the semantical constructions of religious collectives in times of societal upheaval. Regarding the increasingly uncertain circumstances due to the union of the Church, this paper argues that religious elites revolved around norms of fasting, which represented a semantic means of defining and defending their respective collective selves, their political claims, and legitimation in relation to a collective Other. Considering bodily practices such as fasting to be a methodological lens, the paper attempts to develop a novel perspective on the study and understanding of religious ordering in early modern European contexts.

Keywords: Fasting [Catholic, Orthodox], bodily practices, religious identity, Poland–Lithuania

The Warning to all Orthodox Christians of our Times,¹ Orthodox polemic dated 1606/1607, tells a story of Orthodox proponents² of union with the Church of Rome being invited by a Catholic cardinal for dinner. After arrival, the former find out that

- 1 *Perestoroga, vsim pravoslavnym zilo potrebna na potomni chasy pravoslavnym hrystyjanam*, 1605/1606, Wilno. This text was not printed. Written by an Orthodox author against Union of Brest 1596. Printed for the first time in: *Akty zapadnoj Rosiji* 4, no. 139 (1851): 203–36. According to Myhajlo Vozniak's hypothesis, the author of the text was Iov Boretsky (1560–1631), Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia and Rus (1620–1631), see: Vozniak, *Pys'mennytska dijelnist'*, 3–20.
- 2 Based on the context, by the “proponents” are meant Hypatius Pocij (1541–1613), Metropolitan of Kiev and Galychyna from 1599 to his death in 1613, one of the architects of the 1595 Union of Brest, and Kyrylo Terletsky (1540s/1550s–1607), Orthodox bishop of Pynsk-Turiv (1572–85) and Lutsk-Ostrih (1585). Both were key Orthodox proponents of union with the Catholic Church, and in 1595 travelled to Rome to negotiate the respective terms.

there are no fish dishes on the dinner table, only meat-based ones, from which they abstain due to Orthodox religious norms and traditions. However, on seeing this, the Catholic hosts insist that because from now on they come under the highest pastor's domination, their fasting is not appropriate anymore and need not be observed. From that day on—as the narrative goes—the members of the Orthodox Church started to eat meat and let their monks do so too.³ In this seemingly simple way, the author tells us the story of the complex and transformative union of part of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church with the Church of Rome in 1595/96, which was not accepted by a significant part of the Orthodoxy and therefore led to a split within the group. But he tells us more: the allusion to breaking the religious fasting norms semantically defined a confessional boundary within the Ruthenian Orthodoxy. Yet in reality the united part of the Ruthenian Orthodoxy sustained their liturgy and their customs, embracing fasting norms. Regardless of whether this narrative represented the contemporary historical, regional reality, it enabled the author to draw clear semantic boundaries between the religious denominations and thus formulate his normative position. This precise kind of argumentative use of fasting in the context of religious identity construction in relation to the religious Other and during times of societal upheaval is the focus of this article.

The interrelation between discourses on fasting and the construction of religious identity has a long history, which in recent decades has increasingly become a subject of historiography. Throughout the pre-modern era, practices related to food were an integral element of disputes within and between Christian, Jewish, and Muslim collectives. Both in terms of its normative and practical dimensions, as Dorothea Weltecke has shown, fasting helped co-shape religious boundaries, enabled exclusion or belonging, and underpinned interreligious rivalry.⁴ Yet it was only in the early modern period that fasting as a means of religious formation was imbued with its systematic political function.⁵ This was particularly the case in the context of the (re-)ordering of the Christian collectives.⁶ Historians of the European Reformation have dedicated much attention to analysing the centrality of fasting as a collective attribute of early modern religious formation.⁷ Following these historiographic developments, Eleanor Barnett was the first to systematically question the ideas about food and eating in terms of their relation to faith in the context

3 Cited from edited sources: Vozniak, *Pys'mennytska dijalnist'*, 25–56, here 33.

4 Weltecke, "Essen und Fasten."

5 Weltecke, "Essen und Fasten," 7.

6 See: Kissane, *Food, Religion and Communities*; Pollmann, "Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe"; Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*.

7 See: Albala, "The Ideology of Fasting in the Reformation Era"; Ryrie, "The Fall and Rise of Fasting in the British Reformation."

of English Protestantism.⁸ Barnett demonstrated how fruitfully these discourses became part of the process of the construction of confessional boundaries and collective identities during the transformative period of the Reformation.

Within the framework of these historiographic developments, however, the systematic meaning of fasting as a discursive technique of making interreligious distinctions has not received the attention from scholars that it deserves. Considering bodily practices as a methodological lens for increasing the understanding of religious ordering during the transformative early modern era,⁹ this paper attempts to partially fill this gap by focusing on one particular aspect: the semantic construction of religious self and religious Other through the argumentative use of fasting. Particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when confessional boundaries remained contested and emerging formations competed for position, religious discourse touched on fundamental issues, seeking legitimation and power. Records of Christian polemics attest in this respect not only to theologically and dogmatically based denominational claims but also to arguments about fasting—a topic that may at first seem trivial. Based on the methodological assumption that collectives are relationally constructed,¹⁰ this article traces how fasting was argumentatively used and semantically modelled¹¹ to define the religious Other and thus to draw interreligious boundaries.

The context of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth is particularly interesting in this respect because it is here we can identify diverse religious groups living in close proximity, navigating their distinct identities. Especially around 1600, the latter became of central importance, as this was a time of new religious and political upheavals and under these circumstances religious formations made claims for their prerogatives and influence. Another reason for this regional focus is a major geographical asymmetry; historians of early modern Europe interested in the relationship between fasting and religious identity have neglected the entire context of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹² Following recent historiographic

8 Barnett, “Reforming Food and Eating in Protestant England.”

9 This methodological approach to religious ordering through bodily practices in early modern Europe is one of the conceptual foundations of my current monograph (in progress). For a methodological perspective see: Sennefelt, “Ordering Identification.”

10 See: Powell and Dépelteau, eds, *Conceptualizing Relational Sociology*.

11 See: Åkerstrøm Andersen, *Discursive Analytical Strategies*; Klymenko, *Semantiken des Wandels*, 23–64.

12 Polish food and culinary and dietary norms of the pre-modern period have received considerable scholarly attention within Polish historiography, yet this has mostly been dedicated to the kinds, nutritious values, and cultural meaning of food, rather than to their functional dimension in the context of religious formation in early modern times.

developments,¹³ this contribution aims to begin to counterbalance this asymmetric apportionment by asking how discourses about fasting helped religious elites to define and defend their religious identity in relation to the religious Other in transformative times around 1600. Through selected examples of polemic Catholic and Orthodox sources, it traces forms of the semantical modelling of religious boundaries according to arguments about fasting in the context of denominational claims and interests in transformative circumstances. Starting with a close reading of the Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612) in the first part, this article reconstructs the disputation surrounding fasting in relation to his advocacy of union between the Church of Rome and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. Even though this union became reality in 1595/96, it was accompanied by major conflict and dispute before and after, as a number of Orthodox Christians never accepted it. The second part of this paper analyses the work of the Ruthenian Orthodox Christian Zacharias Kopystenski (?–1627) and his arguments about fasting, which he semantically modelled as a sign of the one true faith. Based on this mosaic of two disparate cases, the aim is to reconstruct the forms and functions of fasting as a semantic tool for constructing interreligious boundaries rather than questioning norms of fasting as attributed to particular groups. By choosing such a perspective, this article attempts to explore the methodological meaning of fasting as a lens for increasing the understanding of religious ordering in early modern Europe.

Uniting through Fasting: Piotr Skargas' *On the Unity of the Church of God*

From the late sixteenth century onwards, in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth the landscape of religious formations underwent a period of substantial transformation.¹⁴ This crisis created a sense of profound uncertainty for religious groups and their elites regarding their status and privileges and how they could protect their interests in a rapidly changing environment. These were the general circumstances under which one of the most influential Jesuits, preachers, proponents of Counter-Reformation, and promoters of the Union of Brest of this region and

13 Jarosław Dumanowski recently demonstrated the structural meaning of phenomena of *ieiunium Polonicum* in the context of the construction of ethnic and religious identities in early modern times, see: Dumanowski, “Old Polish Fasting”. For the interrelationship between Jewish dietary regulations and identity construction in this time and region see: Klymenko, “Körperpraktiken und Bekenntnis.”

14 See: Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, 59–256.

time, Piotr Skarga,¹⁵ published his programmatic book, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem. Y o Greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu* [On the Unity of the Church of God under One Shepherd and on the Greek Separation from that Unity].¹⁶ This book was first published in Vilnius in 1577 in Polish and, as its expressive title reveals, passionately advocated union between the Roman Church and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. The contemporary reaction was quite symptomatic of both the great influence of Skargas' preaching for union and the profundity of the religious crises in which it first came to light: multiple copies of the first edition were bought and burned by representatives of the Ruthenian Orthodox nobility, who rejected union with the Roman Church.¹⁷ The second edition, with some amendments and a modified title, appeared about a decade later, in 1590,¹⁸ shortly before the partial union Skarga advocated for passionately and persistently became reality in 1595/1596.¹⁹

In *On the Unity of the Church of God*, a programmatic outline of this union, Skarga the Jesuit staunchly sought, as church historian Borys A. Gudziak put it, "[i]n persuasive and passionate prose, [...] to discredit the Ruthenians' Byzantine patrimony, their religious ethos, and Orthodox ecclesiology".²⁰ Within this frame-

15 In addition to being a well-known preacher, and author of numerous polemics and theologies, he also served—among other posts—as the first rector of Alma Academia et Universitas Vilmensis Societatis Iesu in Vilnius (Wilno) and as a court preacher under Sigismund III Vasa and an adviser to the king. On biography of Piotr Skarga see: Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga: szermierz kontrreformacji*. Among his literary legacy: *Pro Sacratissima Eucharistia contra haeresim Zwinglianam, ad Andream Volanum* [For the Most Sacred Eucharist, against the Zwinglian Heresy, 1576]; *Żywoty świętych* [Lives of the Saints 1579]; *Artes duodecim Sacramentarium, sive Zwinglio-calvinistarum. Siedem filarów, na których stoi katolicka nauka o Przenajświętszym Sakramencie Ołtarza* [The Seven Pillars on Which Stands Catholic Doctrine on the Most Sacred Sacrament of the Altar, 1582].

16 *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem. Y o Greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu. Z przestrogą y upominaniem do narodów Ruskich, przy Grekach stojących: Rzecz krótka, na trzy części rozdzielona, teras przez k(siędza) Piotra Skargę, zebrania Pana Iezusowego, wydana. «Proszę, Oycze, aby byli iedno, iako y my iedno iestesmy» (Ioan. 17). W Wilnie, z drukarni iego kxiazęcey miłości pa(na) Mikołaiia Chrystopha Radziwiła, marszałka w(ielkiego) kxieg(stwa) Lit(ewskiego), etc. Roku 1577.* The following quotations are based on this edition, included in the footnotes as: Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*.

17 This was recorded in the preface to the second edition of Skargas' book, published in 1590. It is yet to be clarified if this is an exaggeration included for argumentative reasons.

18 Skarga, *O rządzie y jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem. Y o Greckim y Ruskim od tey iedności odstąpieniu. Pisanie X(siędza) Piotra Skargę, Societatis Iesu. Ioan. 17: «Proszę, Oycze, aby byli iedno, iako y my iedno iestesmy» (Ioan. 17). W Krakowie. W drukarni Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka. 1590.*

19 On the union and its consequences see Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, 209–56.

20 Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, 83.

work, Skarga employed a sophisticated rhetorical strategy: rather than arguing for the union of both Churches, he primarily concentrated on invalidating the distinctive features of Ruthenian Orthodoxy by approaching those as historical failures. According to his narrative, union was the true condition but had deteriorated because of mistaken developments in the past, so the differences between religious denominations had emerged artificially and therefore were meaningless. To paraphrase Skarga's rhetoric regarding the distinctiveness of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church: when one aims to get rid of a friend, one looks for a reason.²¹ Therefore, his rhetorical strategy was to highlight the distinguishing features of the religious groups so that the religious 'Other' could appear as the religious 'self'. Among his other arguments, one after another he specifically referred to the twenty-six accusations of heresy that were commonly levelled by Ruthenian Orthodox Church theologians at the Church of Rome.

Strikingly, no less than five of these twenty-six heresies, referred to by Skarga as the distinctive accusations against the Catholics of the Orthodox Church, concerned norms of fasting:

"1. That the Romans [the Catholics] fast on Saturday. [...], 5. That their [Catholic] carnival days [Pol.: *zapusty*] before Lent last longer. [...], 11. That their [Catholic] children are given dairy products during fasting time. [...], 16. That they [Catholics] eat animals and poultry that ha[ve] been killed by strangulation and whose flesh contains blood as well as foxes, frogs, and bears. [...], 24. That their [Catholic] monks eat meat".²²

The responses Skarga attached upon listing these "heresies" seem determined and yet ambivalent. On the one hand, he remained clear about his point that the sought-after unity of faith and church must not be endangered by something as marginal as differences in fasting, which therefore should not bother the Orthodox: "Why does it even preoccupy them [the Orthodox] who fasts and when? After all, we do not reproach them in their choice to shorten their carnival period [Pol.: *zapusty*] so that they start to fast earlier, so it shouldn't bother them that we [...] fast on Saturday [...]"²³ And further: "The Greeks [the Orthodox] can fast even every day the whole year, if they want; and we will praise God for what is absolute and perfect, that is church union (without which neither fasting nor other good deeds will help)".²⁴ On the other hand, however enlightened Skarga may appear in these words, he made sure to critically respond to the mentioned accusations, rejecting

21 Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*, 230–31.

22 Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*, 231–33.

23 Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*, 233.

24 Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*, 235–36.

them one after another, characterizing some as ‘foolish’ and out of place: as he wrote “It is stupid to say that children or other people for whom fasting is not possible for very good and necessary reasons [...] should nevertheless fast”.²⁵ Regarding the purity of food, following the ironic remark that a healthy man can even eat a frog, he referenced the distance between Roman Catholic practice and the dietary laws of the Old Testament²⁶ and the teaching of St Peter, who was told to eat and to never call impure what his God had created for people; the laws regarding animals and poultry that had been killed by strangulation and whose flesh contains blood, as taught by the apostles, were thought to be temporary unless the Jews adopted them.²⁷ By arguing in this manner—especially interesting in the context of this article—Skarga in his response resorted to drawing boundaries between religious Others by referring to eating and fasting.

Striking, and especially interesting for the methodological reconstruction and interrogation of fasting as a means of arguing for religious distinctiveness, is the emphasis on the temporal dimension. It was not only the correct type of fast but the correct schedule for fasting that seems to have been relevant in co-shaping the boundaries of the religious Other. Skarga illustrated this while formulating three reasons why it was appropriate for Catholics to fast on Saturdays, despite the Orthodox accusation that this was a sign of heresy. First, he replied, this supposedly marked opposition to the Jews by rejecting their day of feast: the Shabbat. This part of his argument is indeed striking, as it recalled a traditional, mutual distinction between Christians and Hebrews that was valid to both Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians, and added power to his rhetoric about the need for union between both

25 Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*, 236–37.

26 Here we can presume the reference to Leviticus 11:1–47, and Deuteronomy 14:1–21 of the Old Testament.

27 Marginal note: *O potrawach i zadawionych*. Act 15. Act 10. This is a reference to the Acts of Apostles, here cited after the new international version: Acts 15:19–15:20: 19. It is my judgment, therefore, that we should not make it difficult for the Gentiles who are turning to God. 20. Instead we should write to them, telling them to abstain from food polluted by idols, from sexual immorality, from the meat of strangled animals and from blood. Explanation: meat of strangled animals, *πνικτοῦ* (pniktou); strangled (i.e., killed without bloodletting). Acts of Apostles, Acts 10:9–10:16: 9. About noon the following day as they were on their journey and approaching the city, Peter went up on the roof to pray. 10. He became hungry and wanted something to eat, and while the meal was being prepared, he fell into a trance. 11. He saw heaven opened and something like a large sheet being let down to earth by its four corners. 12. It contained all kinds of four-footed animals, as well as reptiles and birds. 13. Then a voice told him, “Get up, Peter. Kill and eat.” 14. Surely not, Lord!” Peter replied. “I have never eaten anything impure or unclean.” 15. The voice spoke to him a second time, “Do not call anything impure that God has made clean.” 16. This happened three times, and immediately the sheet was taken back to heaven.

churches. Arguing about the correct time for fasting could therefore be semantically adapted, depending on one's purpose, to address the problem underlying the disputes and the subject of the religious Other being addressed. Second, according to the narrative, fasting on Saturday was preparation for feasting on Sunday: it helped the practitioner to pray more passionately and to listen to God more carefully. Third, fasting on Saturday supported reflections on the sadness of the Mother and the Apostles that they experienced on that day, and enabled one to meet the resurrection of the Son with greater joy.²⁸ The temporal dimension of fasting/not fasting on Saturday was used to make distinctions in diverse ways: it helped with both drawing a line between Christians and Hebrews, and setting—or illuminating—boundaries between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians.

Worth comparing in regard to the research question are the two editions of Skarga's work from 1577 and 1590: despite some changes in the content of the second edition and a different title—interestingly, in the second edition Skarga, additionally to 'union' mentions 'order' or 'government' [Pol.: *rząd*] in the title²⁹—, the passages about the religious practice of fasting, as discussed above, remained alike. This argumentative continuity is confirmed in an additional study of Skarga's sermons as well. For instance, in a sermon on Luke 2 dedicated to Saint Anne for the first Sunday after Christmas, he stresses that genuinely Catholic fasting (or more precisely, its observance among Catholics) is a sign "that among us [Catholics] is the true Church of God".³⁰ Nevertheless, here we primarily deal with types of sources of a normative and discursive nature. Therefore, it is important and interesting, in the context of further exploration, to analyze more different types of sources; for instance, the correspondence³¹ of Skarga, which offers additional—praxeological—insight into the topic.

Even though Skarga passionately advocated for union between the Church of Rome and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church, and therefore the overcoming of respective religious differences, he also insisted that differences existed, and illuminated many of these in relation to arguments about the use of fasting. This paradox shows that the striving for unity did not entail the undoing of differences altogether; the argument defined a new framework of markers that redefined or shifted—but

28 Skarga, *O jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*, 233–34.

29 *O rządzie y jedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem*.

30 Here cited from: *Conciones pro diebus dominicis et festis totius anni reverendi patri Petri Skarga... iam olim ab ipso authore cum additione de septem sacramentis et aliarum quarundarum concionum saepius recognita et editae, nunc vero in latinum idioma translatae... a Joanne Odrowaz Pieniazek...* 40 [from the second part (dedicated to Saint Anne) of the sermon for the first Sunday after Christmas, Luke 2, 33–40].

31 E.g. edition by Jan Sygański, *Listy Piotra Skargi z lat*.

did not eliminate—boundaries between the religious collective self and religious collective Other. And norms of fasting—presumably due to how flexibly they could be activated and semantically applied—seem to have played a part in these processes too. This became even more obvious after 1596 when the Union of Brest became a reality³² but continued to be denied by a core group within the now-divided Ruthenian Orthodox Church.

The correct fasting at the correct time: Zacharias Kopystensky's *A Book on the True Faith*

“Adam and Eve were banned from paradise [...] because they did not fast because they ate the fruit from the tree from which God had forbidden them to eat. Everything created by God is good and can be eaten: except for what the Church of God [...] ordered us to abstain from in particular times, as abstinence leads to salvation”.³³

“If you willfully, disregarding the prohibition by the Church, will eat meat during the fasting time, not only will you become an apostate of the Church of God, but also a sinner, and expelled from the Church, excommunicated. Adam, too, was thus banished and expelled from paradise [...]”.³⁴

With this impressive allusion to the central narrative of Christianity, Ruthenian Orthodox theologian, writer, churchman, and (from 1624) archimandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery Zacharias Kopystensky (?–1627) aimed at nothing less than framing fasting as a means of defining religious boundaries and, more importantly, as a sign of the only true faith: Ruthenian Orthodoxy. His hand-written *A Book on the True Faith* appeared around 1619/1620, right at the time when the narrative of Kyiv as a second Jerusalem became a reference point for members of the Orthodox Church who claimed it to be the new center of Christianity. We cannot prove whether Kopystensky was familiar with the works and arguments of Skarga, and if he was, whether this was the reference point for his own writing. Yet knowing this is less essential in relation to the topic of this contribution, which is interested primarily in the semantic construction of arguments about fasting as a matter of

32 This situation resulted in ideological but also practical difficulties—for example, in the use of two different calendar systems, which were out of step by ten days and consequently led to different calculations, which also affected fasting periods. Accordingly, fasting as a marker of the ‘Other’ became imbued with additional and specific practical implications.

33 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 146–47.

34 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 141–42.

religious distinction, not in their perception or reception. Essential instead is the fact that Kopystensky, exactly like Skarga, was an architect of a fundamental religious project of his time and region.³⁵ Kopystensky was one of the proponents of the vision of centering Christianity around the Kyiv Orthodoxy. His book on faith revolved around this idea, arguing against the Union of Brest, therein a full chapter was dedicated to the argument that Orthodox fasting practices that followed the correct form and schedule were the only correct type of fasting.

In the opening section of this chapter, Kopystensky claimed that contemporary rejections of the “fasting of the Church of God, and due to the apostles and their followers”³⁶ was the problem that had inspired his writing. The latter is the specific subject of the following pages. Kopystensky’s references were the Old and New Testaments. As with the narrative of Adam and Eve, he drew his arguments from history, describing those fundamental sources as the one and only origin of Orthodox fasting practices. Employing one argument after another, and citing the passages from both Testaments, he made Orthodox fasting practice discursively appear to be original and true, tracing a line back to the very beginning of Christianity. At the same time, his argument specifically regarding Orthodox fasting was implicitly divided into two categories: its temporality, and its quality. With reference to readings from the apostles and prophets, particularly Zachariah,³⁷ he clearly defined the only correct times for fasting. These occurred four times a year. The general fasting days were defined as Wednesday and Friday. In case of illness, however, fish and oil were allowed during these times, although under no conditions were meat, eggs, or butter permitted.³⁸ Kopystensky repeatedly stressed that the temporal—i.e., the stress on Wednesday and Friday as fasting days³⁹—and qualitative nature of the practice was not based on contemporary innovation by the Church but was originally rendered by the apostles. This historically framed argument is indeed fascinating.

Starting at this point in the reading, the logical strategy that Kopystensky followed becomes increasingly clear. After presenting the different facets and aspects of Orthodox fasting practice as adopted from the most fundamental sources of Christianity, he strikingly turned to drawing clear religious boundaries by the same means. He writes:

“Regarding the days of Saturday, the Church of Christ has never ordered anything like that, except for the only Great Saturday, when the body of the Christ lay

35 Tymoshenko, *Berestejska Unija 1596*, 98–110.

36 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 146.

37 Hebrew Prophet, the eleventh of the Twelve Minor Prophets in the calendar of saints of the Eastern Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic Churches.

38 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 134–35.

39 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 138.

in the coffin, [the Church] ordered us to fast. Whoever would fast on Saturday shall be punished by the Church, and with severity. [...]. If a cleric was seen to fast on Sunday and Saturday, except for only one [Great Saturday] he would be expelled [zlozhenij]; and if it was a layman he would be excommunicated [viluchen]. [...]. He who fasts today on Saturday must know, that he commits a sin [...].”⁴⁰

Obviously, Kopystensky is critiquing Catholicism (in his words “the Church of Rome”) and its practice of fasting on Saturdays. From a methodological perspective, it should be noted that religious collectives are hostages of religious Others, and cannot be understood outside the relational context.⁴¹ A fasting schedule can only work as a distinguishing marker if there is a religious Other with its own—different—timetable. Therefore, what we find in Kopystensky’s text is a sophisticated argument about fasting that aimed to draw the boundary between the religious Other and the religious self: at least the rhetorical exaggeration of the meaning of the particular fasting calendar seems, in this regard, to be such a technique, and regardless of whether it had any practical application, it was a discursively operational one. What we see is that by these means Kopystensky sought to paint Catholics as heretics. He writes: “Beware heretics, how holy fasting is to be celebrated without meat and wine. This is the law followed by the Church of God that watches over its believers and teaches them to fast.”⁴² Kopystensky referred in this context explicitly to the Catholics.

The criteria in support of this accusation, according to his telling, was not just fasting at the wrong time but also the quality of fasting. According to Kopystensky, Orthodox fasting is strict and allows for only minor exceptions in the case of illness, while Catholics, over and above the fact that they fast on the wrong days, eat fish, eggs, cheese, and butter, all of which are forbidden, and may even drink wine. This is—Kopystensky continues—not fasting at all, due to the teaching of the only true—Orthodox—Church.⁴³ This micro-logic of making a religious difference reminds on Bourdieu’s sociological understanding of making social difference, as relational and dynamic process.⁴⁴ Unlike Jewish or even Protestant norms and practices of food abstinence, the boundaries for Catholics were not as obvious. This differentiation in terms of the dimensions of quality and temporality was a reaction to the need to draw a line in times of new religious formations and upheavals. The problem with these arguments seems to be a structural or even political one that is connected to

40 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 143–44.

41 Powell and Dépelteau, eds, *Conceptualizing Relational Sociology*.

42 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 130.

43 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 144.

44 Originally developed in context of reproduction of social inequality in the late twentieth century, see e.g.: Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*.

the agenda of ordering a religious field in a particular way. In another of his pieces of work, *Palinodia*, from 1621, Kopystensky emphasizes this point by listing the conditions under which church union could be possible even from his perspective. One of the related bullet points is: the Church of Rome has to follow the fasting norms of the Greeks, say the Orthodox.⁴⁵

The topic of the forgiveness of fasting-related sins is another subject that allowed Kopystensky to draw confessional boundaries. He explicitly contrasted Orthodox Christian and Roman Catholic policies in this regard. According to his framework, the 'Eastern Church', no matter what, would never forgive the sin of breaking a fast. Exceptions are conceivable for bodily illness and in extraordinary cases, but even then only fish, oil, and wine, but not meat or butter, could be allowed.⁴⁶ Even for travelers, exceptions were impermissible.⁴⁷ This reminds one of the original crime of Adam and Eve and their banishment from paradise for their sin of breaking the rule of abstinence. This motif was quite programmatic for Kopystensky's polemic, and furthermore didactically quite sophisticated. He argumentatively used fasting to define the points of differentiation between the denominations. Even though Kopystensky stressed the nature of the fasting of believers, he systematically drew a line to distinguish the religiously collective Other. In this regard, he compared the sin-forgiving Catholic Church with a careless stepmother, and the rigorous Orthodox with a loving and caring mother. He pointed out that fasting purifies a man, while "the devil sits on the navel".⁴⁸ We see that forgiveness for fasting-related sins associated with the temporality and quality of fasting may be granted relationally to respective religious others, and becomes a distinctive feature of the only true faith.

Ordering through fasting: concluding remarks

In conclusion, I would like to go back to the story presented in the introduction about the non-observance of the fasting norms of the adherents of the united Orthodox Church after the dinner at a cardinal's place following the latter Church's union with the Church of Rome.⁴⁹ In reality, this was not the case: quite the opposite. This is exactly because Orthodox norms and practices of fasting—and even the liturgical calendar⁵⁰—remained intact, fasting became a major subject of regulation

45 Kopystensky, *Palinodija ili kniga oboroni kafolicheskoj*, 1115.

46 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 150.

47 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 155.

48 Kopystensky, *Kniga o vere iedinoi*, 150.

49 Perestoroga, *vsim pravoslavnym zilo potrebna na potomni chasy pravoslavnym hrystyjanam*, 1605/1606, Wilno. Cited from: Vozniak, *Pys'mennytska dijalnist'*, 25–56, here 33.

50 Tatarenko, *Une réforme orientale à l'âge baroque*, 256, 276, and 279–81.

both by the Orthodox⁵¹ and Catholic elites.^{52,53} Nevertheless, the mentioned story semantically fulfilled its function of drawing the confessional line, especially where it was not that obvious.

My starting point was a desire to examine the discursive use of fasting to explore the construction of Christian collectives as a relational and contingent process. In choosing this perspective, an attempt was made to develop a novel approach to increase understanding of religious ordering in early modern European contexts. I have tried to reconstruct this on the basis of material from two different Christian sources that demonstrates how the rhetoric related to fasting can be applied both as a productive and ordering moment in the construction of religious collectives. The latter also shows that this construction must be conceptually framed as a diachronically dynamic and synchronically variable process. Both forms and functions of fasting could be relatively flexibly adapted and attributed, depending on the relational setting, interactional contexts, and problem references employed. The former helped religious elites to clearly draw boundaries, semantically empowering their political claims. As such, they represent examples of how the construction of religious entities is dynamic, differentiated, and pluralistic, and therefore emphasize that the latter should not be conceptually perceived as single, fixed structures.

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The First University Lying-In Hospital

Göttingen in the History of Man-Midwifery

Jürgen Schlumbohm

Independent researcher; Jenaer Str. 33, 37085 Göttingen, Germany; j.schlumbohm@gmx.net

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Abstract. In France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, male medical doctors and surgeons were turning to midwifery earlier than their German counterparts. Equally, in France and in England, maternity wards and hospitals emerged earlier than in Germany. Nevertheless, the lying-in hospital of Göttingen, founded in 1751, played a pioneering role: it was the first university institution in the world. Its main purpose was to give practical, hands-on education in obstetrics to medical students.

The first professor of obstetrics and director of Göttingen University lying-in hospital, Johann Georg Roederer (1726–1763), was willing to transform the traditional female craft of midwifery into a branch of medical science. Through educating the next generation of obstetricians and his scholarly publications, he had a major impact in Germany and beyond.

For the period around 1800, an exceptionally rich collection of printed and archival sources allows deep insight into the practices of Göttingen University's lying-in hospital. The roles of the director, the midwife, the students, and the patients can be studied in detail, and compared to lying-in hospitals in other countries. Special attention is given to the practice of practical education.

Finally, the success of the maternity hospital can be assessed, both in terms of the directors' reputation, and the survival chances of mothers and children.

Keywords: lying-in hospital, maternity hospital, Göttingen University, practical education, Johann Georg Roederer, Friedrich Benjamin Osiander

Beginning in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, midwifery, which up to the early modern period had been the domain of women, was transformed into a branch of medical science. Midwives had handed down their art from generation to generation by practical and oral instruction. By contrast, medical men strove to base their new science of obstetrics on printed treatises and case histories, theoretical reasoning, and empirical observation. Although this is well known as a general trend, only micro-historical analysis can reveal what exactly the change meant for both the medical protagonists and the women giving birth. In addition, it should be explored how the process worked: How did doctors and surgeons get access to the

birth chamber, and how did they manage to teach male students the practical skills of midwifery? Göttingen University's maternity hospital is an appropriate institution for such a case study, because of its crucial role in the transformation process and its exceptionally rich documentation.

When in the middle of the eighteenth-century medical men in Germany began to turn to practical midwifery, they followed the path which their counterparts in France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain had taken.¹ There, as early as in the seventeenth century, medical doctors and surgeons entered the field of midwifery. France and England were also earlier than Germany in developing hospital treatment of childbirth. In Paris, the huge *Hôtel-Dieu* had a maternity ward since the late Middle Ages. It was directed by a midwife, trained female midwife apprentices, and in the eighteenth century, delivered more than a thousand women a year.² In 1728, the city of Strasbourg established a maternity ward at its hospital. There, not only female midwives were instructed, but also medical students could acquire practical skills, although it was not part of the university.³ In London, several lying-in hospitals and maternity wards were founded in the middle of the eighteenth century, starting in 1739.⁴ Most of them were charities, financed by private donations, aiming to help poor women.⁵ Teaching obstetrics was mainly done outside of hospitals, in the form of private courses taught by fairly famous doctors.

Thus, the lying-in hospital of Göttingen, founded in 1751, and its first director, Johann Georg Roederer (1726–1763), in many regards followed models developed in Western Europe. This is clearly reflected by Roederer's education.⁶ He studied medicine in his native town of Strasbourg, and in 1747–1749 did a *grand tour* to the centres of modern medicine in Paris, London, and Leiden, turning his attention to anatomy and obstetrics. In the end, he trained practical midwifery in the maternity ward of Strasbourg's city hospital and took his MD from Strasbourg University. When in 1751 he became the first professor of obstetrics and founding director of a lying-in hospital at Göttingen University, the new institution was largely modelled on the Strasbourg maternity ward. Nevertheless, the lying-in hospital of Göttingen played a pioneering role: it was the first in the world to be a university institution.

1 Seidel, "Ein neue »Kultur des Gebärens«," 131–55; Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery*, 65–122; Gélis, *La sage-femme*, 239–383.

2 Gélis, *La sage-femme*, 56–64; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Naitre à l'hôpital*, 11–47.

3 Gélis, *La sage-femme*, 297–300; Lefftz, *L'art des accouchements à Strasbourg*.

4 Wilson, *The Making of Man-midwifery*, 114–16, 145–58.

5 Schlumbohm, "Poor Relief."

6 Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*, 13–15.

Johann Georg Roederer, founder and “first teacher”⁷ of medical obstetrics in Germany

In Germany, physicians and medical doctors were traditionally educated at universities. During the Enlightenment, efforts were made to adapt the curricula to recent developments in medicine. In some places, new institutions were created for this purpose, e.g., the *Collegium Medico-Chirurgicum* in Berlin, established in 1725 as a training school for military surgeons. The new currents did not bypass universities, reshaping them in decisive ways:⁸ universities built anatomical theatres, established botanical gardens, and tried to create facilities for practical bedside teaching. This restructuring of medical faculties was most notable at universities like Halle (1694) and Göttingen (1733/37), newly founded in the spirit of the Enlightenment.

The creation of the lying-in hospital and professorship of obstetrics at the University of Göttingen was a major step in raising midwifery to a higher status, prestige and quality, as Roederer stated in his inaugural lecture, delivered in Latin under the title: *De artis obstetriciae praestantia, quae omnino eruditum decet, quin imo requirit* [On the excellence of the art of midwifery, which is absolutely decent for, may require, a learned man]. In this text, he spelled out his program for transforming the traditional female craft into a branch of medical science. According to Roederer, improvement was to be achieved mainly by a change in personnel: learned men were to replace midwives, whom Roederer considered ignorant, and often saw as women from the lower classes. For midwifery, it was a breakthrough to be accepted as a university discipline and as a ‘daughter’ of ‘medical science’ (*medendi scientia*). Young professor Roederer even had the courage to claim his discipline to be the “noblest and most useful science”, because, theoretically, it gathered knowledge about childbirth, the most admirable function of the female body, and, practically, it offered help where it was most needed. The experienced obstetrician Roederer used the masculine form was the angel who saved the mother’s and the child’s lives by diminishing and even abolishing the risks and pains of childbirth. To achieve this aim, educated men were required: men who had learned how to approach a problem in mathematical and philosophical ways, had acquired a thorough knowledge of anatomy, and had concentrated all their endeavours on studying medicine and obstetrics. For such men, practical experience, however, was equally crucial. Solid knowledge had to be based on practice. “I have the strongest doubts”, Roederer exclaimed, “whether one can really understand” the process of childbirth “without lending a hand to parturient painstakingly and tirelessly.”⁹

7 Siebold, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Geburtshülfe*, Vol. 2, 435.

8 Broman, *The Transformation*, 26–66; Geyer-Kordesch, “German Medical Education.”

9 Roederer, *Oratio de artis obstetriciae praestantia*.

The lying-in hospital was the locus where medical men hoped to gain access to practical experience.

Roederer was very successful in establishing himself as an authority in the new field. As early as 1753, he published a textbook in Latin entitled *Elements of the Art of Midwifery, to be Used in University Courses*. In the preface, the young man boldly justified his decision: among the numerous publications of famous authors from several countries, he had found not a single suitable textbook; all of them had too many gaps and errors. For making his own book better, he drew on three sources. First, he mentioned his own observations, although his practice had started only three years before, and he had attended no more than twenty deliveries in his Göttingen hospital in 1751–1752. Second were the doctrines of his teacher in Strasbourg, the “highly renowned Doctor Fried”. Last came the writings of other unnamed authors. Roederer admitted that his book had shortcomings, but he was confident he would eliminate them in the future by “persistent observation”, thanks to the University’s lying-in facility. The textbook was a success. In 1759, a second edition was published, adorned with Roederer’s portrait. In 1765, a French translation was issued, and Italian and German versions followed.

In addition, Roederer authored learned articles, instructive case histories, and treatises on specific subjects. It appears that he was the first obstetrician to systematically weigh all the new-born babies delivered in his hospital. He published the results and related them to the identification of whether a delivery was on term, premature or late. In a quasi-mathematical way, he sought to establish regularities, which were likely to be useful in forensic medicine.¹⁰

Soon, Roederer’s fame grew in Germany and abroad. As early as 1756, the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences offered him membership, the Stockholm Academy followed a year later, and the Paris Academy of Surgery in 1760. Several universities tried to attract him, but he stayed in Göttingen, where he advanced in status and income.

It was an advantage that Göttingen had the maternity hospital. It was an institution in its own right, not a ward of a general hospital. As part of the University, its main purpose was to give practical training to medical students. In addition, it was to offer courses to women who wanted to become midwives. It was an institution in its own right, not a ward of a general hospital. A general hospital was founded at the University of Göttingen only thirty years later, in 1781.¹¹

10 Roederer, *De temporum in graviditate*; Osiander, *Lehrbuch der Entbindungskunst*, 324–25; Gélis, *La sage-femme*, 274.

11 Bueltingsloewen, *Machines à instruire*, 112–19; Winkelmann, “Das akademische Hospital.”

The beginnings of the university lying-in hospital, however, were modest. It was a small institution, but an influential one. It consisted of just one or two rooms located in a late medieval municipal 'hospital' for the elderly poor. Roederer had to fight repeated battles with the town authorities, who were unwilling to give up their power over the municipal hospital. He had equally hard fights with the state government for sufficient funds. By the time Roederer died in 1763, hardly aged 37, he had taken care of 232 deliveries in the Göttingen hospital. We know that 160 medical students took Roederer's course, coming from many German states, and even from abroad, e.g., from the Russian Empire and Sweden. Quite a few of them acquired fame as medical doctors, with some in the field of obstetrics.¹²

From the 1760s, other German states began to follow the example of Göttingen by founding lying-in wards for teaching purposes. In Kassel and Brunswick, Roederer's former students, Georg Wilhelm Stein (1737–1803) and Johann Christoph Sommer (1741–1802), became directors.¹³ If these facilities were not part of universities, in the following decades more and more German universities established obstetrical clinics.¹⁴ Thus, the lying-in hospital of Göttingen University and its first director, Johann Georg Roederer, had a major impact in Germany and beyond.

A lying-in hospital with extraordinary documentation

In the 1770s and 1780s, the great success of the Göttingen lying-in hospital, as a model followed by other towns and countries, made it fall back in the competition with similar institutions. That is why the University managed to convince the government that a new building was needed. The medieval hospital was finally pulled down, and in 1785–1791 a spacious and fairly elegant one was erected at considerable expense. The new structure housed only the maternity hospital. It had eight rooms for pregnant or lying-in women, with two patients to a room, and a single bed for every woman. In addition, there were rooms for the midwives who were taking their course in the hospital, as well as for the staff which consisted of a servant, a midwife, a manager, and the director. Corridors and staircases were very spacious: light and fresh air were believed to help prevent miasmata and, thus, the spread of disease. In the new building, the annual number of deliveries increased to between 80 and 100. Still, this was a modest figure compared to the lying-in hospitals of Dublin, Paris, or Vienna, each of which registered more than a thousand births a year around 1800.¹⁵

12 Roederer and Osiander, *Tabellarisches Verzeichnis*.

13 Vanja, "Das Kasseler Accouchierhaus"; Lükewille, *Georg Wilhelm Stein*; Beisswanger, "Accouchierhospital in Braunschweig."

14 Seidel, *Eine neue 'Kultur des Gebärens'*, 137–38, 157–60; Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*, 22.

15 Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*, 27–51.

In 1792, a few months after the new building was completed, a new director and professor of obstetrics, Friedrich Benjamin Osiander (1759–1822), was called to Göttingen, who held this position for thirty years. He took advantage of the modest size of ‘his’ hospital. Living with his family in the director’s apartment on the top floor, he was able to closely oversee the institution. And he was determined to shape it exactly according to his views. The manager, who was not a medical man, dealt with economic and administrative tasks. The hospital midwife was responsible for the “subordinate supervision of pregnant women and women who had recently given birth” as well as “for order and cleanliness in the living and sleeping quarters.” She was in charge of most of the everyday contact with patients, did easy surgical jobs like administering clysters, assisted the director in deliveries, and took care of the new-born infants. She was clearly subordinated to the director. The patients were of course supposed to obey the director, the manager, and the midwife.¹⁶

That this distribution of power between the obstetrician and the midwife was not necessarily inherent to the institution becomes evident in a comparison with the maternity hospital of Port-Royal in Paris, founded in the 1790s as a successor to the lying-in ward of the *Hôtel-Dieu*. At Port-Royal, it was the chief midwife, and not the *accoucheur-en-chef*, who actually ran the hospital well into the nineteenth century. The professors of the medical faculty of the University of Paris strove in vain to gain access to Port-Royal and have their students admitted. Port-Royal trained only female midwife apprentices.¹⁷

All this was quite different at the University of Göttingen hospital. According to Osiander, it had three purposes that he ranked hierarchically:

“The lying-in hospital at Göttingen has, above all, the aim of forming skilful obstetricians, worthy of the name *Geburtshelfer* [‘helper in childbirth’, the German equivalent of *accoucheur*]. A second purpose is the training of midwives, especially midwives who distinguish themselves by their knowledge and their skills, as compared to ordinary midwives. Finally, a third purpose is to provide a safe shelter for poor pregnant women, married or not, during the period of childbirth, and grant them every support and help that might be required for them and their children.”¹⁸

In an effort to establish order in ‘his’ hospital, Professor Osiander drew up laws and statutes both for the patients and for the students. By the ‘house laws’, printed and posted in all the patients’ rooms, the director prescribed the rules of proper behaviour, cleanliness, and obedience. He insisted on a simple, but nutritious diet,

16 Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*, 53–72, 115–58.

17 Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, “Die Chef-Hebamme”; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Naître à l’hôpital*, 124–42.

18 Osiander, *Annalen der Entbindungs-Lehranstalt*, Vol. 1, 1, IX.

and asked pregnant women to help care for lying-in and sick patients and do other light work, as was usual in other hospitals as well. Contact with the outside world was strictly limited. Every pregnant woman was obliged to notify the hospital midwife as soon as her labour pains set in. The other patients, too, had to report such an event; by no means could they help to conceal the onset of labour.¹⁹

The statutes for the students were hand-written by the professor in Latin. He admonished the “noblest and most honourable” gentlemen to behave decently and not to walk into the patients’ rooms. When called to watch a childbirth, they could not enter the delivery room before the professor gave permission. During the sometimes long waiting hours, they were not allowed to play cards or smoke tobacco; instead, they were encouraged to use the scholarly books in the hospital library Osiander had founded.²⁰

In his publications, Professor Osiander explained to the public how he organised all the procedures in the hospital with an eye on its main aim, i.e., giving students as many opportunities as possible for practical education. As he made every effort to organise hospital practice according to his notion of order and expedience, he also had the ambition of mirroring these well-ordered practices in a systematic, detailed and exact documentation. He installed a hospital archive in a special room and put the papers into good order. Painstakingly, he composed hand-written catalogues of the hospital library and of his personal collection of instruments and anatomical preparations. The core of the documentation, however, is the case histories in the “hospital diaries”.

In several European countries, ambitious medical men took case notes on the patients they treated and published “observations” on the cases which they considered interesting.²¹ Roederer and his students did the same in the Göttingen hospital, and Osiander managed to obtain from Roederer’s heirs these papers, which had been written on loose sheets for the hospital archive.²² Osiander entered his case histories into half leather volumes in folio size, usually by his own hand. He wanted to be master not only of hospital practices, but also of the documentation and the knowledge accumulated therein. The importance of this point is illustrated by a serious conflict at the big maternity hospital of Port-Royal, Paris, in 1825. There, the fight for supremacy between the chief obstetrician and the chief midwife erupted over the question of who was entitled to keep the hospital’s case book.²³

19 Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*, 144–48.

20 Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*, 144, 170, 174–75.

21 Aschauer, *Gebärende unter Beobachtung*.

22 They are preserved in *Bibliothek der Abteilung Ethik und Geschichte der Medizin der Universität Göttingen: Archivmaterialien aus dem Bestand der Universitäts-Frauenklinik der Universität Göttingen*.

23 Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Die Chef-Hebamme*, 233–37; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Naitre à l’hôpital*, 130–33.

Osiander recorded the events “faithfully” and without concealing “the errors committed”, as he assured the public. In this way, his notes helped improve his own knowledge, and, when used in courses or publications, that of students and colleagues. Most of the volumes of Osiander’s “hospital diary” have been preserved, although some have been lost over the centuries.²⁴

Although the Professor Osiander’s did not use a printed form, his case histories followed a clear pattern, shaped by the obstetrician’s perspective, but handled with some flexibility. A double page was reserved for every case: the left page under the heading “admission”, the right entitled “birth”. Every record had a number and began with the dates when the woman first showed up and when she was admitted to the hospital. Then came the information on the patient: name, age, status, place of birth and residence, physical appearance. For most of these data, the director had to rely on what the woman chose to tell him. She had some room for modelling her identity. The next paragraph contained the anamnesis, the history of her present pregnancy, and eventually, of her earlier pregnancies. The entry always begins with “[she] states”, which makes it clear that the doctor records the woman’s answers to his questions: when she got pregnant, when she last menstruated, how she felt during the pregnancy, when she thought she would give birth. If it was not her first pregnancy, he asked when and where she had delivered, whether the child was still alive, and with whom it lived. The doctor was interested not only in his patients’ physical condition, but also in some social circumstances.

After the anamnesis, it was no longer the woman who spoke. Now the obstetrician did not just ask questions but was willing to give answers himself. He started a physical examination. In the hospital where the patients were treated free of charge, he had more liberty than in private practice: he had the liberty to ask the woman to undress. First came the external, then the internal examination. The doctor sought to determine the position of the foetus and the state of the pregnancy in order to verify, as far as possible, what the woman had said. He wrote down his findings in the last paragraph of the left page.

The right page contained the birth protocol. A short summary in Latin was placed on the margin, with the delivery date and the name of the person who attended. A detailed record took up most of the page. The woman does not appear as an active subject, but her uterus is at centre stage, and it is the obstetrician who plays the active part. The protocol is stylised in a way that the course of action chosen by the obstetrician appears as a logical consequence of the diagnosis concerning the fetal position, the state of the birthing process and possible impediments.

24 In *Bibliothek der Abteilung Ethik und Geschichte der Medizin der Universität Göttingen: Archivmaterialien aus dem Bestand der Universitäts-Frauenklinik der Universität Göttingen*.

That is what the professor intended to teach his students, and he strove to direct his own conduct accordingly. Quite frequently, the handwriting reveals that the birth protocol was penned in several stages, probably in the waiting time between contractions. In these cases, there is less reason to suspect that the entire text was stylised *ex post*, when the outcome was clear.

At the bottom of the right page, the professor gave detailed data about the new-born child: not only its sex, general state of health, and weight, but, as the taste for quantitative measures had progressed since Roederer's times, also their length, diameters of the head, and shoulder length. Osiander also indicated the length of the umbilical cord and the weight of the placenta. Finally, he added information on the child's baptism and father.

This wealth of information on all deliveries in the Göttingen hospital used thirteen years between 1795 and 1814 records a total of 1327 cases, allows a deeper insight into hospital practices than has been possible for similar institutions elsewhere.²⁵ One of the issues that can be studied in detail is what practical education actually meant, and how much of it was available for a student or apprentice.²⁶

The practice of practical teaching

It is well known that in the course of the eighteenth century, in most European countries, the practical education of future physicians and surgeons was increasing in importance. 'Practical education' could, however, mean very different things, ranging from studying printed case histories, or following clinical lectures in the classroom where the teacher showed patients and explained their diseases, to actually treating patients under a professor's supervision. Although we know what the regulations of some medical schools were, there is much less knowledge about how the rules were implemented. We have reason to suspect that there may have been a considerable gap between the norms and the actual practice.²⁷ However, of Professor Osiander's teaching in Göttingen, we have invaluable detailed evidence.

"Every semester a complete course is held on the practical and theoretical parts of midwifery", Osiander informed the medical reading public.²⁸ According to the textbooks of the period, including his own, the "theoretical" part dealt with female genitals, pregnancy, the embryo, and childbirth, in particular "natural childbirth". The "practical" part, in turn, covered "contranatural and difficult cases",

25 Schlumbohm, *Lebendige Phantome*; Schlumbohm, *Verbotene Liebe*.

26 Schlumbohm, "The Practice of Practical Education."

27 Schlumbohm, "Gesetze, die nicht durchgesetzt."

28 Osiander, *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde*, Vol. 1, 1, CVI.

as well as “manual” and “instrumental operations”.²⁹ Osiander had, however, more to offer in terms of practical teaching. In addition to the lecture course, he gave “practical sessions”: demonstrations and exercises with a manikin or “phantom”, a female pelvis covered with leather. Compared to mere lectures or even to pictures, this form of practise, developed in Britain and France, was considered a major improvement. Göttingen students were keenly interested in practising on the dummy. Having taken the lecture course once, many participated in the exercises several more times. With the phantom, Osiander taught two things: first, the semiotics of foetal positions, i.e., how to discover the position of the unborn in the uterus by touching it with one or several fingers through the vagina, and second, how to intervene in difficult cases. In particular, he demonstrated and let his students try how to deliver a child presenting the feet, to turn a child in the uterus, and to use the forceps.

Above all, the hospital made living patients available for teaching purposes. The students were thus trained in palpation not only on the phantom, but also on the pregnant women in the clinic. They learnt how to perform both external and internal manual examinations, and in this way to determine the state of the pregnancy and the position of the foetus. A man touching a woman’s womb and genitals clearly transgressed a strong shame taboo, and that was not easily allowed in private practise.

Deliveries were the most important item the hospital offered for students’ practical education. Osiander pointed out: “It is my intention to derive as much benefit for teaching as possible from the births which occur here. If we do this, a hundred births can be more instructive than thousands in another lying-in hospital.”³⁰ Implicitly, he compared his institution with huge maternity hospitals, such as those in Vienna or Paris, which had more than a thousand births a year, most of which were, however, attended by midwives and midwife apprentices, not the medical director. Osiander described to the medical public how he organized this core of practical teaching: when a woman had gone into labour and her *orificium uteri* was open four fingers wide, the hospital’s servant called in the students. Now the parturient woman was led from her bed to the delivery room and placed on the birth stool. The students assembled in the adjacent room, as did the apprentice midwives, if it was the season when their course took place. Osiander called some of the advanced students into the delivery room, one by one, and had them examine the woman. They told him what they found out about the position of the child and the state of the birthing process. Next, the professor explained the situation to the whole audience in the adjacent room, using the dummy and an artificial head of a baby. He showed the child’s position and pointed out any impediments to the delivery, as

29 Stein, *Theoretische Anleitung*; Stein, *Practische Anleitung*; Osiander, *Grundriss der Entbindungskunst*.

30 Osiander, *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde*, Vol. 1, 1, CX–CXI.

well as indications for intervention. Then he demonstrated the course of action he had chosen. As he underlined in his publications, he was always the one to take the final decision.

When Osiander decided to “leave the delivery to nature”, he asked one of the apprentice midwives to assist. If he opted for “artificial” help, he called upon one of the advanced students. Now the entire audience entered the delivery room. They found the upper half of the parturient’s body hidden behind a green curtain. This was to protect her not only against blinding light, but also against “the annoying sight of many spectators”: the patient’s “shame was spared, at least as much as the circumstances allowed.” She was “naked up to her genitals so that the audience could observe the procedure and the kind of assistance offered.” The hospital’s midwife stood at her side and “instructed her how to push skilfully during contractions.” The professor sat next to the student or apprentice whom he had invited to attend. He directed the ‘business’ and took over when he wanted to show the correct way to proceed as soon as the attendant experienced difficulties or made an error.³¹

As this description makes it clear, there were several levels at which students participated in the deliveries: watching, examining, helping in a natural birth, assisting in an artificial delivery. The higher the level, the smaller the number of those who had access to it.

Osiander usually divided his students into two groups, at least when there were more than thirty, so that only half of them were present at each birth, except in especially complicated cases when all were summoned. The students appear to have kept a careful eye on getting their fair chance of observing deliveries. The professor assured them that he followed an impartial and transparent order in distributing opportunities. But deliveries were a scarce resource compared to the growing number of students, which could exceed sixty a semester.

Assisting a delivery or intervening in one was the highlight of practical education, usually reserved for one student or apprentice per case, rarely to more than two. Since the case histories in the hospital diary always give the name of the birth attendant, we can see how much hands-on experience students could get at Göttingen. For quite a few semesters, the list of students in Osiander’s course is also available. Comparing the two sources, it appears that a third of his students are never mentioned as birth attendants. Another third was in charge only once, less than one in six could do two deliveries, and less than one in ten was active more than three times.

Some lists of the midwife apprentices also survive. Their course lasted for only three months, but they had the advantage of living in the hospital and being only about four in a course, but rarely more than six. Of all the apprentices, only one out

31 Osiander, *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde*, Vol. 1, 1, LXXXIX.

of ten is never mentioned as birth attendant. Less than one third was in charge only once, another third did two or three deliveries, and over 25 percent were active more than three times.³²

Given Osiander's insistence that the training of male medical practitioners was the main purpose of the University's lying-in hospital, these figures come as a surprise. It is true though that there were far more medical students taking Osiander's course than his midwife apprentices. Moreover, among those mentioned as birth attendants, 78 percent were male and only 22 percent female.

If, however, we turn to the experience of individual students and apprentices, we see that the women had more opportunities to practise. Many medical students attended Osiander's lectures for only one semester, exercised a couple of times on the phantom, did a few physical examinations, and watched a small number of births. One-third of his students never took an active part in any delivery in the hospital. Most of those who did were in charge of just one birth, and only a small minority, i.e., five per cent of all students, attended more than four deliveries. In this respect, midwife apprentices were clearly privileged. Since their number was much smaller, they did more exercises with the phantom, examined patients every week, and took care of more births.

We have to take into consideration, however, that female apprentices and male students were not taught the same skills. This is what Osiander pointed out in his publications, and this is also confirmed by the birth protocols in the case books. In the theoretical part of the course and in the exercises with the phantom, the emphasis for midwives was on assisting "natural" births. Using the phantom, Osiander taught midwives how to deliver a child presenting by the feet or the breech, and even how to turn a foetus in the uterus, but the medical case books contain only very few indications that he allowed them to practise these manoeuvres during real births. Never did he allow them to use the forceps. On the other hand, regarding medical students, the teaching concern most visible in the hospital diary is showing them how to use the forceps, because Osiander was firmly convinced that a forceps operation, performed skilfully, was the best assistance in most protracted and difficult births. Although leading English obstetricians had opposed this view since the mid-eighteenth century, and even French *accoucheurs* were beginning to give it up, Osiander proudly declared to the public that he hardly ever let a lingering or painful delivery, "whether caused by the umbilical cord wrapped around the foetus, or by a first degree of obstruction, slip by without the forceps being applied, either by myself in front of the students, or by a student who is already well-practised on the phantom". This was not an overstatement: in the thirty years of his directorship of the Göttingen maternity hospital, the forceps were used in forty per cent of all deliveries.³³

32 Schlumbohm, "The Practice of Practical Education."

33 Schlumbohm, "The Pregnant Women," 70–72; Osiander, *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde*, Vol. 1, 1, CX–CXI.

The effective use of the forceps, however, could only be learnt by extensive practice, guided by an experienced practitioner.³⁴ It is questionable whether it was sufficient to see them used by the professor, exercise a couple of times on the phantom, and try them once or twice on a real patient.

This is also true of practical education in general. There is no doubt that a maternity hospital like the one at the University of Göttingen allowed more practical training than had previously been possible. And it may well be that in the medium-sized hospital, under the close control of professor Osiander, opportunities for medical students were better than in some of the big maternity hospitals where midwives were in charge of most deliveries. Nevertheless, the great majority of medical students probably had much to learn on the job after their years at university. Osiander hoped to build the foundation for such continuing education by the enlightened principles expounded in his lectures and demonstrated in the obstetric activity of his hospital. But he was aware that a man will become a “master of the art” only by exercising on his own in private practise, and by continued lifelong learning.³⁵ Hands-on practical experience with deliveries was a scarce resource in the hospital, and only a small amount could be allocated to each student.

The patients in the lying-in hospital

Professor Osiander liked to use forthright words and was quite explicit about the patients' place: “It is by no means true that this hospital exists for the sake of unmarried pregnant women. Not at all! Pregnant women, be they married or not, are here for the sake of the teaching institution.” The hospital was not a welfare institution, but a scientific and educational one. That is why its doors were flung wide open: “Every pregnant woman can be admitted to this institution, married or not, native or foreign, Christian or Jewish, white or negro.”³⁶ This lack of prejudice is in striking contrast to the principles prevalent in poor relief. There, usually all non-natives were excluded, and only members of the community were admitted. It was the very fact that in the maternity hospital patients were treated as teaching material that actually enabled such a liberal admission policy.

The admission books (*Aufnahmebücher*) of the hospital confirm that the liberal principles were followed in practice. As far as religion is concerned, 61 percent of

34 Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery*, 71–72, 96. See also Osiander, *Grundriss der Entbindungskunst*, Vol. 2, 69–70.

35 Osiander, *Grundriss der Entbindungskunst*, Vol. 1, 11–12.

36 Osiander, *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde*, Vol. 1, 1, XC–XCI. Cp. Schlumbohm, “The Pregnant Women.”

patients were Lutheran, 28 percent Calvinist, 10 percent Catholic, and 1 percent Jewish.³⁷ More foreigners than residents of the Electorate of Hanover were admitted. Almost all patients shared, however, one characteristic. They were *not* married. Out of the almost 3,600 women delivered at the Göttingen maternity hospital in the years 1791–1829, only 2 percent declared that they were married, and another 2 percent said that they were widowed. But many of them did not name their husband as the child's father. Thus, about 98 percent of the children born in the hospital were illegitimate. Similarly, in most lying-in hospitals of Continental Europe the great majority of patients were unmarried.³⁸

Most women who gave birth in the Göttingen hospital were servants in towns or villages, who could be fired without notice when they fell pregnant. For pregnant single women of the lower classes, the hospital was attractive because it offered free accommodation and food during the difficult time of childbirth. Like most German lying-in hospitals, but unlike those in Vienna, Paris, and Turin,³⁹ Göttingen had no foundling hospital. Mothers had to take their babies home.

Osiander shocked some of his contemporaries and posterity by his statement about the patient's role in the clinic: since practical education of medical students and midwife apprentices is the main goal, "the pregnant and delivering women who are admitted to our hospital are regarded, as it were, as living manikins, with which everything is done that is useful for the students and midwives and that facilitates the labour of childbirth (always however with the greatest protection for the health and life of the patients and their children)."⁴⁰ These words about patients as living manikins are more forthright than was usual. But, in principle, the attitude towards patients who were treated in hospitals free of charge was shared by many medical men in Britain and France: "Hospital patients are [...] the most proper subjects of an experimental course."⁴¹

There is no doubt about the professor's intention, but there is evidence that the women were sometimes able to set limitations to the realization of his project.

37 Schlumbohm, "Verheiratete und Unverheiratete," also for what follows.

38 Seidel, *Eine neue 'Kultur des Gebärens'*, 164–68; Metz-Becker, *Der verwaltete Körper*, 149–52, 192–200; Labouvie, *Beistand in Kindsnöten*, 290–94; Pawlowsky, "Ledige Mütter"; Hilber, *Institutionalisierte Geburt*, 240–42; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Naître à l'hôpital*, 142–47; Cavallo, *Charity and Power*, 199–201; Filippini, "Sous le voile." This was different in most of the London maternity hospitals which were based on private donations, see Schlumbohm, "Poor Relief," 26–27; Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery*, 146–147; Croxson, "The Price of Charity," 29–30.

39 Seidel, *Eine neue 'Kultur des Gebärens'*, 223, 232–37; Pawlowsky, *Mutter ledig*; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Naître à l'hôpital*, 87–97, 272–76; Cavallo, *Charity and Power*, 196–201; Filippini, "Sous le voile."

40 Osiander, *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde*, Vol.1, 1, CIX–CX.

41 Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, 79; Foucault, *Die Geburt der Klinik*, 99–101.

A considerable part of those who were not immediately admitted when they first showed up in the hospital never returned. Voting with their feet, they seem to have had enough after the very first physical examination by the director. Quite a few arrived when they were already in labour, so that the students could not be summoned for the delivery, let alone for practising examinations. Others tried to hide their labour although they were already staying at the hospital.

Success and failure

Beginning in the late eighteenth, and definitely in the nineteenth century, the directors of maternity hospitals and professors of obstetrics in Germany achieved their goal: they were, at least in the eyes of governments and the educated male public, acknowledged as the leading experts in childbirth. The main reason Roederer and his colleagues had given for entering the field of midwifery was that they were able to save the lives of mothers and children jeopardized by the alleged incompetency of 'ignorant' midwives. Did they keep their promise?

As far as maternity hospitals are concerned, this is more than doubtful. In Germany and throughout Europe, the maternal mortality rate was usually higher in hospitals than for normal home deliveries attended by midwives. For Göttingen's lying-in hospital, the record is better than for its larger counterparts.⁴² In the years 1791–1829, forty-seven parturients did not survive in 3,561 deliveries, that is a maternal mortality rate of 132 per 10,000. During Roederer's period, however, at least five women died in 232 deliveries, which constitutes a rate of 216. Data for villages, towns, and cities show that in home deliveries, attended by midwives and other women, maternal mortality was not worse, but was often better.

Many of the mortality data were published, and publicly discussed by experts from the late eighteenth century. Some argued that childbearing women should not be hospitalised because of the elevated risk of childbed fever. In fact, from the mid-eighteenth century out-patient charities became an attractive alternative to both parturient women and benefactors in Britain.⁴³ In Germany, however, lying-in hospitals were accepted as indispensable for generating expert knowledge and providing obstetric education. Eduard von Siebold, professor of obstetrics and director of the Göttingen University lying-in hospital in 1833–1861, ascribed exactly this double purpose to the maternity hospitals of German universities: they "introduce students into their future practice", and they "enable the teacher to gain relevant

42 Schlumbohm, "Saving Mothers' and Children's Lives."

43 Croxson, "Foundation and Evolution", 45–53; Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery*, 197–98; Loudon, *Death in Childbirth*, 193–203.

scientific results by continuous impartial observation, in a way impossible in private practice, and thus to work for the true progress of their discipline”⁴⁴

In sum, the transformation of midwifery into a branch of medical science was a success story for medical men. It enhanced their standing in the eyes of political authorities and an enlightened male public. Although the amount of practical training which was available for a student was quite limited, it was sufficient for educating a growing number of doctors who were accepted as experts in midwifery. For parturient women, however, the transformation was a mixed blessing, both in terms of their position in the delivery room and mortality risks.

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State Description without State

On the Antecedents of the Statistical Gaze in Hungary

Tibor Bodnár-Király 

Thomas Molnar Institute for Advanced Studies, National University of Public Service, H-1083
Budapest, Ludovika tér 2; bokiti@gmail.com

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Abstract. This study examines the reception of the state sciences in eighteenth-century Hungary. It argues that the genres of historical topography and political geography had a substantial role both in the adaptation of state description (*Staatsbeschreibung*) and in initiating the conflict between various state visions, based on the reappraisal of historical, legal arguments of the dualist political structure on the one hand, and the natural law-based conceptualisation of composite state (*Gesamtstaat*) and good administration (*Gute Polizey*), on the other. The essay claims that this opposing conceptualizations of state also contributed to laying the intellectual foundations for diverse Catholic and Protestant interpretations, developed throughout the eighteenth century. The article comes to the conclusion that until the late eighteenth century the two main competitive lines of state description fundamentally shaped the sociocultural contexts of knowledge of state. In the approach and method, however, these interpretations had different answers to the challenge represented by statistical knowledge. While Catholic history of state appeared less effective against statistical account, statisticians found fierce competitors in the protagonists of political geography.

Keywords: state description, statistics, political geography, state, history of knowledge

Introduction

“I intended to write a history of Hungary, which is called statistics, though I have had to face that, in the end, what I had done was something different. Only in the course of the undertaking did I observe that things were still missing, and that there was a shortage of relevant, proper publications.”¹

The principal aim of this paper² is to explore the intellectual and sociocultural initiatives that motivated the development of Enlightenment-era state descriptions in

1 Georgii Pray, *Historia Regum Hungariae, Ad Lectorem*. (Here and throughout this paper, translations into English are mine, unless otherwise indicated.)

2 This study was supported by an OeAD Ernst Mach Grant – Worldwide (Project Number: 72764).

Hungary. As already noted in the literature, the eighteenth-century history of the genre can be divided into at least two periods. The first was associated with the rise of the genre, which, due to the vivid intellectual climate of German universities, such as Halle (an der Saale), Jena, and Frankfurt an der Oder, offered significant stimuli for the cultural transfers of the 1710–1730s, when Protestant (mostly Lutheran) prominents tried to implement state description as a form of patriotic scholarship into the college curricula of Upper Hungary (today's Slovakia).³ Apart from these first diffuse attempts to domesticate the practice of state description and its vernacular variants in Hungarian scholarly culture, the second period, more closely connected to the High Enlightenment and the Habsburg education reforms of the 1770s, has attracted more attention in historical scholarship. Between the periods of prematurity and institutionalization, however, historiography paid less attention to mid-century developments—in particular, to the contributions of the auxiliary fields of geography and cartography. This historiographical shortcoming is largely due to the teleological perspective of the history of science, which applied a presentist scope and kept producing parallel but fragmented interpretations of eighteenth-century statistics. To avoid this anachronism, in what follows, two arguments should be taken into consideration.

First, instead of focusing on the semantics of statistics (*Statistik*, *Staatenkunde*, *Staatskunde*, *statistica*), it is recommended to distinguish between its various scholarly conceptualizations. In this respect, eighteenth-century statistical studies should be taken as an emerging field of knowledge whose malleable borders were still defined and negotiated by the concurrent approaches of political geography and historical topography. In the paper, special attention will be paid to how these competitive conceptualizations shaped the cultural and political context in which statistical studies became instrumental for the new political administration. Second, in general terms, 'state description' (*notitia rerumpublicarum*, *Staatsbeschreibung*) is also to be taken as a melting-pot of heterodox approaches and practical knowledge, which in the sense of Enlightenment encyclopedism, aimed at measuring and classifying the spatial, economic, political, legal, and historical reality of the state.

Before addressing how historical understanding can benefit from the investigation of Enlightenment state description, it should also be emphasized that the entangled picture of this genre was fundamentally shaped by the clash of Catholic and Protestant conceptualizations evolving alongside each other for most of the

3 As István Mészáros noted, the early statistical compendia of Otto Everhard were regularly included in the lectures of János Tsétsi (1650–1708) and István Vétsei Pataki (?–1743) between 1713 and 1737 at the Reformed College of Sárospatak: Mészáros, "Statisztika – oktatás," 88–89.

eighteenth century.⁴ In the paper, the literature of state description will be illustrated with printed treatises, textbooks, and manuscripts of Catholic and Protestant advocates published between the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and the 1790s. Within this period, the paper takes the entangled relation between the concepts of *Gesamtstaat* and composite monarchy as an essential phenomenon that encouraged the improvement of this literature in both cultural *milieux*.⁵ By stressing this paradox in the title as ‘state description without state’, the paper rather aims to question the modernist narration of the history of statistics and to put the emphasis on both the synchronisms and the parallels that existed between cultural transfers and the local knowledge centers that reinforced the decisively practical (or cameralist) character of the adaptation of political knowledge in the Habsburg Monarchy.⁶

The competitive vocabularies of statehood

By the early eighteenth century, conceptualizing statehood became the political project of the intellectual and cultural elites, evolving in legal-cameral (political), geographical, and historical inquiries almost independent of each other. As the political counselor Leibniz remarked in his early proposal to Ernst August, Prince of Braunschweig and Lüneburg (1680), the collection and classification of especially those pieces of information which while unable to make up a whole *encyclopedia* but still relate to the art of administration (*Regierungs-Kunst*) is especially useful for the government.⁷ From the perspective of later advancements, Leibniz’s statement appeared parochial, although it perfectly captured the direction that early modern political knowledge and statecraft was following in the eighteenth century in order to establish a more comprehensive account of state affairs. Leibniz’s proposal was

4 In the Early Enlightenment, state description in many respects was a product of the Catholic and Protestant confessional knowledge cultures. See the concept of confessional knowledge in Brilkman, “Confessional Knowledge,” 30–32, 35–37.

5 Despite their similar connotations, *Gesamtstaat* was to present the Habsburg Monarchy as a unity and the distinguished inheritor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, while the composite monarchy usually referred to a specific governmental practice and to the territorial and constitutional multiplicity of the state. For this valuable comment and his sharp-eyed criticism, I am especially indebted to László Kontler.

6 Compared to the compelling impact of Protestant Aristotelianism in German university culture, in their adaptation of political studies, the Austrian cameralists preferred the practical and utilitarian (*Polizeiwissenschaft*) to the theoretical approach (*Staatsklugheit*). See Dreitzel, “Reason of state and the crisis of political Aristotelianism,” 163–87; Ottmann, “Protestantische Schulphilosophie in Deutschland,” 218–31. On the Sonnenfelsian system of political studies, see Osterloh, *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, 35–45.

7 Leibniz, *Entwurf gewisser Staatstafeln*, 342.

still aimed at the framework of the political administration of the princely state (*Fürstenstaat*). What his descendants were concerned with, however, was reconciling the old dynastic perspective of statehood with the holistic and, in the terms of the Enlightenment, scientific vision offered by state descriptions. As has been recognized by the literature, although this challenge on the level of the state of the art and political counselling may have appeared to be part of practical politics (*politische Praxis*), in the republic of letters by the mid-eighteenth century it led to the establishment of a new field of knowledge. In due course, by providing an increasing amount of accurate and credible data, information and figures, statistical studies revealed new developments in the ongoing competition of European empires, including the internal strengths and weaknesses of states. The perspective from which the new science of state gazed on its subject was based on the political vocabulary of the composite monarchy. Regarding the German context of statistics, this shared framework of European composite monarchies was fundamentally impacted by the theory of good administration (*Gute Polizey*), and by the legal-political concepts of the state (*Staat*) and the realm (*Reich*), thereby playing a distinguished role in upholding the idea of *Gesamtstaat*. In this respect, statistics represented not only a new variant of the state sciences of the Enlightenment, but by using the concept of *Gesamtstaat* it aimed to redescribe the received semantics of the composite monarchy, causing latent epistemic turmoil among the various scholarly approaches and disciplines of political knowledge.

The intellectual impact of state description on the conceptualization of statehood seems to be among the few seemingly evident issues that have remained almost unaddressed in the scholarship of intellectual history and the history of science. Looking at the sporadic but more significant hints in the literature, it should be noted that attempts to apply the concept of practical Enlightenment (*praktische Aufklärung*)⁸ had exclusively practical, administrative, and economic implications in terms of seeking the real effect of statistical figures and data on political decision-making.⁹ This narrow and internalistic interest of research, therefore, failed to address the other side of the coin and reconsider the fact that producing statistical books, tables, and data in the eighteenth century was as much a political as a scientific and intellectual venture. In what follows, attention will be paid to the rival descriptive approaches of statistical studies, with special regard to historical topographies

8 Schindler and Bonß, "Praktische Aufklärung," 255–63; Lowood, *Profit and the Promotion of Science in the German Enlightenment*, 291–366; Bödeker, "Economic Societies in Germany," 181–211; Wakefield, "The Practical Enlightenment," 149–65; Stuber and Wyss, *Useful Natural History*, 891–920.

9 See more recently Török, "Measuring the Strength of State," 235–61; Török, "The Intellectual Resources of Modern Governance," 183–200; Behrisch, *Berechnung der Glückseligkeit*, 17–23.

and political geographies. Regarding the monocausal interpretations of the history of statistics, it must be stated that the practice of eighteenth-century state description was many before it became one. To ascertain how these alternatives were connected to the competitive vocabularies of statehood, we should turn to the views of contemporaries who had first-hand experience of this phenomenon.

In this regard, Martin Schwartzner's commentaries on contemporary Catholic counterparts gives especially valuable insight into the conflicting accounts in relation to which the new statistical approach had to identify itself. In the first edition of his volume on the statistics of the Kingdom of Hungary: *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern* (1798); the Lutheran historian, gave concise but vitriolic criticism of the ex-Jesuit interpretation of state description, declaring that its old-fashioned dedication to history, geography, and public law were obsolete.¹⁰ In tracing the Hungarian antecedents of statistical studies, Schwartzner paid special attention to the work of Mihály Horváth, which he saw as the first statistical textbook to attempt to make a comprehensible account of Hungary.¹¹ In Schwartzner's judgement, however, Horváth's perspective resembled the old Hungarian public law much more than modern descriptive statistics.¹² The verdict of the Lutheran historian was to some extent still nurtured by the confessional bias against the Catholic tradition of state description. This aspect of his approach becomes more apparent when compared to the author's opinion of his Protestant predecessors. As expected, here Schwartzner tended to emphasize the continuity between his own efforts and the historical and geographical works of Matthias Bel and Johann Matthias Korabinsky—even if neither Bel nor Korabinsky had ever dealt with statistics or intended to call themselves statisticians.¹³

Despite Schwartzner's preoccupation with Catholic history and state description, his appraisal was correct in pointing out a rival conceptualization of statehood, which could by no means be compared to the approach of the *Universitätsstatistik* lectures he attended during his peregrination in Göttingen (from October 1779 to October 1782).¹⁴ In the second edition of his book, Schwartzner presented two further examples from ex-Jesuit scholars to provide evidence of how statistics was becoming confused with the history of the state (*Staatengeschichte*). The first reference was Schwartzner's close friend, colleague, and former professor of statistics in the Legal

10 Schwartzner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern*, 27–33.

11 Horváth, "Statistices regni Hungariae supplementa." Horváth's textbooks were in use after the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, too. See his other contributions: [Horváth], "Introductio ad Historiam Ungariae critico-politicam"; Horváth, "Statistica regni Hungariae."

12 Schwartzner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern*, 32.

13 Schwartzner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern*, 17–20.

14 Futaky, *Göttinga*, 63–64.

Academy of Nagyvárad (Großwardein, Oradea), Jacob Ferdinand Miller, who in his *Praecognita Statistica* (1792) claimed that political science (*Polizeiwissenschaft*) was part of statistics. In Schwartner's view, the second example represented a more obvious case of the same misconception. Therein, the famous royal historian György Pray, in the preface of his three-volume work on the history of the state of Hungary (*Historia Regum Hungariae, cum notitiis praevis ad cognoscendum veterem regni statum*) made a self-critical account of his mistake in writing a proper history of statistics (see the citation above). In Schwartner's understanding, Pray's naive confession (*naives Geständnis*), however, unequivocally proved that, by the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, statistics had become a distinct approach within the field of state sciences (*Staatsgelertheit*).¹⁵ As Paul Streidl has already noted in his monograph on Gottfried Achenwall, affected by eighteenth-century politicization (*Politisierung*), the European Enlightenment witnessed the improvement of two moderate types of state science. According to the first, state science was to be founded on legal-historical knowledge, illustrating the interest of local political elites and estates. Conversely but simultaneously, the second alternative in the frame of absolutism was congruent with promoting enlightened natural (state) law and the new political science (*Polizeiwissenschaft*).¹⁶ In the case of the Habsburg Monarchy, the second type of state science played an admittedly substantial role in constituting and upholding the idea of *Gesamtstaat* during the eighteenth century. As far as the first alternative is concerned, its intellectual impact on Habsburg state-building needs further explanation.

Concentrating on the short but eventful period from the Siege of Vienna (1683) to the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), two initiatives should be taken into consideration. In political terms, apart from the rebellion and military campaign Prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi II launched against Austria between 1703 and 1711, there was no credible alternative to Habsburg state-building.¹⁷ Thus, the evolving concept of *Gesamtstaat* framed both the intellectual and constitutional context in which enacting the matrilineal succession of the Habsburg House (Pragmatic Sanction) in 1723, i.e., the connection of the Hungarian nobility and Austria, could be understood. The consequences of this political reconciliation, however, were as ambiguous as unpredictable. On the surface, while the ancient constitution and the primacy of fundamental laws was restored, this left the political power of the counties and local authorities

15 Schwartner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern* (1809), 5–6.

16 Streidl, *Naturrecht, Staatswissenschaften und Politisierung*, 10–13.

17 On Rákóczi's concept of state, see Várkonyi, *Rákóczi tanulmányok*, 61–74; Tóth, "L'idée de la justice et la guerre d'indépendance," 145–58; Pálffy, "Egy elbukott, mégis sikeres függetlenségi mozgalom," 15–30.

untouched,¹⁸ and the legal-historical knowledge set applied to constitute the composite monarchy in the traditional way tended to lose its exclusive position. In other words, although in the eyes of its Hungarian counterpart, the old dualism between the king and estates (with its legal-historical foundations) seemed to have been restored, this frame still needed to be adjusted to the political-legal measures of the Habsburg *Gesamtstaat*. In response to this political transition, the description of the state and its constitutive elements (counties, *vármegyék*)—including their physical, cultural, and political conditions—made the descriptive scholarly practice conflicted and impeded by the obstructive behavior of the Hungarian nobility. In this context, the Habsburg re-evaluation of the Hungarian past and present faced two main obstacles.

The first obstacle concerned the missing historical material, raising the need for establishing systematic collections on which critical inquiry into historical documents and diplomas could proceed. Affected by the Catholic history of the Church and the critical methodological premises of Bolland and Mabillon, the first project that aimed at collecting historical sources was run by Jesuit prominents like Gábor Hevenesi, István Kaprinai, and Sámuel Timon from the 1680s onwards. Although Hevenesi's collection still attempted to develop the history of the Jesuit Order, the historical material he and his followers accumulated over the eighteenth century also laid the ground for the significant history of state projects, such as those of Károly Palma's, István Katona's, and György Pray's.¹⁹ Coming to the second obstacle, it should be emphasized that after the restoration of the ancient constitution, the bond between Austria and Hungary was conceived within the traditional framework of dualism between the king and the estates (*tractatus dietalis*). Therefore, for Hungarian political elites, statehood once again did not primarily mean the *Gesamtstaat* but the old composite monarchy; the process of political coordination (and harmonization), which secured both the principle of balance of power between the political participants and the rights of the Hungarian nation (*natio Hungarica*) in terms of legislative and executive power.²⁰

Conceptually, this sentiment of Hungarian statehood permeated not only the political vocabulary, but was also present in the lexicons and dictionaries of the

18 The use of the concept of ancient constitutionalism (*avita constitutio*) can be detected no earlier than the end of the century. Szijártó, "The Birth of the Constitution," 46–62. On the significance of public law in public office, see Horbec, "The »Quiet Force«, " 81–108.

19 See Hevenesi's place in historiography and his programmatic declaration in Hóman, "Kishevesi Hevenesi Gábor," 322–25.

20 For further explanation, see Barker, "The Development of Hungarian Political Language"; Szijártó, "The unexpected survival of the dualism," 27–39; Kontler and Trencsényi, "Hungary," 179–80; Zászkaliczky, "Eszmetörténeti szempontok," 14–23; Miru, *Az alkotmányozás politikai nyelve*, 9–114.

1830s. Although these philosophical, legal, and official wordbooks were published between 1826 and 1843, their compilers still heavily relied on the alphabetical collections of the 1780–1790s. The incorporation of these word lists into the lexicon entries provides a good opportunity to capture the interplay between the competitive vocabularies of *Gesamtstaat* and the composite monarchy. Without featuring an abstract meaning of the state, the entries covered two distinct semantic layers. The first layer usually brought together the general and the specific meaning of the state. According to this, *statehood* (álladalom) was equivalent to a particular *condition* (állapot), *real status* (mibenlétel), and the more specific *statistics* (statistica).²¹ Under the concept of *state* (állam), the entries generally listed three or four alternatives. The most common meaning was the particular *condition* (állapot), the *real status* (mibenlétel), and *state* (állapot), *ordines* (kar), *estate* (rend), and *realm* (ország).²² Apart from the general meaning, the lexicon entries clearly referred to the Latin concept of *estates and ordines* (status et ordines) and *realm* (regnum), providing further explanations of the other specific meanings.²³ Using the political vocabulary of composite monarchy, the lexicon entries articulated a sharp distinction between central and local administration. In effect, this strategy made the *Gesamtstaat* less visible to the reader. The vocabulary of *Gesamtstaat* was thus limited to the particular concepts of *administration* (administratio, Regierung), *politics* (politia, Polizey), and *imperium* (empire, Reich), the latter representing both the imperial government and absolute rule.²⁴ As is visible, in these lexicon entries the polarization of the semantic fields of the narrow and the broader concept of state was prevalent. ‘State’ in a narrow sense primarily meant the actors and participants thereby represented,

21 See Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár*, 207; Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár*, 2nd ed., 188; *Philosophiai műszótár*, 185; *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 394.

22 Still, the early dictionaries of Károly Pauly and Ferenc Verseggy listed only three meanings. Pauly, *Magyar Tiszti Írásmód*, 159; [Verseggy], *Lexicon Terminorum Technicorum*, 427. However, the later editions of the legal and philosophical dictionaries published by Károly Puky and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences gave four alternatives for the concept of state. Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár* 2nd ed., 188; *Philosophiai műszótár*, 185; *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 394.

23 On estates and ordines, see Pauly, *Magyar Tiszti Írásmód*, 139; Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár* 2nd ed., 188; *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 394. See realm (regnum): *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 356; Verseggy, *Lexicon Terminorum Technicorum*, 389.

24 See administration (administratio): Pauly, *Magyar Tiszti Írásmód*, 7; *Philosophiai műszótár*, 5; Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár* 2nd ed., 12; *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 12–13; Verseggy, *Lexicon Terminorum Technicorum*, 11–12. See empire (imperium): Pauly, *Magyar Tiszti Írásmód*, 70; *Philosophiai műszótár*, 86; Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár* II, 102; *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 179; Verseggy, *Lexicon Terminorum Technicorum*, 227. See politics (politia): Pauly, *Magyar Tiszti Írásmód*, 108; *Philosophiai műszótár*, 148; Puky, *Honni törvény-szótár* 2nd ed., 155; *Törvénytudományi műszótár*, 299; Verseggy, *Lexicon Terminorum Technicorum*, 349. On the historical semantics of the concept see Knemeyer, “Polizei,” 875–97.

and constituted the political power of dualist statehood (estates and ordines, king, etc.). Consequently, each aspect that did not fit this narrow understanding had to be implemented into the broader concept of the state. The distinction between the narrow and broad conceptualizations of statehood resonated with the slow transformation of political vocabulary over the eighteenth century, expressing the strong self-identification of the nobility with the old customs of which they were constitutive parts and upholders, but not subjects and improvers of state.

Traditional sentiment about Hungarian statehood not only visibly but also conceptually objected to the Habsburg politics of consolidation—primarily at points of decision-making, the fundamental rights of subjects, and local administration. As is well-known, statistics as a *nova scientia* in the name of *Gesamtstaat* provided a descriptive-scientific framework with which to reconcile the composite monarchy with absolute rule and natural law. Before statistics, however, state description was predominantly associated with historical, topographical, and geographical knowledge mostly composed by Jesuit scholars. In the following sections, I will show how the Jesuit vision of state description managed to adjust to changing political expectations and affected the frame within which Hungarian statehood could be understood.

The Catholic alternative: from historical topography to history of state

At the turn of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, historical topography evolved in direct response to changing political circumstances that arose after the liberation of Hungary from Ottoman rule. As far as the political context is concerned, the Turkish wars and the restoration of local administration provided a profound opportunity to fashion historical and geographical knowledge as useful components for two related but intersecting projects: Habsburg state-building, and the restoration of the composite monarchy.²⁵ To make knowledge production effective, both projects were built upon a reappraisal of received and accessible knowledge and the participation of the new professionals and experts (cartographers, travelers, land surveyors, naturalists, military officers, geographers, and historians). Information-gathering and knowledge production in the 1720s, however, had clear limits also in political and practical terms. Since the accessible knowledge of the political administration was not only insufficient and outdated but also confidential, fresh information on the country's veritable natural, cultural, and administrative circumstances

25 For the historiographical implications, see Fillafer, "Die imperiale Dialektik von Staatsbildung," 179–93. On the restoration plans of the Kingdom of Hungary, see Iványi, "Esterházy Pál nádor," 137–61; Kalmár and Varga, "Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Hungarn"; Kökényesi, "Helyzetértékelés és konszolidációs javaslatok," 487–500.

was in short supply in the publicity of the republic of letters. This restriction on who could access valuable information and when also determined how knowledge-producers (ecclesiastic orders, political administrators, etc.) reacted to the information hunger of the 1720s. On the Catholic side, the most prevalent and comprehensive way to solve this problem was to compose descriptive works on the history, topography, and geography of the Kingdom of Hungary.

After Sebastian Münster's choreographic-cosmographic approach, seventeenth-century historical topography started to present geographical knowledge as a practical and useful asset for political administration. History and geography identified the early modern territorial state by its temporal and spatial conditions, the two realities that were of great significance in seventeenth-century political conflicts. This style of knowledge production which brought together historical material and geographical scope still benefited much, however, from the late sixteenth-century and the early seventeenth-century secularization of universal geography.²⁶ As for the methodology, one of the most influential advocates of the new geographical approach was Philipp Clüver, who in his posthumous work (*Introductio in Universam Geographiam, tam veterem, quam novam*, 1624), expressed the need for a comprehensive account of inquiry using the classical periodization of the old and new ages of the earth. Despite adopting a linear chronology, however, Clüver had no intention of involving historical knowledge into his inquiry.²⁷ Besides Clüver's attempt, the idea that auxiliary fields of geography and history could make good bedfellows had its roots also in the scholastic scholarship and in the popular publications of the Elsevirian Republic.²⁸ Related to these developments, Clüver's essential work maintained the interest of intellectual circles and was subject to further updates and editions during the seventeenth century. For instance, when republishing the 1664 edition of Johannes Buno in 1697, the new editors (Johann Friedrich Heckel and Johannes Reiske) added an amendment to Clüver's work, in which they declared that the value of geography was to be found in its connection to history.²⁹ The adap-

26 Vogel, "Cosmography," 469–96; Fodor, *A magyar földrajztudomány története*, 70.

27 Cluverii, *Introductionis in Universam Geographiam* (1629), 11–45.

28 See Clüver in the early Jesuit geographical textbooks: Šek Brnardić, "Geography in the service of faith," 8. For the popular prints, see Martin Schödel's *Disquisitio historico-politica, de regno Hungariae* (1630). To his work Schödel attached a programmatic plan in which he proposed a comprehensive inquiry into the history of Hungary from the early periods to the present. His plan (*Graphis futurarum causarum et iconographia effigierum*) was based on the principles of scholastic science, while in the geographical part, he relied on Clüver's assessments. Schödel, *Disquisitio historico-politica, de regno Hungariae*, ff Q2–Y2. For the analysis of Schödel's plan, see Tóth, *Szent István, Szent Korona*, 57–64. Schödel's treatise was anonymously republished in an abbreviated form in a series of 'small republics' (*Petites Républiques*) by the Elsevirian Republic, entitled *Respublica et Status regni Hungariae* (Leiden: Elseviria, 1634).

29 Cluverii, *Introductionis in Universam Geographiam* (1697), *Dedicatio*.

tion of Clüver's geography to the needs of historical inquiry made him one of the most inspirational historical geographers. From this perspective, it was no surprise that, at the end of the seventeenth century, the 1697 edition of his work returned as a shared reference in the historical topographies of the Hungarian Jesuit fathers.

Apart from Luigi Fernando Marsigli's and Johann Christoph Müller's cartographic project, sponsored by the central government (*Danubius Pannonico-mysicus: observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis, perlustratus et in sex tomos digestus*, 1726), the pioneers of historical topographies were usually members of the Jesuit Order.³⁰ Still, the first publication that reopened the geographical discourse before the Treaty of Karlowitz was a compendium of Gábor Hevenesi's, *Parvus Atlas Hungariae* (1689), which appeared as a collection of useful information rather than a systematic investigation. By giving details on the methodological premises of geography, geographical location, the political administration of the country, and city names, Hevenesi's booklet included a dedication to Joseph I and was supposed to serve didactic purposes as well.³¹ Similarly, Gergely Hidi presented in two parts his topographic work on the most illustrious cities of Hungary at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hidi's contribution, while imperfect, had a strong impact on contemporary Jesuit topographical publications. In Hidi's lifetime, only the first part of the *Celebriorum Hungariae Urbium Celebriora* (1701–1702) came out, which focused exclusively on the ancient history of the cities. The missing modern part was published by another Jesuit scholar, Sámuel Timon, in 1718. While during the eighteenth century Timon's edition of the *Celebriorum Hungariae Urbium Celebriora* went through many reprints by Gábor Szerdahelyi (in 1734, 1754, and 1762), it also inspired Timon's own historical-critical project, the *Imago antiquae & novae Hungariae* (1733–1734).³²

From among the Jesuit topographies, Michael Bonbardi's *Topographia Magni Regni Hungariae* (1718, 1750) excelled in its comprehensiveness. Presenting the official standpoint of the Habsburg dynasty, Bonbardi also relied on Clüver when presenting the history of counties and free royal cities in ancient and modern times. Compared to other Jesuit topographies, Bonbardi wanted to provide a comprehensive picture of the kingdom and involve the history of the Crown provinces (Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, the Banat of Severin, Galicia, and Transylvania) into his investigation. In conceptual terms, Bonbardi's endeavor

30 Reisz, *Magyarország általános térképének elkészítése*, 33–35.

31 Hevenesi, *Parvus Atlas Hungariae*, 5–14, 14–19, 19–50.

32 See Szerdahelyi, "Celebriorum Hungariae urbium & oppidorum Topographia"; Timon, *Imago Novae Hungariae*. See the brief description of Timon's work in Fodor, *A magyar földrajztudomány története*, 24. For Timon's place in historiography and his critical-historical approach, see Benei, *Non tam stylo*, 53–59.

was problematic because due to the lack of fresh information, he had to rely on medieval sources and names.³³ His work also appeared in a second edition, published in 1750 by Johann Baptist Piker. Piker, a professor of natural law in the *Theresianum*, made significant alterations to the original text. Admitting the shortcomings and misconceptions contained in the first edition, in the preface he initiated numerous amendments with special regard to administrative districts, counties, and city authorities. As for the new elements, the old topographic parts were extended to comprise a description of antique Pannonian people, the continuity of the Hun–Avar–Hungarian settlements, and the Christian foundation of the state.³⁴ In addition, the concept of topography was also given a longer explanation, involving the terms *ichnographia* (ichnography), *sciagraphia* (sciagraphy), and *geographia* (geography).³⁵ Similar to Timon's version, the second edition of *Topographia Magni Regni Hungariae* was supposed to be a textbook dedicated to the young Crown Prince Joseph. In this respect, Piker's edition joined other representative political and pedagogical material used for training Habsburg crown princes.

As far as this didactic aspect of Catholic descriptive works is concerned, two more important pieces should be mentioned. The textbooks of the later Bishop of Transylvania, Joseph Anton Bajtay, earned their author a notable reputation among the members of republic of letters. While none of the volumes were ever printed, due to the several contemporary copies and excerpts, they were considered popular. According to István Miskolczy's biography of Bajtay, Maria Theresa commissioned the Piarist scholar to compose the two textbooks for Crown Prince Joseph, one about the history of the state, and the other about the statistics of the Kingdom of Hungary. Although Bajtay managed to fulfil the queen's request by 1754–1757, due to the heir's long illness, private lectures could only begin in 1759.³⁶ The two textbooks were closely related, particularly in terms of historical, topographical, political, and legal material. The five volumes of the *Arcana Hungariae Historia* approached their subject from the conventional perspective of the history of kings, offering a continuous narrative from the Hun–Avar–Hungarian (Scythian) origins to the rule of Maria Theresa.³⁷ In order to make the narration more coherent, in the *Arcana Hungariae Historia*, Bajtay dovetailed Enlightenment stage theory with his dynastic loyalty, aiming to reconcile the country's noble but savage past with the glorious and civilized present. After the age of Joseph I, the early eighteenth-century period of Charles VI was described as a firm step towards the long-awaited consolidation between Austria and Hungary, which then culminated

33 Bonbardi, *Topographia magni regni Hungariae*, 1–40, 41–187.

34 Bonbardi, *Topographia magni regni Hungariae II*, 1–88.

35 Bonbardi, *Topographia magni regni Hungariae II*, Praefatio.

36 Miskolczy, *Bajtay J. Antal*, 16–23.

37 Bajtay, "Arcana Hungariae Historia."

under the rule of Maria Theresa. In contrast to the *Arcana Hungariae Historia*, in the *Statistica Regni Hungariae*, Bajtay strove to describe the cultural, political, and economic circumstances of the kingdom's present. In doing so, he also forged an alternate legal historical explanation to legitimize Habsburg rule over Hungary. Bajtay's strategy comprised two components. First, he recalled the argument in the declaration of 1566 that established the Holy Roman Empire and, by drawing an analogy, he relied on the old legal principle that all lands should be governed by their own laws: "Just as with the provinces of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation which cannot be alienated or revised, so the autonomy of Hungary is one and constant, therefore not subordinated to any foreign or obnoxious majesty."³⁸ Second, in the fifth book, he chose to recite the principle of natural law when he argued in favor of the king's supremacy over the customs and privileges of the Hungarian nobility in terms of legislative power.³⁹ Compared to other Jesuit topographies, Bajtay's historical and statistical works simply accepted *Gesamtstaat* as a frame for the composite monarchy, and instead of sharpening the tension between these rival vocabularies, he clearly aimed to reinforce the close dynastic ties between the Habsburg House and the Hungarian estates.⁴⁰

Bearing in mind the developments of the second half of the eighteenth century, it is beyond question that the Jesuit historical topographies are considered a significant contribution to establishing the Enlightenment discourse on the history of the state in Hungary. There are two reasons for that.⁴¹ First, since they produced excerpts from historical and geographical data, they also provided a more modern image of the state, in which the temporal and spatial components became inseparable. The philological practice of revising historical and geographical sources set the standard for the producers of historical topographies in terms of providing accurate and reliable information. This asymmetry between accessible and credible information gave an impulse to methodological reconsiderations of state descriptions on both the Catholic and Protestant sides. In the method applied and in practice, historical topographies and historical geographies were heavily dependent upon the knowledge circulation of the *respublica litteraria*, the cosmopolitan model of the knowledge network which, due to the centralization and the institutionalization of the Enlightenment, was to make way for other, more professional social formats of science (scientific and learned societies, academies, universities).⁴² Impacted by this slow transformation of the culture of sci-

38 Bajtay, *Statistica Regni Hungariae*, ff 17.

39 Bajtay, *Statistica Regni Hungariae*, ff 45–48.

40 See Bajtay's statistics in Miskolczy, *Bajtay J. Antal*, 116–19.

41 The interest of Jesuit scholars in empirical knowledge corresponded with their relations with the various tendencies of the Enlightenment. See Rubiés, "The Jesuits and the Enlightenment," 3–4, 28.

42 For the example of the Jesuit astronomer, Maximilian Hell, see Aspaas and Kontler, *Maximilian Hell*, 305–43.

ence, historical topographies kept providing facts and data in a descriptive, empirical style, but without using complicated quantifications or an analytical perspective. This clear methodological limit to topographical literature set the stage for the mid-eighteenth century rise of complex classifications and analytical deductions, frequently advocated by political geographers and statisticians.⁴³

Second, by merging geographical, historical, and topographical perspectives, the Jesuit practice of historical topography proved to provide inspiration in several aspects for other genres of state description.⁴⁴ This effect of Jesuit science was especially visible in the work of political geographers, whose methodological reconsideration reflected the findings of topographical literature. Topographical knowledge, in this undercover way, still played a pivotal role in the statistics of Bajtay, whose geographical component was entirely based on data from Karl Andreas Bel's book.⁴⁵ With the *Compendium Hungaricae geographicum* (1753), the younger Bel aimed to contribute to the most important Pietist-Protestant historical geography project of the age, run and organized by his father, Matthias Bel.⁴⁶ Considering the knowledge exchange between Catholic and Protestant scholars, the following section takes a glance at the other side of the coin, with special regard to how geography emerged and improved from its early days to the High Enlightenment. By highlighting the asynchrony with the Catholic tradition of the history of the state, this section will focus on how the new geography discourse distinguished itself from the subject of history before it became irrevocably equated with the descriptive statistical approach.

The Protestant alternative: political geography in the mid-eighteenth century

The most significant state description project of the Early Enlightenment was successfully run between 1718 and 1749 by the polygraph Pietist minister and historian Matthias Bel. Bel, as a pupil of Hermann Francke, peregrinated to Halle between 1704

43 Bödeker, "On the Origins of the »Statistical« Gaze", 169–95.

44 Jesuit knowledge production had similar results in the other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. For the Bohemian political landscape, see Bernard Ferdinand Erdberg's topography *Notitia illustris regni Bohemiae* (1760). For its analysis, see Močičková and Vokurka, *Barokní Čechy pohledem zvnějšku*, 189–208.

45 Mészáros, "Statisztika – oktatás," 99.

46 As for the authorship of the text, it was wrongly identified by István Mészáros: Mészáros, "Statisztika – oktatás," 99. According to Lajos Láng's and Csaba Reis's findings, Tomka-Szászky was only the editor and publisher, while the text can be attributed to Matthias Bel's son, Karl Andreas Bel. Láng, *A statisztika története*, 40; Reis, "Magyarország rövid földrajza," 291–318.

and 1707. On returning from the town on the bank of Saale, he immediately embarked on implementing Francke's pedagogical program into the curriculum of the Lutheran lyceum of Pozsony (Preßburg, Bratislava). Beyond the effect of Pietist theology and pedagogy, the literature has recurrently recognized Bel's peregrination as lasting intellectual inspiration for his later state description project, the *Notitia Hungariae novae*.⁴⁷ Despite the obvious connection to Halle, Bel's engagement with adapting German state description earned less notice in contemporary research. As far as his intention is concerned, Bel's early passionate comments expressed deep engagement with patriotic science, marking the misconceptions and prejudices of foreign authors about Hungarians that were perilous to his cause.⁴⁸ On the other hand, Bel's project was not just a *pas seul* but a collective endeavor, encouraged and supported by several contributors. The three most important pillars of his success were firstly, his ownership of historical material (manuscripts, etc.) and well-organized information gathering, secondly, his continuous involvement of other colleagues, pupils, and family members during distinct phases of work and, finally, the official support of the Kaiser and König Charles VI. This way, Bel managed to accumulate the knowledge, cultural credit, and networks needed to make progress with his project.

As for the first condition, in respect of particular data and information, the geographical description of Hungarian counties (*Comitatus Regni Hungariae*, 1702–1705) penned by the Lutheran theologian and minister Christophorus Parschitius was of notable importance in the early phase of Bel's work.⁴⁹ Dedicated to the historical-critical method, Bel came to possess the valuable manuscript in 1718. In due time, he made notes and comments on all historical works he read, but his conclusions drove him further to arrange a plan for a new phase of data collection. As mentioned, this assertion made his project a collective endeavor, with willing co-authors and hired members.⁵⁰ Especially in terms of geographical measures and information gathering, Bel relied on the skills of other colleagues and pupils. The most significant help was probably provided by his assistants, the geographers and cartographers János Matolai and Samuel Mikoviny. Matolai himself visited and described twenty-three counties and the administrative districts of Jász and Kun, while Mikoviny was of great help in creating maps for the *Notitia Hungariae novae*. In managing the

47 On further intellectual initiatives, see Tóth, "Bél Mátyás," 31–37.

48 On the historiographical program of the *Notitia*, see Tóth, "Bél Mátyás," 157–158; Tóth, "Bél Mátyás ismeretlen történeti forráskiadvány-tervezete," 173–92; Tóth, "A magyar történetírás kritikája," 593–617.

49 On Parschitius' career, see Lakatos and Zombori, "Parschitius Kristóf leírása," 221–22. For the archetype of the Lutheran intellectual in Upper Hungary, see Zombori, "Bél Mátyás," 113–20; Tóth, "Az evangélikus polgárság," 96–123. On the work, see Tóth, "Bél Mátyás," 36–37.

50 Tóth, "Bél Mátyás," 65–128.

working phases of the project, it appears that Bel mostly distributed the fieldwork to his assistants, whilst he undertook the critical evaluation and systematization of the findings. Regarding this method, it should be emphasized that, in the final stage, each volume had to pass through the censors' hands before being published. Affected fundamentally by political conditions, Bel's project was given the official support of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI. As a Protestant, this allowed limited access to the Jesuit archives and historical collections. As for other limitations, the Pietist scholar was forbidden to deal with religious matters in his texts.

Bel had completed his first draft by 1718 (*Notitia Hungariae Antiquae, Mediae, Novae in libros tres divisa*), which then he republished five years later in a fundamentally revised form, entitled *Hungariae antiquae et novae Prodromus* (1723). As the *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica* was developing, the project went through several alterations. In building the concept of state description, Bel emphasized historical and geographical aspects, rather than general political description. Consequently, the historical and geographical descriptions were more elaborately explained—in particular in relation to the ancient historical period and the general and special natural historical conditions.⁵¹ For the political description of the counties concerned, Bel would always give the most basic data in a descriptive style, including cultural, moral, and linguistic differences, but he never shared details about the Church and the nobility.⁵² Unlike Bajtay's works, Bel's project sought a balance between the vocabularies of *Gesamtstaat* and composite monarchy. To make his position clear in this matter, significant alterations had to be made to his original plan. Changing political circumstances, on the other hand, imparted flexibility and compatibility to Bel's efforts, laying the ground for the Protestant tradition that made a significant impact on later state description projects in Hungary. Bel's indisputable reputation survived the author, even though (as with many contemporary projects) his publication was imperfect, and after eleven published county descriptions, the remaining thirty-eight remained in manuscript form.⁵³

As for the sociocultural context of Bel's project, this was due to a complex process of cultural socialization that determined the careers of Protestant intellectuals for generations. In geopolitical terms, Bel's activity happened to be located in the

51 Tóth, "Bél Mátyás", 45.

52 Tóth, "Bél Mátyás", 41–53.

53 For the modern critical edition, see: Bel, "Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica I"; Bel, "Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica II"; Bel, "Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica III"; Bel, "Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica IV"; Bel, "Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica V"; Bel, "Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica VI." On the Hungarian translations, see Bél, "Sopron vármegye leírása I"; Bél, "Ung vármegye leírása."

most developed and prosperous region of Upper Hungary (Lower Hungary district), in the neighborhood of the mining cities of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Schemnitz), Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, Neusohl), and Körmöcbánya (Kremnica, Kremnitz), which generated enormous wealth for the central chamber. In addition, the two capitals (Pozsony and Vienna) were home to a vibrant intellectual climate. Among Bel's students, his close colleague Johann Tomka-Szászky played a major role in bringing Bel's historical project closer to political geography. As a trained geographer, Tomka-Szászky was also the publisher of Bel's posthumous *Compendium* (1753), which covered the geographical parts and maps of the *Notitia*.⁵⁴ After Bel's death, Tomka-Szászky as his successor received the position of rectorate in the Lutheran lyceum of Pozsony. His cultural capital was credited with his peregrination to Jena (from 1717 to 1724) and his engagement with political geography. However, as his later work, the *Conspectus introductionis in notitiam regni Hungariae* (1759) indicates, he remained a devoted improver of historical topography.⁵⁵

Tomka-Szászky's geographical thinking was clearly expressed in a comprehensive work, the *Introductio in orbis hodierni geographiam* (1748), the preface to which was personally written by his former mentor. The *Introductio* not only received significant attention in the contemporary *respublica geographica*, but also included a programmatic statement about the practice of geography. Explained in twenty-two points, Tomka-Szászky distanced his approach from traditional chronology and the type of state description the focus of which was exclusively narrowed down to the specific description of the natural and civil (political) conditions of the provinces. Outlining three potential ways of practicing geography, he identified his work as a 'new geography' that covered all three geographical methods (mathematical, physical, and political), but was interested only in the present circumstances. Making a distinction between geography and historical chronology, the book is divided into two parts.⁵⁶ While the introduction discusses the general concept of geography, the second part places the emphasis on particular state descriptions, presenting them by continent (Europe, Asia, Africa, and America). Moreover, in the appendix, Tomka-Szászky tried to provide additional information about the unknown territories of the Northern Pole, the Eastern continent (Australia), and the Holy Land. As for the intellectual inspiration and the references of the *Introductio*, it compiled the findings of German geographers associated with the geographical renewal of

54 [Tomka-Szászky], "Compendium Hungariae geographicum." The second edition of Szászky's compendia already showed more engagement with the Büschingian method of political geography. See [Tomka-Szászky], *Compendium Hungariae geographicum* (1779), Praefatio, 1–44.

55 Tomka-Szászky, *Conspectus introductionis in notitiam regni Hungariae*, Ad lectorem.

56 Tomka-Szászky, *Introductio in orbis hodierni geographiam*, Ad Studiosos Geographiae.

the 1730s and 1740s, such as Philipp Clüver, Johann David Köhler, Johann Baptist Homann, Christoph(or) Cellarius, Andreas Götz, and Johann Hübner. This way, Tomka-Szászky's treatise joined the circle of authors who claimed the primacy of geographical understanding over the historical approach. From the perspective of the history of science, his view was closely related to the natural historical scope of the Enlightenment, which aimed to comprehend each phenomenon according to its place in nature. In this context, the state as a civil association primarily came under consideration based on its natural capacities, which affected its cultural, financial, administrative, religious, and literary conditions.

Indicating a fundamental shift in the approach of state description, the new political geography anticipated the future rivalry between geographers and statisticians.⁵⁷ Interestingly, this new geography not only challenged but also catalyzed the adaptation of the concept of statistics. As a result, by the 1760s, statistics as a specific, political approach was intermingled with political geography. As a characteristic feature, while these compendia used the concepts of statistics, they neglected the methodological premises of German university lecturers. The conflict between statisticians and geographers entered a new chapter with the *Ratio Educationis* in 1777, when statistical studies were officially implemented into academic and university curricula throughout the Habsburg Monarchy. Despite their dominant position in higher tiers of education, only in the 1790s did the first popular statistical works reach a wider audience. Until then, the distinction between the two emerging fields had earned less notice in the book market, where geographical works had a predominant place.

Habsburg centralization and statistical geographies after the 1750s

The publishing of political geography in the age of statistics may be seen as a profitable business rather than a methodological setback. Eighteenth-century contemporaries looked at the geographer not only as a man of letters, but occasionally also as a statistician. Compared to statistics, geography (with history) was taught as an auxiliary subject in the schools of the Habsburg Monarchy. This status of the subject, however, did not correspond to the heavy demand for it in the book market. Due to its presence in school curricula, the production of geographical knowledge significantly dominated that of the new field of statistics. Intertwined with natural history and economics, geography could easily be separated from new political approaches. This sort of knowledge also had its particular perspective on the state, which it defined according to its physical, fiscal, and cultural resources. Due to the circulation of scientific

57 The same parallelism was spotted by the famous Göttingen statistician August Ludwig Schlözer, who declared statistics to be a sister science (Schwester) of geography; Schlözer, *Theorie der Statistik*, 22–24.

knowledge, information about political geography was included in many outlets and descriptive works of the age, namely in maps, dictionaries, lexicons, travelogues, learned journals, and even in newspapers. The strong demand for political geographies was a consequence of the changing medial framework of the Enlightenment. As the case of Matthias Bel confirms, in the Early Enlightenment the publication of figures and measurements about state affairs required the permission of the organs of censorship. Before the mid-eighteenth century, the policy that secured state and chamber secrecy effectively impeded any public discussion about the veritable stance of the state. The mid-eighteenth century witnessed a notable change in this picture in the form of the popularization of enlightened scientific knowledge. From this time onwards, scholarly reports (including geographical knowledge) tended to become a sought-after type of information. Reflecting on this shift in sentiment, the famous political geographer, Anton Friedrich Büsching remarked the following in the first volume of his famous world geographical series in 1754:

“Not so long ago one had to feel content with a tiny piece of knowledge of the names, the locations and the peculiarities of countries, and their main places: nowadays however one is eager to reveal this sort of knowledge, of the finest assets and natural resources of the state, the number of population, the diligence at manufacturing, the factories, the commerce, the fine arts and sciences, the incomes, the military force, the state of art, and also all the advantages come from the constitution.”⁵⁸

In the Hungarian context, the interest in geography to a large extent corresponded with the increasing interest in counties, which had only a limited effect on reshaping the concept of state description. Therefore, popular publications tended to concentrate on the obvious topics of flora and fauna, paying less attention to classification and methodology. As the case of Tomka-Szászky shows, in the first period the new geography substantially operated through translations to meet the needs of a learned audience. In the second half of the eighteenth century, geographical transfers were strongly determined by two Göttingen prominents, Anton Friedrich Büsching and Johann Christoph Gatterer.⁵⁹ The learned public regarded both scholars as unquestionable authorities, acknowledging their technical skills and scientific expertise. For Hungarian intellectuals, Büsching's name was well-known due to his multiple-volume world geography series (*Büschings Neue Erdbeschreibung*, 1754–1782) and his statistical weekly (*Wöchentliche Nachrichten von neuen Landcharten*,

58 Büsching, *Neue Erdbeschreibung I*, Vorbereitung.

59 For the eighteenth-century education of geography in Europe, see Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, 213–33. On the Göttingen School, see Hoffmann, *Anton Friedrich Büsching*, 145–86; Araújo, *Weltgeschichte in Göttingen*, 181–204; Gierl, *Geschichte als präzisierte Wissenschaft*, 57–82.

geographischen, statistischen und historischen Büchern und Schriften, 1773–1787). Diverging at many points from Büsching, Gatterer's reputation as a historian and as a contributor to statistics and geography, however, was much better aligned with the rising popularity of Göttingen scholarship, and his historical textbook: *Einleitung in die synchronistische Universaltheorie* (1771) was used as an official curriculum in numerous universities within the Habsburg Monarchy.

In terms of wider publicity, the prime producers of popular knowledge were journalists and editors of newspapers and thematic journals. Even though the latter were part of an underrated profession, from the 1770s onwards, there was an increased interest in providing geographical knowledge through newspapers and correspondence in Latin, in German, then also in Hungarian.⁶⁰ Karl Gottlieb Windisch, Johann Matthias Korabinsky, Sámuel Decsy, Demeter Görög, András Vályi and Karl Georg Rumi are just a few of those mostly Protestant intellectuals whose publishing activities successfully adapted to the growing interest in modern state description. As editors, Korabinsky and Görög were also known for their cartographic outlets, while Windisch, Decsy, and Görög made significant attempts to implement statistical and geographical knowledge into the popular medium.⁶¹ Beyond processing nationalization and politicization, the Habsburg centralization also affected the statistical-geographical discourse. In geopolitical terms, the centralization policy led to the establishment of a new center for the monarchy in Vienna, where under more liberal censorship, newspaper editors could expect better conditions for their publishing activities. Consequently, centralization and eased media circumstances together impacted the framework in which the statistical gaze first appeared as a supplementary approach to political geography. In the eyes of eighteenth-century contemporaries, however, this distinction between political geography and statistics was rather inconspicuous and at many times less apparent. In what follows, this shift of accent in state description will be demonstrated by the cases of Karl Gottlieb Windisch and Sámuel Decsy.

In Windisch's compendia, the primacy of geography sets limits on statistical accounts. In the preface to his *Politisch-geographisch und historische Beschreibung des Königreichs Hungarn* (1772), Windisch listed the references he relied on in the course of the work. In making distinctions between them, he found Bel's and Pray's

60 On the media historical context, see Kosáry, "Culture and Society in Eighteenth-Century Hungary"; Kókay, "A magyar sajtó története I"; Kókay, "Könyv sajtó és irodalom a felvilágosodás korában." Vaderna, "Language, Media and Politics," 9–17.

61 On the publications of maps, see Reisz, *Magyarország általános térképének elkészítése*, 50–53. Especially for Demeter Görög see Zvara, *Egy tudós hazafi Bécsben*, 52–72, 80–91. For Windisch, see Seidler, "Stolz bin ich auf den Einfall", 67–115; Windisch, "Briefwechsel des Karl Gottlieb Windisch." On Decsy's editorial career, see Bodnár-Király, *Decsy Sámuel*, 25–36, 31–33.

earlier contributions especially useful for the geographical (Chapter 1–4) and historical (Chapter 5–8) parts of his work.⁶² Yet, as he noted, he found Bel's topographical data inaccurate.⁶³ Windisch's concept of state description diverged from that of Bels at two points. First, beyond geographical and historical descriptions, Windisch preferred to share details of the political parts, in particular those relating to constitutional and Church matters.⁶⁴ Second, Windisch attached a new geographical program and maps (the latter with the consent of the Royal Hungarian Council of the Governor General) to the revised and extended edition of his book, entitled the *Geographie des Königreichs Ungarn* (1780), describing his project, using Büsching's term, as an *Erdbeschreibung* (description of Earth).⁶⁵ With the new edition of his geographical text, he aimed to satisfy the taste and interests of his learned audience. In his classification, the author relies on Tomka-Szászky and Büsching and makes a distinction between the geographical, physical, and political parts. Windisch's later publications, however, did not lead to any developments in the concept of geography. The most apparent example of this was the third volume of the *Geographie*, published ten years later (1790), which was to describe the eastern province of Transylvania.⁶⁶

Transcending the topographical tradition of the Early Enlightenment was a project that could have various outcomes. In political geography, the primacy of the natural historical scope made political interpretation secondary to physical and natural circumstances. Political geography in the hands of Hungarian prominents in this way provided a good excuse to neglect the political vocabulary of *Gesamtstaat*.⁶⁷ This was true of Windisch, too, who despite his German mother-tongue had never

62 Windisch, *Geographie des Königreichs Ungarn*, 96–98.

63 Windisch, *Politisch-geographisch und historische Beschreibung*, Vorbericht.

64 Windisch, *Politisch-geographisch und historische Beschreibung*, 15–32.

65 Windisch, *Geographie des Königreichs Ungarn*, Vorbericht.

66 Windisch, "Geographie der Großfürstenthums Siebenbürgen."

67 The implementation of statistics into geographical lexicons faced similar obstacles. As a popular and well-received form of disseminating scientific knowledge, geographical lexicons proved to be less effective in promoting the conceptual framework of statistics and the idea of *Gesamtstaat*. For the case of Johann Matthias Korabinsky, see his explanation in his geographical-historical production lexicon of Hungary, in which he declared that his aim was to create a perfect atlas (*Ideal Atlas*), inspired by the maps of Samuel Mikoviny and Andreas Erich Filtsch. See Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon*, Vorbericht. Similarly, András Vályi also took inspiration for his three-volume translation from Korabinsky's lexicon, which due to the support of local administration 'could not bring statistical gaze into the historical-geographical descriptions. See Vályi, *Magyar Országának leírása I*, Előbeszéd. Distancing himself from topographical tradition, however, a new approach was present in Karl Georg Rumi's geographical-statistical dictionary of Austrian Empire that—with *Gesamtstaat* in its center—aimed to describe the geographical-political framework of the Habsburg lands. Rumi also used the findings of Korabinsky and Vályi, but his inspiration was much more the new generation of German geographers (Mannert, Ehrmann, Winkopp). See Rumi, *Geographisch-statistisches Wörterbuch*, III–IV.

questioned the legitimacy of the Hungarian composite monarchy. While Windisch favored geographical approach to political description, the case was absolutely different with Sámuel Decsy, for whom the geographical tradition became subordinated to the statistical gaze. Despite his engagement with statistics, however, the Calvinist doctor and philosopher never composed a special description about either Hungary or the Habsburg Monarchy. Decsy's preoccupation with geographical tradition was underlined by his personal connection to Büsching. After studying at the Reformed College of Sárospatak and the Lutheran Lyceum of Pozsony, Decsy became acquainted with Büsching during his peregrination to Frankfurt an der Oder and to Utrecht (1771–1779/1782?), also spending time in Berlin.⁶⁸

Except for the two books on the Hungarian language (1790) and the history of the Holy Crown of Hungary (1792), Decsy dedicated much of his work to the statistical approach, albeit he never explicated his thoughts about the respective method.⁶⁹ In a footnote in his *Pannóniai Fénix* [Pannonian Fenix], he made a remark on statistics, labelling it an academic “science about the internal and external circumstances of European empires and republics” which had been evolved and improved by Nicolaus H. Gundling, Gottfried Achenwall, Johann Jakob Schmauß and Eobald Totzen throughout the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ With his first statistical work *Osmanographia* [Ottomanography] (1788–1789), he intended to join the discussion about the war with the Ottoman Empire. The statistics of the Ottoman Empire (*Osmanographia*) was divided into three volumes, devoted to the topics of natural-moral and civic-military circumstances, and the military history of Hungarian-Turkish wars. The first and second volumes specified physical geography, giving insights into Turkish cities, strongholds, climate, diseases, natural products, commerce, population, typical garments, religion, languages, genders, customs, political and military administration, as well as the legal, economic, and financial circumstances.⁷¹ Compared to Windisch's approach, in *Osmanographia* the author concentrated on the foremost characteristics of the state, describing the Ottoman Empire in ways akin to the received Enlightenment narrative as a decaying despotic regime. As for its approach, Decsy's compendium was a special or particular description

68 Decsy always spoke of Büsching's contributions in high regard. On the death of the German scholar, he published a necrologue in his newspaper. See *Magyar Kurír*, 414–15.

69 On Decsy's publications, see Bodnár-Király, *Koronaeszmé és történelem*, 170–91; Bodnár-Király, *Szent Korona és nemzeti karakter*, 209–19; Bodnár-Király, *Decsy Sámuel és a Pannóniai Fénix*, 17–43; Bodnár-Király, *Kompiláció és rendszerezés*, 473–88. On *Pannonian Phoenix*, see Kornis, *A magyar művelődés eszményei* I, 113–125. On the Holy Crown of Hungary, see Tóth, *Szent István, Szent Korona, államalapítás*, 157–66.

70 Decsy, *Pannóniai Fénix*, 219–20.

71 Decsy, *Osmanographia* I, 180–338, 339–96; Decsy, *Osmanographia* II; Decsy, “*Osmanographia* III.”

that, unlike those of general statistics, omitted a discussion of the European state system.

Decsy's other publications presented statistical knowledge in a more popular format. From this perspective, especially notable was his short-lived but ambitious plan for an almanac series, only published between 1794 and 1796. To disseminate scientific knowledge, Decsy—as the editor of the weekly *Magyar Kurír* [Hungarian Courier]—attempted to publish excerpts on European statistics in his almanac, *Magyar Almanak* [Hungarian Almanac]. After the programmatic statement on the general principles of the publication (1794), however, because of the changing political circumstances (French wars and Jacobine trials), he had to make do with only fragments on the geography of Polynesia (1795), and on the constitution of the Batavian Republic (1796).⁷² The author's last contribution to statistics applied the approach that Schlözer later labelled as 'old statistics' (*Alte Statistik*).⁷³ Diverging from the descriptive style of statistics, in *Egyiptom ország rövid históriája* [The Brief History of Egypt] the author presents a book on the history of the state, revealing the initiatives and dynamics that determined the history of ancient Egypt; i.e., the decisive physical, cultural, and political circumstances that affected commerce, civic administration, and military strength. Unlike most statisticians, Decsy took Egypt as the cradle of sciences and arts and aimed to trace its decline after its once elevated status among ancient civilizations.⁷⁴ In this book, Decsy's understanding of statistics is closely connected to the High Enlightenment moral sentiment that framed the improvement of vernacular language and the preservation of national character as part and parcel of scientific patriotism. As a distinct characteristic, this tradition however involved continuity between geographical and historical knowledge, even if, on the other hand, it was even then applying the modern statistical gaze with special regard to the vocabulary of *Gesamtstaat*.

Conclusion

Emphasizing the prehistory of statistics, eighteenth-century synergies of the state description literature have been discussed—in particular its connection to history and geography. Considering it an entangled discourse, the paper has intended to trace the main trends that laid the ground for the state description of the Enlightenment. In line with these trends, three main intellectual initiatives are identified. The first is

72 Decsy, *Magyar Almanak MDCCXCIV-ik esztendőre*, 33–172; Decsy, *Magyar Almanák MDCCXCV-dik esztendőre*, iii–cxliv; Decsy, *Magyar Almanak MDCCXCVI-ik esztendőre*, ii–lviii; On the works, see Bodnár-Király, *Decsy Sámuel*, 32.

73 Schlözer, *Theorie der Statistik*, 86–87.

74 Decsy, *Egyiptom ország rövid históriája*, v–vi.

that the rise of the historical topographies on the Catholic side involved a significant attempt to reframe the relevant political, historical, and geographical knowledge of the old kingdom in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Catholic tradition of state description played an essential role in disseminating scientific knowledge about the political and administrative borders of the country, while it also paved the way for the genre of the history of the state. The second intellectual stimulus evolved through Protestant knowledge transfers from the mid-century onwards, and in the given period remained closely connected to the purpose of Practical Enlightenment, aiming to fashion and popularize geographical knowledge to a wider reading public. Finally, the third trend has been identified with the implementation of statistical studies, which affected mainly the middle and high levels of education and, from the 1770s onwards, effaced the predominant position of historical topographies and political geographies.

Challenging the parochial interpretation of historiography, the paper views the history of statistics as an entangled process which had its own limitations. As a first argument, the essay proposes the concept of state description (*Staatsbeschreibung*, *notitia rerumpublicarum*) to help discern the distinct trends and initiatives in their conjunction. The concept of state description, thus, was used not only as an analytical category but was also taken as an analogy for the contemporary practice of knowledge production. In order to exceed the shortcomings of received interpretations of the history-of-science literature, the second argument deals with the spatial implication of Enlightenment political knowledge. In order to break with the naive epistemology that statistics ‘came, saw, and won,’ it is argued that the empirical knowledge production about state affairs was competitive long before the statistical gaze appeared on the intellectual horizon of the Habsburg Monarchy. Taking this implication seriously, it is also asserted that, given the plurality in the state description literature, more attention should be paid to other rival knowledge fields in the history of descriptive statistics. Finally, the conflicted vocabularies of statehood in the state description literature are noted. Called “state description without state” in the title of this paper, the former indicated that the production of state description knowledge for the larger part of the eighteenth century was heavily influenced by these different visions of the state. In conceptual terms, the vocabulary of composite monarchy and the heritage of dualistic statehood represented a significant obstacle to adopting the concept of *Gesamtstaat* to Hungarian political culture. This old vision, however, as new scientific interpretations emerged, intellectually proved to be less and less resistant to the new imperial knowledge of statistics, to the integration policy of Habsburg state-building, and to the idea of *Gesamtstaat*.

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The Making of the Serbian Academic Community in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

A Prosopography

Liudmila Novoseltseva 

Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 119334 Moscow, Leninsky Prospekt, build. 32-A; mnovoseltseva91@gmail.com

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Abstract. Prosopography, a methodological approach to understanding the biographical regularities and irregularities of a particular social stratum, provides new opportunities for studying national elites and professional groups in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The present study suggests a reconstruction of the process of the making of the scientific and wider intellectual community of the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using biographical data about the members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, one can compile a database of use in examining (inter-)generational changes in the Serbian academic community. Furthermore, one can detect which Serb-populated historical areas outside Serbia that scholars, scientists, and cultural figures of the ‘Balkan Piemonté’ who ushered in the process of modernization came from. Scrutinizing the information on their background and qualifications, one can draw some conclusions concerning the character and peculiarities of Serbia’s scientific, cultural, and social development, the needs of the state, and the tasks and functions it defined for its academic community. One can also make assumptions about the interactions of Serbian academics with the intellectual elites of other states. Last but not least, comparative analysis of the academics’ biographies highlights the role played by the Serbian state, which successfully consolidated its marginal community of intellectuals and turned it into a unified, state-controlled professional structure.

Keywords: prosopography, ‘divide of national space’, generations of the national elite, Serbian intellectual community

The interest in personality that arises in science and in society determines the special attention awarded by researchers to the biographies of figures of the past and the present. The study of individual biographies, or personography, is a method familiar to the historian, while prosopography¹ was first applied only in the 1970s

1 The problem under scrutiny was first approached in Novoseltseva, “Stanovlenie.” This article develops and specifies some observations and conclusions made there.

in works on classical antiquity.² According to the founder of the genre, British historian and sociologist Lawrence Stone (1919–1999), it involves “the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives”.³ As a result, in addition to facilitating collective portraits based on individual biographies, the method makes it possible to recreate the historical context of the era. Today, prosopography is successfully applied in research into groups of individuals, who share sets of characteristics, such as “social background, participation in a social movement, belonging to some political circles [or] membership in various scientific organizations”.⁴

Thanks to prosopography, research on national elites has gained new impetus because it is the highest strata of society that left behind materials that are more or less suitable for quantitative analysis. The question that arises during the study of a social stratum by means of prosopography is that of the criteria that distinguish the subject of research from other ones. The correct choice of such a group makes it possible to find out what makes it elite, how it marks its advantages in society, and what the mechanisms of social mobility and evolution are.⁵

Specifics of the Serbian educational tradition before the nineteenth century

Turning to the study of the Serbian academic community, it is important, in our opinion, to characterize the context and features of its making. The conditions under which the formation of the elite in Serbian society took place were quite special. First of all, the latter refers to the ‘divide of national space’⁶ during the Austro–Turkish wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Serbs were literally in the line of fire, which predetermined their destiny. After demarcation they resided in the Austrian Empire and the Ottoman Empire as a minority, the only difference being that the privileges granted to them by Emperor King Leopold I during their resettlement were a guarantee of their physical survival, whereas the sultans provided no such guarantee. The Austrian Serbs, referred to as *Prečani*⁷ in Russian and

2 *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, a three-volume work containing information on the persons who lived or were supposed to have lived in Rome from AD 240 to AD 641.

3 Stone, “Prosopography.”

4 Iumasheva, “Prosopografiia.”

5 Diuma, “Ob izuchenii élit,” 135.

6 The term was proposed by Russian historian Andrej L. Shemiakin. See Shemiakin, “Serby v usloviakh razloma.”

7 From the Serbian *preko* (преко) (‘across’, ‘opposite’, ‘beyond’). The name *Prečani* used to denote the Serbs who lived across the Danube and Sava rivers (in the territory of the Austrian Monarchy).

Serbian historiography, and the Turkish Serbs, known as *Srbijanci* or *Šumadinci*,⁸ were affected by corresponding European or oriental influence of different intensity, but nonetheless preserved the cultural and historical basis of their national identity. This was the foundation for the nineteenth-century national movement that was exclusive in its form and defined two main objectives: creating an independent state and eliminating the 'divide of space' in the future, thereby unifying *Prečani* and *Srbijanci*. It should be emphasized that the 'teamwork' of the latter groups was the key to success: the internal conditions that had been formed in 'Turkish' Serbia by the beginning of the nineteenth century, in combination with ideas of renewal that were maturing during the eighteenth century among the educated Austrian Serbs, created a favourable substrate for the fulfilment of national dream.⁹

During the reign of Maria Theresa, the privileges granted to Austrian Serbs finally transformed into church-school autonomy. Reform in the sphere of education, which was inspired by the thinkers of the Enlightenment and implemented by the monarch who decided to separate schools from the church and bring them under the control of the state, had far-reaching consequences since it marked a significant point when the types of development of the Serbian subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire diverged. Before the reform, education evolved exclusively within the framework of the Orthodox Church's activities and was approximately at the same low level on both sides of the Danube because elementary literacy was disseminated by parish schools whose number was small. The latter were funded by the personal savings of the church hierarchs and donations from congregations; there were no curricula as such; and the books used for teaching were in Church Slavonic and were sent from the Russian Empire. As a result of the reforms implemented by Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy had two options. They could continue their existing practice with the permission of the authorities, or they could obtain knowledge and broaden their horizons at secularized state-controlled educational institutions. Moreover, the curriculum offered by *Ratio Educationis* suggested that teaching in primary school should be in Serbian. At the following stages of school education, knowledge of official languages (German, Latin, and later Hungarian) was encouraged but not mandatory, although it offered certain advantages.¹⁰ Serbian historiography is quite ambiguous in its evaluation of the results of the reform. On the one hand, they are viewed as positive because the reform elevated the spiritual development of part of the people to a new level. On the other hand, researchers consider these transformations

8 From Serbian *Šumadija* (Шумадија), a historical region in central Serbia. In the nineteenth century, it occupied almost the entire territory of the state.

9 Shemiakin, "Serby v usloviiakh razloma," 290.

10 Khavanova, "Opyt sozdaniia pervykh grammatik," 138.

to be a key factor in Germanisation, which posed a serious threat to the preservation of national identity.¹¹ The realities of the polyethnic Habsburg Monarchy were such that one way or another, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, the Serbian ethnic minority was forced to seek balance between the preservation of national values and traditions and integration into imperial society, and coped with this task with different degrees of success. For instance, the stratum of educated clergy became consolidated in the Habsburg Monarchy in the second half of the eighteenth century, the number of officers of Serbian origin increased in the regular army and the regiments of the Military Frontier, and the estates of artisans and merchants grew rapidly, leading to the emergence of their role as a political as well as financial elite. Thanks to the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the class of officials of Serbian origin, which was not numerous but influential, had emerged by the end of the century. The peculiarities of the lives of the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy made systematic education a necessity; initially, literacy was a practical skill, but later it turned into an internal need. As a result of the modernization of the empire and the transformation of the Serbian community, the intelligentsia, scientists, and scholars alike were singled out in the second half of the eighteenth century and civil national culture began to emerge. The establishment of gymnasia in Sremski Karlovci (Karlóca, Karlowitz; 1791/1792) and Novi Sad (Újvidék; 1810) and the Preperandija teachers' seminary in Szentendre (1812; in 1816 moved to Sombor) facilitated the stable growth of the intellectual stratum in the Serbian community under the Habsburg Monarchy. The graduates of these gymnasia obtained a higher-level education in the universities of Vienna, Pest, and Bratislava (Pozsony).¹²

Sociocultural processes on the territory of residence of the Turkish Serbs in the eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries were of a different nature. First of all, there was consistent de-elitisation of society because its most active and authoritative stratum moved to the north and took up Austrian citizenship. The highest clergy were traditionally seen as the only legitimate defenders and leaders of the Serbian Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire, but the abolition of the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć in 1766 beheaded the spiritual leadership of the latter. Social life was limited to relations within the *zadruga*, a closed rural community, patriarchal and static in its development. In the absence of spiritual leaders, forced but natural secularization took place. As Serbian researcher Radmila Radić has pointed out, traditional values and patriarchal morals had deeper roots in Serbian consciousness than religious doctrines. People opposed to dogmas and coercion viewed God as a highly revered partner in work and believed the church to be a form of social organization at the local or state-wide level. In addition to

11 Ninković, "Reforma srpskog školstva," 178–79.

12 Jakovljević, "Začeci srpskog školstva," 520.

socioeconomic factors, the Kosovo Myth also significantly influenced the spiritual development of the Turkish Serbs: like Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, when choosing the 'kingdom of heaven' citizens consciously embarked on a path of asceticism.¹³ Therefore, there was no need for education as such; society was content with the minimum knowledge needed for everyday life. The centres of literacy were concentrated in monasteries and churches.

The First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) gave impetus to the spread of elementary and scientific literacy among the Turkish Serbs. Dositej Obradović (1739/1743–1811), who arrived from Vienna and was the best educated Serb of the time, became the first patron of public education: it was at his initiative that the foundation of the public education system was laid, and Velika Škola was founded with the assistance of Ivan Jugović (1772–1813). Velika Škola was the first higher educational institution in the country and terminated its activities in 1813 because of the suppression of the First Serbian Uprising. Nevertheless, the achievements of the Serbian Revolution¹⁴ in the sphere of education were not lost and many of the initiatives were brought to completion in autonomous Serbia thanks to the personal involvement of Prince Miloš Obrenović (1817–1839, 1858–1860). The first gymnasia and semi-gymnasia started to appear after 1830 when, in compliance with Hatt-i Sharif, Serbs obtained the right to open national schools. The Lyceum, the first higher educational institution in the autonomous principality, was founded in Kragujevac in 1838. The young state sought to educate and train educated citizens for service to the fatherland, while the nascent administration was in urgent need of a professional cadre. Under the circumstances, it was quite natural that the Serbian government hoped to obtain assistance from educated compatriots on the other side of the Danube and addressed the authorities of the Austrian Empire with a request to facilitate the departure of Serbian subjects who desired to pursue a career in the principality. In most cases, Vienna approved this in the hope that it would be able to influence Serbia's politics through its subjects, or it would at least lead to the presence of lobbyists there. The Austrian Serbs who were invited by the government of Miloš Obrenović made up the first generation of the intelligentsia of the young state.¹⁵ Thanks to their efforts, the Society of Serbian Letters (*Društvo srpske slovensnosti*) was founded in 1841. It was the first learned organization in Serbia, headed by Jovan Sterija Popović (1806–1856), a playwright, pedagogue, and organizer of cultural and scientific life.

13 Radić, "Verska elita i modernizacija," 156.

14 The Serbian Revolution is the term introduced by Leopold von Ranke in 1829 to denote the period in Serbian history that included the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813), Hadži-Prodan's Rebellion (1814), and the Second Serbian Uprising (1815). Later, historiography adopted a wider timeframe and included the period of the official recognition of the Serbian state in 1815–1835.

15 Trgovčević, "Generacije intelektualaca."

Factors involved in the assembly of the academic community

A considerable amount of historiography is devoted to the processes of formation and functioning of the national elite. The foundation for the research was laid by the work of Ljubinka Trgovčević (1948–2022), who identified three generations of Serbian intelligentsia in the nineteenth century. There is a claim entrenched in historical science that before the revival of statehood in the nineteenth century the role of the elite was played exclusively by the Austrian Serbs, and later, in the autonomous principality and the independent kingdom, this function was taken over by the natives of Serbia. This occurred due to the turnover of generations and the fact that by the middle of the century the Serbian state had ‘brought up’ the new strata of the prominent learned, and no longer needed the assistance of compatriots—natives of the Habsburg Monarchy. However, one can assume that the recruitment of the elite was more convoluted. It also appears that an important role in this process was played by the state, as the authorities of Serbia made great efforts to form an intellectual elite. Based on the example of a group of professional scientists and scholars, the present study makes an attempt to research the channels and mechanisms of recruitment and follow the career trajectories of the former intellectuals, which gives us an opportunity to understand in what way the scientific academic community was formed in particular, and to reveal regularities and trends related to the national elite in general.

It should be pointed out that the main problem in such research is identifying the Serbian academic community in the second half of the nineteenth century. The definition that was developed in the works of Western philosophers that established “the possession of nonmaterial wealth and engagement in science, art, and meta-physical research”¹⁶ as the main features of an intellectual is not quite applicable to the Serbian realities of the nineteenth century: the dominant idea in that milieu was that mental activity that yields practical results was the only kind that was necessary. Serbian scholars have not drawn concrete conclusions about this so far, and have not defined the combination of features characteristic of the intellectual elite of the nineteenth century, thus granting researchers leeway to perfect the terminology. In the present work, the author maintains that the educational framework in the society under study is conditional and proposes the following definition: the scientific intelligentsia refers to a group that includes persons of different social backgrounds who professionally engage in intellectual work and teach at higher educational institutions.

To analyse the process of formation and functioning of the intellectual elite, a database was compiled that contains formalized information on scientists of Serbian

16 Benda, *Predatel'stvo intelektualov*, 110.

origin in the second half of the nineteenth century (before the outbreak of World War I). The publication *Grada za biografski rečnik članova Društva srpske slovesnosti, Srpskog učenog društva i Kraljevske akademije nauka 1841–1947* [Material for the Biographical Dictionary of the Members of the Society of Serbian Letters, Serbian Learned Society and Serbian Royal Academy 1841–1947]¹⁷ was used as the main source. This was the result of many years work collecting data on the lives and work of Academy members carried out by the Bibliographical Department of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA). In discussing the methodology of prosopographical studies, Hungarian historian Rudolf Paksa noted that sources of this kind are somewhat ‘sterile’ because they contain strictly unified information, but they are also reliable in terms of their credibility. He also argued that the most objective conclusions are those drawn from the study of several thousand biographies. Since this ideal can rarely be achieved in historical studies, a sample of up to a thousand but no less than a hundred biographies can be considered representative. However, the data thus obtained should be correlated with a larger control group.¹⁸

Data on 280 persons were entered into the database. Many of the latter were not only scientists but also prominent statesmen; through their work they defined the direction of development of the scientific, cultural, and social life of Serbia in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Since the scientific intelligentsia, quite a small social group, is under discussion, the Serbian intellectual elite of the second half of the nineteenth century was selected as the control group. More specifically, the latter are defined as those persons who obtained a higher education who were analysed in a piece of work by Lj. Trgovčević “Generacije intelektualaca ili generacije obrazovanog građanstva u Srbiji 19 veka” [Generations of Intellectuals or Generations of Educated Citizens in Serbia in the Nineteenth Century].¹⁹

Let us consider the selection criteria in more detail. In addition to the academic degree, the first criterion—the period of life and creative work of the scientists—is directly connected to the chronological framework of our research. The data entered in the database concerned those intellectuals who were active in the period between 1841 (when the Society of Serbian Letters, the first Serbian research and educational organization, was founded) and the outbreak of World War I. Accordingly, this is information about the scientists who were born in the period between the 1790s and the 1880s and comprised three generations of the Serbian intellectual elite of the second half of the nineteenth century.

17 Nikić, Radojčić-Kostić, and Žujović, *Grada za biografski rečnik*.

18 Paksa, “Prozopográfia vagyis »kollektív biográfiai elemzés«.”

19 Trgovčević, “Generacije intelektualaca.”

The application of the criterion that can be conditionally referred to as the presence of Serbian identity is the key point of the research, first of all because it was necessary to develop an algorithm for revealing the ethnic self-identification of the scientists. The author solved this task in two stages. The first stage involved analysis of the available autobiographical materials that were written by the intellectuals—for example, by Minister of Education Dimitrije Matić (1821–1884),²⁰ a lawyer and philosopher, and president of the Serbian Royal Academy Stojan Novaković (1842–1915),²¹ a historian and a diplomat, as well as their profiles compiled later. In this case, the information sought was that on the national and religious self-awareness of men of science. In the absence of direct indications that an intellectual belonged to the Serbian people, their identity was determined according to the principle that only an Orthodox Serb was considered a Serb. Despite the controversial nature of this assumption, a confession of the Orthodox faith that was one of the consolidation features of the Serbian nation in the second half of the nineteenth century.²²

At the second stage of solving the task, in the absence of information on the belonging of intellectuals to the Serbian people, the author applied the mechanism of checking the national identification of scientists and scholars according to place of birth and death. The ascertainment of the Serbian self-awareness of the scientists who were born and died on the territory of the Principality of Serbia, Old Serbia, southern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, and Bosnia and Herzegovina caused no difficulties. Complications arose when it was necessary to determine the identity of the intellectuals who were born in the areas where Serbs resided in the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia and the territory of the Military Frontier. Referring to a demographic map of their settlement pattern in the second half of the nineteenth century,²³ the author defined the identification of a native with Serbia according to a certain settlement according to the prevalence of Serbs or Croats in the region.

The fact that science in Serbia has deep national roots became obvious at the stage of the quantitative analysis of this information. For rapid development, the country needed professional personnel whose ranks were joined by the subjects of the three states where Serbs lived—the Principality (Kingdom) of Serbia, the Austrian Empire (Austria–Hungary), and the Ottoman Empire. The majority of scientists and scholars (36.8 percent, 103 persons) came from Southern Hungary. They obtained a basic education in Serbian at parish schools but could continue

20 Dimitrije Matić, a Serbian philosopher, legal historian, and Minister of Education from 1868 to 1872.

21 Stojan Novaković, a Serbian politician, historian, philologist, and Minister of Education of Serbia from 1873 to 1875, and from 1880 to 1885 president of the Serbian Royal Academy.

22 For more, see *Russkie o Serbii i serbakh*.

23 Krestić, *Historija Srba u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*.

their education at German and Hungarian gymnasia²⁴ and then enter the higher educational institutions of the Habsburg Monarchy or go abroad. Many of them applied their knowledge in the service to the young Serbian state. There is no doubt that the information contained in the database offers no opportunity to determine the range of the intellectuals' motivation, but historiography identifies the following reasons for moving to Serbia and further activity there. Some of the intellectuals pursued the idea of national revival and unification which had been cherished in the intellectual circles of the Habsburg Monarchy since the late eighteenth century; others saw career prospects or, being prosecuted by the authorities, fled the Austrian Empire, while some of them crossed the Danube to make a living from intellectual rather than physical work. In general, they were important links in the process of modernization, for which the authorities of the principality employed 'Austrian' compatriots in their service.²⁵

Scarcely fewer were natives of the Principality (Kingdom), *Srbijanci* (*Šumadinci*) (33.6 percent, 94 persons) who took the initiative from *Prećani* in the late 1850s and early 1860s. The proportion of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire was smaller: from the region of Old Serbia (8.2 percent, 23 persons), from Bosnia and Herzegovina (5 percent, 14 persons), Grenzers or Granichary (7.5 percent, 21 persons), and natives of other regions of the Habsburg Monarchy (7.9 percent, 22 persons) and Montenegro (0.7 percent, 2 persons). The data thus obtained appear logical: the Austrian Serbs gained the opportunity to obtain an education, including higher education, much earlier, which is why in the aggregate they made up more than half of the scientific intelligentsia as a whole.

Nevertheless, quantitative analysis shows the gradual decrease in their number from the first generation to the third: in the first generation, subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy comprised 58 percent; in the second, 45 percent; in the third, 18 percent. These proportions reflect the consistent decrease in *Prećani* from the political, economic, and social spheres of life of the Principality of Serbia due to "anti-Swabian" campaigns. The Austrian Serbs, who were called *Švabi* (Swabs) or *Nemačkari* (Germans) by the Turkish Serbs, were targets of aggression, but discrimination against them was a means of protesting the policy of the authorities. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, society viewed professionals invited from the Habsburg Monarchy as bureaucrats who were taking the places of *Srbijanci* to serve the rule of Miloš and Mihailo (1839–1842, 1860–1868) Obrenović. The opposition demanded their immediate banishment and replacement with native personnel. After the coup d'état and the establishment of the regime of the Defenders of the Constitution, with Alexander Karađorđević (1842–1858) on the throne, the *Prećani* who wanted to

24 Konstantinović, "Vom Werden einer Metropole," 23–27.

25 For more, see Popović, "Srbi iz Južne Ugarske."

stay in the country were required to renounce their Austrian citizenship and take out Serbian. If they refused to change their citizenship, they were subject to criminal prosecution after the expiration of a maximum five-year stay in the country.²⁶ In truth, it should be mentioned that this trend affected science, creative work, and education to a lesser extent because the Serbian system of education was almost entirely dependent on teachers who had arrived from the Austrian Empire. To corroborate this fact, historian Petar Krešić cites the following example: "During the first academic year 1838/1839, all teachers at the Lyceum were [...] natives of Austria. In 1849, seven of the eleven professors were Prečani. A balanced proportion [was] established only by 1860 when only half of the fourteen professors came from Southern Hungary and only four of the remaining seven were born [on] the territory of the Principality of Serbia."²⁷

The rapid decrease in the number of Austrian Serbs among the third generation of intellectuals was caused by changes in circumstances in the late 1870s and early 1880s. According to historian Miloš Ković, the main factor involved political, economic, and cultural tension between Serbia and Austria–Hungary, which determined the general attraction of the political elite of the principality to Western European powers and chronic rejection of everything associated with Central Europe (i.e., Austria–Hungary) in line with this milieu in the 1850s–1870s. Relations sharply deteriorated in 1878 as a result of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria–Hungary. Initially, authorities of Serbia tried to adapt to the growing power of the neighbouring empire, as Prince Milan Obrenović (1868–1889, king since 1882) was the most loyal Balkan ally of the Habsburgs. By contrast there was a growing sense of imminent danger in society. The opposition took advantage of this sentiment: radicals called for resistance to the further expansion of Austria–Hungary, and the dependence of Serbia on Russia.²⁸ Due to the state program of support and training of professional personnel, including scientists, by that time it had become possible to reduce intellectual dependence and the need to invite Serbs from Austria–Hungary.

It is also significant that the opposition included representatives of the second generation of Serbian intelligentsia who had received an education predominantly in France and Switzerland. The activity of the second generation of Serbian academics declined from the 1850s to 1870s. It was quite a small group of Serbs (only 350 persons)²⁹ who finished school in the Principality, which was at that point based on the national tradition of education. Many of them obtained their academic degrees

26 Popović, "Srbi iz Južne Ugarske," 882.

27 Krešić, "Political and Social Rivalries in 19th-century Serbia," 78.

28 Ković, "From Vienna to Paris," 58–59.

29 Nemanjić, *Na tragu porekla srpske inteligencije XIX veka*, 61.

at the universities of Paris³⁰ and Vienna—this is why in their homeland they were called *Parizlija* (Parisians) and *Bečlija* (Viennese), which to some extent reflected the ironically condescending attitude of the majority of Serbs in the middle of the nineteenth century towards ‘foreign’ lifestyles and scholarships.³¹

The main source of our research does not allow us to retrace the changes in the worldviews and self-identification that occurred with the young intellectuals during the years they spent abroad. However, at our disposal are memoirs and autobiographies of several scientists who described their student years as a time of fulfilling the tasks assigned to them by the fatherland. For example, Dimitrije Matić wrote: “In our childhood and youth, we study in order to become useful to ourselves and to others, to make our contribution to the common good. Even as a student of the Lyceum, I thought [about] how I could help our Principality...”³² Autobiographies and memoirs of scientists show that young Serbs led quite an isolated life in Western European counties, keeping in touch mostly with Russian emigrants, thus they did not adopt the cultural values of the West. The main task of these people was to assimilate scientific achievements and to bring them to Serbia without changing spiritually.³³

As far as the specialization of the students abroad is concerned, the example of this generation reveals the following trend: they studied those disciplines that were most needed by Serbian society. Heidelberg and Berlin offered the best legal education in Europe; to study history and philosophy, one went to Paris; Vienna was famous for turning out brilliant engineers and architects; Switzerland was a Mecca for medicine, and Russia trained outstanding military personnel.³⁴ Twenty-two percent of Serbian intellectuals studied law; 20 percent philosophy, history, or ethnography; 19 percent natural science disciplines; 17 percent technical and applied sciences (primarily mining).³⁵ In the example of the second generation of the academic community, we can see some subdivision of area of study by region: social sciences, humanities, and literature were the specialties of the natives of the Principality of Serbia and Herzegovina within the Ottoman Empire; mathematics and mining were chosen by subjects of the Austrian Empire (Austria–Hungarian Monarchy since 1867), and theology was the choice of Montenegrins, most of whom were in holy orders.

30 For more, see Tatić, “Srpski pitomci na školovanju u Parizu.”

31 Shemiakin, “Sistema narodnogo obrazovanii v nezavisimoi Serbii,” 93.

32 Matić, “Nešto iz mog života,” 193.

33 Perović, “Serbiia v modernizatsionnykh protsessakh XIX–XX vekov,” 24.

34 Trgovčević, *Planirana elita*, 40–42.

35 Nemanjić, *Jedan vek srpske stvaralačke inteligencije*, 93.

Academics or statesmen?

By order of Mihailo Obrenović (1823–1868), the Society of Serbian Letters was transformed into the Serbian Learned Society (*Srpsko učeno društvo*) on 29 July 1864. The mission and objectives of the society were revised. Jovan Gavrilović³⁶ became president of the society. Scientific activities were compartmentalized into four areas: linguistics and literature, natural sciences and mathematics, history and state sciences, and arts.³⁷

The first achievements in different branches of science and arts were made in Serbia in the 1850s and 1860s, but real discoveries seldom occurred. An unflattering assessment of the activities of the Serbian Learned Society was given by Pavel A. Rovinsky (1831–1916), a Russian Slavist and historian, ethnographer, and essayist in a letter to academician Alexander N. Pypin (1833–1904):

“There is no shelter for science here at all; among professors, I know only one who is engaged in science, it is Pančić³⁸ (a naturalist *iz preka*) [...] There is also one political economist, Mijatović;³⁹ from [the] professors [...] he was made head of the department at the Ministry of Finance. The rest is dilettantism.”⁴⁰

Indeed, a lot of the Serbian academics combined scientific activities and public office and this was crucial for the development of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ However, it is not clear what confused Rovinsky about this situation because his colleague Russian Slavist Alexander F. Hilferding (1831–1872) served at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire and was consul in Bosnia. Fyodor I. Tyutchev (1803–1873), a Russian poet and essayist and corresponding member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, was also a diplomat. We see a similar picture with the Austrian Monarchy. Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872), a poet and playwright, and academician at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, served as director of the imperial archives. The ‘father of Czech historiography’ František Palacký (1798–1876) combined political activity with the post of head of the history department of the National Museum in Prague. The examples

36 Jovan Gavrilović (1796–1877), a Serbian historian, politician, and third regent of Serbian Prince Milan Obrenović.

37 Nikić, Radojčić-Kostić, and Žujović, *Grada za biografski rečnik*, 16.

38 Josip Pančić (1814–1888), a Serbian doctor, botanist, and first president of the Serbian Royal Academy from 1886.

39 Čedomilj Mijatović (1842–1932), a Serbian economist, Minister of Finance in the 1870s, and president of the Serbian Royal Academy from 1888–1889.

40 Rovinskij, Letter no. 4. Belgrade. 24.5.1869. *Russkie o Serbii i serbakh*. T. 2., 59.

41 Perović, “Serbiia v modernizatsionnykh protsessakh XIX–XX vekov,” 23.

cited above give the author reason to believe that the combination of scientific activity and public office in Serbia was not an 'exception with negative value' among the countries of Central and Western Europe in the nineteenth century: out of 280 men of science, 104 either held various positions in public office or were deputies to the State Council. However, biographical references do not provide detailed information on the career trajectories of the intellectuals, which is why it is not possible to draw definite conclusions about whether scientific activities facilitated the start of political careers, or whether the intellectuals turned to scientific research and teaching at higher-level schools after doing their duty to their fatherland in public office.

The second generation of the clerisy played a key role in the national revival of Serbia primarily because they reconciled the patriarchal way of life with European trends and introduced the country to the achievements of world science and technology. The results of the intellectuals' activities in the 1850s–1870s were not noticeable against the background of general progress, but they had a cumulative effect.

This was the backdrop against which the third generation of the Serbian academic community 'took off'. That generation was both numerous and successful, which is why the period of the 1880s–1900s may be referred to as the time of the making of classical science in Serbia. Only fourteen percent of scientists in this generation obtained a higher education abroad, primarily in Austria–Hungary or Germany. The geography of educational centres expanded: in pursuit of knowledge, Serbs reached England, Italy, and Belgium. The Serbian government awarded scholarships mainly to the students of military and medical educational institutions, so many scientists paid their tuition fees themselves.

Most of the representatives of this generation were alumni of Velika Škola, which resumed its work in 1863. Classes were taught in three departments—philosophical, technical, and legal. The syllabi of these departments had a lot in common, so the students largely obtained a general rather than a specialized education.

The clerisy of the second half of the nineteenth century was not a homogeneous structure. The education received in different countries determined the range of foreign influence on domestic science. However, the third generation of Serbian scientists managed to develop a method of critical interpretation and further applied knowledge obtained abroad in local conditions. Science ceased to be imitative and achieved autonomy in the cultural and professional sense.

A need arose to develop specialized institutions. In 1884, Minister of Education S. Novaković defined the dissemination of science and literature among the public as the new goal of the Serbian Learned Society. To achieve this, reform of secondary education was carried out—gymnasias appeared, in which the study of social and natural science prevailed. On 1 November 1886, the *Skupština* passed the law on the

Serbian Royal Academy. Botanist Josip Pančić became its president. In the next six months, the administrative and scientific departments were organized—a library, archives, and an accounting department.⁴² However, the merger of the Academy of Sciences and the Serbian Learned Society took place only in 1890.

In the same way as in the previous period, Serbian science in the late nineteenth century was not all-embracing. On the other hand, it ceased to satisfy only the needs of the state. For example, the study of the antique historical and cultural heritage of the country began at the personal initiative of the first Serbian archaeologist Mihailo Valtrović (1839–1915). The campaign for the preservation of Trajan's Bridge and Trajan's Plaque (*Tabula Traiana*) went beyond the boundaries of Serbia and acquired international status when Felix Kanitz (1829–1904), an Austrian ethnographer, joined the project in 1888.

The outstanding achievements of Serbs were estimated at their true worth by the world scientific community at the turn of the twentieth century. Noteworthy are the discoveries made by Jovan Cvijić,⁴³ a geographer and ethnographer, whose research laid the foundations for two disciplines—karstology and Balkan studies. Nikola Tesla (1856–1943), 'the man who invented the twentieth century', is famous for his research on alternating current. To put it simply, one can say that without his inventions the incandescent lamp would be the only electrical appliance in the house of modern men.

The Serbian intelligentsia went through all the stages of development: from their elementary education during the second quarter of the nineteenth century to joining the world scientific community as full members at the beginning of the twentieth. Further, one more transformation took place: the scientists stopped viewing engagement in science as a form of duty to the nation and state. Over time, the treasury of Serbian achievements was filled with original discoveries and research that were inspired by the personal interests of scientists.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that the state remained an 'integrating factor': with the support of the authorities, uncoordinated primitive scientific communities were consolidated into a professional organizations'. Additionally, Belgrade maintained *Matica Srpska*, the oldest scientific and educational centre, which was founded in Pest/Budapest in 1826 and moved to Novi Sad (the 'Serbian Athens') in 1864. Cooperation between *Matica Srpska* and the Serbian Learned Society (Serbian Royal Academy following 1890) resulted in the formation of a unified national scientific and educational space the resources of which could be accessed by any Serb

42 Nikić, Radojčić-Kostič, and Žujović, *Grada za biografski rečnik*, 20.

43 Jovan Cvijić (1865–1926), a Serbian geographer, geologist, ethnographer, president of the Serbian Royal Academy, rector of the University of Belgrade.

regardless of citizenship and social standing. This was the distinctive feature of Serbian intelligentsia as a whole and the academic community in particular that has been pointed out in historiography. On the one hand, the immersion of the spiritual elite into the masses was considered a serious threat to the development of the country,⁴⁴ but at the same time it facilitated achievements—somewhat insignificant, but independent and even original—in science, education, art, politics, etc. The latter were closely connected with the people who, in the absence of universities in Serbia, were themselves the first founts of knowledge.

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44 Perović, “Serbiia v modernizatsionnykh protsessakh XIX–XX vekov,” 16–40.

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Disciplined Sciences?

Differentiation of Academic Subjects at Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century German Universities

Marian Füssel 

Seminar for Medieval and Modern History, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Heinrich Dükerr Weg 14 37073 Göttingen, Germany; marian.fuessel@phil.uni-goettingen.de

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Abstract. The historiography of individual academic subjects and disciplines is an indispensable part of both university history and the history of science. Scientific disciplines are a relatively recent phenomenon from the university-historical perspective of *longue durée*, whose study has nevertheless undergone some striking developments in the past forty years. At the level of the historiography of disciplines, structural patterns of academic subject histories are highlighted, leading from the philosophy of science of the 1970s to the cultural turns of the 1990s and 2000s. Disciplines are partial results of a broader process of diversification, fragmentation, and specialisation that began as early as the eighteenth century. This survey reconstructs processes of disciplinary differentiation and disciplining from the order of faculties to the “regime of disciplines” in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, focusing on the University of Göttingen as a dynamic hub of development. Using the example of German universities, the genealogies of individual chairs, subjects, and disciplines are traced. Special attention is paid to the dual character of disciplining as a submission to a system of rules and the organisation of knowledge.

Keywords: academic disciplines, faculties; historiography of science, humanities, knowledge, lecture catalogue, Göttingen

Introduction

The historiography of individual subjects and disciplines is an indispensable part of both university history and the history of science.¹ Nevertheless, research of this kind does not always enjoy the best reputation, and is often accompanied by distancing remarks, such as that one does not write ‘pure’ disciplinary history, provides ‘more’ than a disciplinary history, moves ‘beyond’ traditional disciplinary history, or

1 The methodological departure towards a disciplinary history grounded in philosophy of science began in Germany around 1980, see Lepenies, “Wissenschaftsgeschichte”; Schröder, *Disziplinengeschichte*.

preferably works transdisciplinarily.² Disciplinary histories are suspected of self-reflection and historically legitimized identity construction and, in view of a history of science opening up to the history of knowledge, appear to be surrounded by too many boundaries.³

There is no shortage of anthologies on the history of faculties, subjects, and disciplines at a single university, but anthologies on a single discipline at different universities are rarer.⁴ This already shows a deficit of comparative perspectives, indispensable for a modern historiography of universities.⁵ Above all, there is a lack of systematic general accounts of the social and epistemological functioning of disciplines.⁶

The question of who writes the history of subjects and disciplines shakes the foundations of university and academic history. If, as is usually the case, it is the representatives of the disciplines themselves who become historiographically active in the context of anniversaries and commemorative days, this often seems less than ideal from the perspective of professional historians; but if, conversely, a historian poaches in the history of physics, law, or medicine, there is the fear of a lack of expertise. However, if historians and historians of science were to deal only with their own history, this would be considered all too self-referential.

But what are disciplines? Disciplines have always been “elementary categories and forms of organization” of science. From a social perspective they are “institutions”, from a scientific perspective they are “places of communication”, and from the perspective of their actors they are “complexes of rules to be known and followed.”⁷ The Latin conceptual field of “subject”, “knowledge”, “instruction”, and “obedience” surrounding the term *disciplina* already points to the dual character of disciplining as a submission to a system of rules and the organization of knowledge.⁸ According to Rudolf Stichweh, “the concept of ‘discipline’ owes its connotation of a form of appropriation of knowledge that eliminates subjectivity and, in this

2 Rothland, *Disziplingeschichte im Kontext*, 56.

3 See Füssel, “Wissensgeschichten”; Füssel, *Wissen*.

4 Boeck and Lammel, eds, *Wissen im Wandel*; Callmer, ed., *Anfänge der ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie*.

5 On the need for comparison, see Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, 10; Lemaire, ed., *Perspectives*; Guntau and Laitko, eds, *Ursprung der modernen Wissenschaften*; Schubring, ed., *Einsamkeit und Freiheit*.

6 See the critical survey by Heilbron, “Das Regime der Disziplinen,” 25–26, and Messer-Davidow, Shumway, and Sylvan, eds, *Knowledges*.

7 Gierl, “Disziplinen, gelehrte”; Posner, “What is an Academic Discipline.”

8 Gierl, “Disziplinen, gelehrte,” 1064; Jüssen and Schrimpf, “Disciplina, doctrina”; Berndt and Lutz-Bachmann, eds, *Scientia und Disciplina*.

sense, disciplines it” to the fact that, in the academic context, knowledge is conveyed asymmetrically through the roles of professors and students.⁹ Scientific disciplines, however, from the university-historical perspective of long duration, are a relatively recent phenomenon whose study has undergone some striking developments in the past forty years. They are partial results of a broader process of diversification, fragmentation, and specialization that began as early as the eighteenth century, and that Peter Burke has outlined using the term “divided knowledge.”¹⁰

In what follows, I proceed in three steps: first, illuminating historiographical structural patterns of academic subject histories leading from the philosophy of science of the 1970s to the cultural turns of the 1990s and 2000s (Section 1); second, going into the processes of disciplinary differentiation and disciplining from the order of faculties to the “regime of disciplines”¹¹ (Section 2); and third, tracing the genealogy of individual chairs, subjects, and disciplines (Section 3).

Disciplinary memories and transformations of historiography

For the current status and treatment of the history of subjects and disciplines, a look at recent handbooks on the history of science is instructive.¹² The third volume of the *Cambridge History of Science* (2006), dealing with the early modern period before the eighteenth century, includes a major section on “Dividing the Study of Nature”, while the fourth follow-up volume on the eighteenth century edited by Roy Porter (2003) already includes a section on “Disciplines.”¹³ The real leap, however, begins with the transition to modernity, which takes into account disciplinary differentiation. While the pre-modern centuries up to 1800 are treated in four of the eight volumes, another four volumes are dedicated to the disciplinary science of modernity, dealing with “modern physical and mathematical sciences” (Vol. 5), “modern biological and earth sciences” (Vol. 6), “modern social sciences” (Vol. 7), and “modern science in a national, transnational, and global context” (Vol. 8), respectively.¹⁴ The series thus takes into account both the process of differentiation and the pre-disciplinary character of early modern “fields of knowledge”, such as natural history, natural philosophy,

9 Stichweh, “Professionen und Disziplinen,” 279.

10 Burke, *Explosion des Wissens*, 190–217. On the consequences of specialisation, see Ziman, *Knowing everything*.

11 See Heilbron, “Das Regime.”

12 Grote, “Wissenschaftsgeschichte,” 91–101.

13 Daston and Park, eds, *History*; Porter, *History*.

14 Nye, ed., *History*; Bowler and Pickstone, eds, *History*; Porter and Ross, eds, *History*; Slotten, Numbers and Livingstone, eds, *History*.

or alchemy.¹⁵ The three-volume *Histoire des sciences et des savoirs* (2015), edited by Dominique Pestre and others, includes a section on the “Champs de Sciences” in each volume, devoted to a detailed description of the early modern period, the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century, most of which consistently move beyond the disciplines.¹⁶ Completely removed is the reference to subjects and disciplines in the Wiley / Blackwell *Companion to the History of Science* (2016) and the Metzler *Handbuch Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (2017).¹⁷ In brief, while disciplinary history seems to be slowly disappearing from handbooks, university histories still tend to point in a different direction. The University of Leipzig, for example, dedicates a double volume of a total of 1,641 pages to the topic of “Faculties, Institutes, Central Facilities” structured strictly according to subjects in its five-volume *Gesamtdarstellung* (2009–2010).¹⁸

Much of the ‘subject research’ on the pre-modern university consists of faculty histories. Their ‘*causa scribendi*’ has always been, as already noted, mostly jubilee. Dissertations and jubilee writings of the type *The Theological Faculty of University X* have been legion since the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Preoccupation with medical faculties began relatively early.²⁰ In Germany, the jubilees of the universities of Freiburg in 1957,²¹ Jena in 1958,²² Kiel in 1965,²³ Munich in 1972, Tübingen in 1977,²⁴ Göttingen in 1987, and Leipzig in 2009,²⁵ to name but a few, produced a particularly strong output. At some of these universities, sustainable effective publication series on their own university history were created, specifically in Freiburg, Munich, Tübingen, Göttingen, Greifswald, and Rostock.²⁶

Many faculty histories with a longer time horizon make use of a narrative structure that is also popular for overall representations of university and town history and operate with the concepts of “flourishing” and “golden age” or “decline”,

15 On the concept of the ‘field’, understood by one tradition as a soil, by another as a physical field of forces, see Burke, “Explosion,” 206–8; Bourdieu, *Science*. For pre-modern Europe, see Füssel and Trüter, “Feld.”

16 Pestre, ed., *Histoire*. Grote reads significantly for all volumes “Champs des Disciplines” instead of “Champs des Sciences” Grote, “Wissenschaftsgeschichte,” 94.

17 Lightman, ed., *Companion*; Sommer, Müller-Wille, and Reinhardt, eds, *Handbuch*.

18 Huttner, *Geschichte*.

19 Schmidt, *Professoren*; Rother, *Fakultäten*; Göbell, *Geschichte*; Alwast, *Geschichte*; Falkner, *Geschichte*; Mraz, *Geschichte*.

20 Becker, *Geschichte*; Stübler, *Geschichte*; Burckhardt, *Geschichte*; Fossel, *Geschichte*.

21 Schumacher, *Geschichte*.

22 Giese and Hagen, eds, *Geschichte*.

23 Döhring, *Geschichte*; Rohs, *Geschichte*; Jordan, *Geschichte*.

24 Brecht, ed., *Theologen*.

25 Weiwoda, *Juristenfakultät*; Treide, *Ethnologie*.

26 See the references in Schwinges, “Universitätsgeschichte,” 34 with note 26.

“new beginning” and “crisis.”²⁷ Although subjects and disciplines are genuinely man-made entities, a biologicistic-naturalizing use of language is ubiquitous. There are discussions of “orchid subjects”, academic “biodiversity” and “diversity”, and “pregnancies”, “births”, and “paternity trials.” Small subjects must be protected like rare plants, because perhaps they will come to “bloom” again.

The structure of faculty and subject histories usually follows personal, constitutional, and institutional history.²⁸ Corresponding anthologies often highlight individual scholars and debates.²⁹ Overall, the historiography of faculties follows the trends characteristic of general university historiography. Beginning with constitutional history, this was followed by social history, which has been especially productive for the prosopography of faculties, and most recently by approaches from the history of culture and knowledge, which, however, are still used very cautiously in most subject histories.³⁰

Based on contemporary history, faculty histories are sometimes more experimental, as for example an anthology on the history of the Freiburg Faculty of Philosophy 1920–1960.³¹ It includes edited self-testimonies and adds new content, such as an article on “informal relationships of Freiburg professors” in regulars’ tables, circles, and *Kränzchen* (academic bees). In addition to such micro-political perspectives, especially in the German context, the reappraisal of Nazi and GDR history plays a central role for the contemporary history of faculties and subjects.³²

Within the framework of a voluminous history of sociology, in 1981 Wolf Lepenies remeasured the state of disciplinary history. In it, the sociologist critically noted that his own discipline in particular had only belatedly left behind the tradition of the progress narrative of “Whig historiography” and the presentism of classical historiography of science, which projects the “current disciplinary shape back into its prehistory.”³³ He sees essential impulses emanating from the critical and reflexive history of science, as it began at the latest with Kuhn’s *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*

27 Liess, *Geschichte*; Krause, *Rechtswissenschaften*.

28 More prosopographically oriented, for example, Hein, and Junghans, eds, *Professoren*; Walter, *Dozenten*; Heussi, *Geschichte*; Kantzenbach, *Theologie*. As an example of a content-based systematic approach, see Kaufmann, *Universität*.

29 Brecht, ed., “Theologen.”

30 Müller, “Genese,” 181–202; In Müller’s reconstruction of a special discipline, the history of the subject and discipline as such is strangely absent.

31 Wirbelauer, ed., *Fakultät*. For a critical assessment of the volume, see Weber, “Review”; Hausmann and Paletschek, “Fakultät.”

32 Rössler, *Wissenschaft und Lebensraum*.

33 Lepenies, “Einleitung, IV–VII.” Some of the topics still described as desiderata, such as the history of journals and professional societies, have recently been dealt with in Moebius and Ploder, eds, *Handbuch*. As a local approach, see Römer and Alber-Armenat, eds, *Erkundungen*.

(1962); today, one would perhaps go back as far as Ludwik Fleck and the concepts of thought collectives and styles of thinking in the 1930s as an essential source of impulses.³⁴ For Lepenies, “disciplinary history is an invaluable source of new research ideas; controversies can be rationalized and more easily arbitrated by uncovering their historical roots; only an accurate knowledge of a discipline’s history helps to avoid duplication of effort and to avoid falling for fads; historical knowledge supports error reduction, especially in research, and increases the predictive ability of the researcher in question. Finally, an insight into the history of the discipline has therapeutic effects, as it pleasantly enlightens us about the misconceptions and prejudices common in our discipline.”³⁵ Younger subjects, such as sociology and education, and those with clear identity challenges, such as the “many-named subject” of folklore studies, obviously show stronger tendencies toward critical reflection on their own history.³⁶ Historical science as an “academically ponderous princess” (Ferdinand Tönnies) has long struggled with self-historicization.³⁷ Markus Huttner’s account of historical scholarship in Leipzig from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century is a successful history of the discipline that meets modern methodological demands.³⁸ Huttner’s work has set standards for the study of academic practice which, in many faculty and disciplinary histories remains mostly a kind of black box.

The call for a stronger historicizing and sociological approach to disciplinary histories had already left its mark on jubilee driven publications of the late 1980s. Symptomatic of the problematic nature of subject-historical narratives of origins is rebutting possible reservations in an anthology on the history of the Göttingen social sciences *avant la lettre* that emerged from the 1987 anniversary context. A preoccupation with the subject matter before its conceptual genesis, it says in the introduction, is “not done with a specialist archival or even legitimatory intention.” The analyses are “rather motivated by the assumption that one could draw profit from earlier approaches for the reflection and productive solution of our present subject problems.”³⁹ In the same year, the University of Göttingen published an anthology on the history of pedagogy, which, in its preface, explicitly wrestles with another problem of the history of the subject. All contributions are centred around

34 Lepenies, “Einleitung,” IV. For decades, Kuhn was a fixed point of reference in the discussion on the history of disciplines, which had long been conducted purely in terms of scientific theory, see Thiel, “Überlegungen,” 125–47 or Schröder, *Disziplingeschichte*.

35 Lepenies, “Einleitung,” XXVII.

36 On the science of education, see Lenzen, “Universitätsfächer,” 83–86; Drewke, “Disziplinbildung”; Horn, “Entstehung,” 189–210. On German Volkskunde, see Brückner and Beitzl, eds, *Volkskunde*.

37 Tönnies, *Studien*, 127.

38 Huttner, *Geschichte*.

39 Herrlitz and Kern, eds, “*Sozialwissenschaft*, 7.

the great white men of the discipline, although one explicitly distances oneself from “personalistic views of history.”⁴⁰ Purely “practical”, rather than “theoretical” reasons would have suggested an “exemplary characterization” along individual subject representatives, since no overall representation existed so far.⁴¹

In the past two decades, cultural turns have reached disciplinary history and opened up further horizons of inquiry. During the same period, for example, gender-historical perspectives have entered disciplinary history.⁴² In the wake of Pierre Bourdieu’s sociology, for example, questions have been raised about a *habitus* that is typical of a particular subject or discipline.⁴³ Thus, the “subtle differences” between schools, styles, and disciplines increasingly came into view.⁴⁴ The call for research on “science in context” was followed by the call for “disciplines in context.”⁴⁵ The path to contextualization was also accompanied by a change in metaphors; the traditional tree of knowledge (*arbor scientiae*), which had guided the structure from the Middle Ages to the *Encyclopédie*, in the nineteenth century was replaced by political spaces, such as empires, regions, and provinces.⁴⁶ More recent spatial translations interpret the academic knowledge culture of modernity as an archipelago of many smaller and larger islands, sometimes difficult to reach among themselves.⁴⁷ Something similar has been described for campus architecture, where philologies and historical scholarship condense around a central library building, while the natural sciences are located far from the city on their own campuses with laboratories, clinics, and other facilities.⁴⁸ The vast paths also symbolize the proximity and distance of the disciplines.

Microhistorical approaches to these islands have been tested, approaching the “academic tribal societies” with an ethnological eye.⁴⁹ Thus, increased attention has been paid to the different “cultures of science”, that is, to discipline-specific “traditions and customs”, “scientific practices”, “moral norms and rules of behaviour”, and the “knowledge of the proper use of discipline-specific linguistic and symbolic

40 Hoffmann, “Vorwort,” 8.

41 Hoffmann, “Vorwort,” 9–10.

42 Schekahn, *Spurensuche*; Glaser and Andresen, eds, *Disziplingeschichte*; Harders, *American studies*.

43 Reinhardt, “Habitus,” 125–46.

44 Danneberg, Höppner, and Klausnitzer, eds, *Stil*.

45 Peckhaus and Thiel, eds, *Disziplinen*; Bonß, Hohlfeld, and Kollek, eds, *Wissenschaft*; Heintz, “Wissenschaft,” 528–52.

46 Burke, “Explosion,” 199.

47 Burke, *History*, 19.

48 Daston, “History” 146–47.

49 Becher, *Academic Tribes*; on micro-history, see Dathe, “Verfahren,” 61–76; Rothland, *Disziplingeschichte*.

forms of knowledge as well as of communication.”⁵⁰

In addition to “faculty cultures”, the term “subject cultures” (*Fachkulturen*) also found its way into research in the course of general culturalization.⁵¹ In Anglo-American usage, cultures have been authoritative for the diagnoses of differentiation and demarcation since the 1950s. The thesis of the “two cultures” of natural sciences and humanities, which the British novelist and physical chemist Charles Percy Snow (1905–1980) put forward in 1959, was particularly effective.⁵² This has since undergone multiple modifications: Lepenies added the social sciences as a third culture, others argue about when and where the great separation occurred, or whether it ever occurred at all.⁵³ More recently, the debate has been revived, partly in the context of increased interest in the history of the humanities.⁵⁴ With the awareness of the contrasts between the disciplines that grew in the 1960s, there were also calls for interdisciplinarity, which also found their own institutional forms, such as the Bielefeld Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZIF), established on the American model in 1968.⁵⁵

In view of the general dynamics of differentiation in the sciences, it seems logical that it does not stop at the history of science and universities. The history of subjects and disciplines forms a further special discipline and, as such, is subdivided into various research fields that are only in loose dialogue with each other. Thus, the study of specialized languages is mostly carried out by literary scholars and linguists, while that of the disciplinary habitus by social scientists, and faculty histories are written by subject representatives in the field. An interdisciplinary history of disciplines is thus a desideratum.⁵⁶

Differentiation and disciplining

The dominant structural principle of the pre-modern university was the hierarchical order of the four faculties: theology, jurisprudence and medicine as the so-called ‘higher’ faculties, and the arts or, later, philosophy as the propaedeutic preliminary

50 Arnold, “Disziplin,” 18.

51 Liebau and Huber, “Kulturen,” 314–39; Huber, “Fachkulturen,” 3–24.

52 Kreuzer, ed., *Kulturen*.

53 Lepenies, *Kulturen*. On the historicisation of the separation process, see Bouterse and Karstens, “Diversity,” 341–52; Dierse, “Begriffspaar,” 13–34; Diemer, “Differenzierung,” 174–223.

54 See, for example, the new journal published by the University of Chicago Press since 2016: *History of Humanities* or the *Society for the History of the Humanities*, as well as works by Bod, *A New History of the Humanities*; Bod, Maat, and Weststeijn, eds, *Humanities*.

55 Kocka, ed., *Interdisziplinarität*; with an international focus, see Burke, “Explosion,” 208–12.

56 Similarly already Boehm, “Wissenschaft,” 7–36; as a more recent problematisation, see Balsinger, “Disziplingeschichtsschreibung,” 223–42.

stage.⁵⁷ This hierarchy was never unchallenged, but proved institutionally stable until the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ According to the historian Rudolf Vierhaus, it was not “the emergence of completely new sciences” that characterized the eighteenth century, but the “differentiation, reorganization, and accelerated change of the subject matter of older sciences.”⁵⁹ In the course of the century of enlightenment, individual subjects within the faculties slowly differentiated themselves into disciplines, although individual classificatory boundary work had already had a longer history.⁶⁰ Within the medical faculty, chemistry and biology⁶¹ emerged, and the philosophical faculty became the incubation space for a whole host of new subjects and disciplines, such as anthropology, history, art history, natural history, and physics. In the words of Rudolf Stichweh, “The philosophical faculty, which had become autonomous in its claim to science, became the site of the emergence of the modern system of scientific disciplines.”⁶² Stichweh characterizes the transformation of the scientific discipline at the beginning of modernity in terms of systems theory as a path from an “order of secured knowledge for purposes of teaching and research to a social system of specialized scientific research and communication.”⁶³ As “forms of social institutionalization” into a discipline, he names the following criteria:

1. “a sufficiently homogeneous communication context of researchers—a »scientific community«”
2. a “corpus of scientific knowledge represented in textbooks”
3. “a plurality of questions each of which being currently problematic”
4. “a »set« of research methods and paradigmatic solutions to problems”
5. a “discipline-specific career structure and institutionalized socialization processes that serve to select and »indoctrinate« the next generation.”⁶⁴

The last point in particular lends itself well to highlighting the specific historicity of disciplinarity. Indeed, until well into the eighteenth century, universities were characterized by the “absence of a monodisciplinary career.”⁶⁵ Rather, the principle of advancement applied: from the lowest professorship of the faculty of arts, one could advance to the professorships of the higher faculties, depending on vacancies or the acquisition of further doctorates. The decision for an “exclusive and lifelong

57 On the faculty of Arts and later Philosophy, see Schwinges, ed., *Artisten*.

58 Füssel, “The Conflict.”

59 Vierhaus, “Einleitung,” 11.

60 Kelley, ed., *History*; Yeo, “Classifying,” 241–66.

61 Meinel, “Artibus,” 89–115; Kohler, *Chemistry*.

62 Stichweh, “Disziplinen,” 36.

63 Stichweh, “Professionen,” 279.

64 Stichweh, *Wissenschaft*, 17.

65 Stichweh, *Zur Entstehung*, 33.

responsibility for a single field of teaching (and research) was only the historical result of intra-scientific as well as institutional processes.”⁶⁶

The systems theoretical view has done much for the history of disciplines and has great heuristic potential, but it also has some blind spots, especially with regard to the power effects of disciplines and subjects.⁶⁷ Thus, there has been talk of the “ethnocentrism of disciplines” (Campbell), of “scientific establishments” (Elias), or “academic tribes and territories” (Becher).⁶⁸ It must also be argued against the strong differentiation thesis that there were other mechanisms of the genesis of disciplines, such as the “upgrading” (e.g., chemistry) or the “merging of hitherto separate fields into a single discipline” (e.g., biology), and it is not by chance that Stichweh developed his model on the example of physics.⁶⁹

An important medium for the historical reconstruction of discipline formation is lecture catalogues.⁷⁰ They manifest the pluralization of subjects as well as disciplinary characteristics.⁷¹ The lecture catalogue essentially served two functions: disciplining students as well as professors, and advertising the university.⁷² Originally, primarily external advertising and profile-building in the course of confessionalization, with the erosion of the *ordo studiorum*, advertising was also mainly addressed inwardly. From the 1780s onward, the German-language lectionary catalogues also had a disciplining effect in the sense of academic discipline formation. Let us take a look at some Göttingen lecture catalogues as examples.

The first printed catalogue dates from 1736 and is strictly structured according to the four faculties, and within the faculties according to the professors, followed by the professors *extraordinariae*.⁷³ While from 1748 lectures were also announced in German in a local journal, the first independently printed German-language lecture directory appeared in Göttingen in 1771. It is already

66 See Stichweh, “Die soziale Rolle,” 341.

67 See the critical position by Heilbron, “Regime,” 24–25 and 29–33. Alternatively, see Lenoir’s theory of the production of disciplines based on Foucault’s “discursive formation” and Bourdieu’s “field” in Lenoir, *Instituting Science*. A “fractal” history of disciplines inspired by chaos theory has been developed by Abbot, *Chaos of Disciplines*.

68 Campbell, “Ethnocentrism,” 328–48; Elias, “Establishments,” 243–344; Becher, *Academic Tribes*.

69 Heilbron, “Regime,” 39–40.

70 Rasche, “Vorlesungsverzeichnisse,” 445–78. See exemplary for this question the website “Vorlesungsverzeichnisse als Quellen disziplinär organisierter Wissenschaft. Die Ausdifferenzierung wissenschaftlicher Fächer an der Universität Leipzig 1814/15–1914” under <https://histvv.uni-leipzig.de/> (31 August 2020).

71 Bach, Maatsch, and Rasche, eds, *Wissenschaft*.

72 Rasche, “Vorlesungsverzeichnisse,” 454–58.

73 Digitally under http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN687592380_1736_SS (31 August 2020).

subdivided into: *Gottesgelahrtheit* [Theology], *Rechtsgelahrtheit* [Jurisprudence], *Arzneygelahrtheit* [Medicine], *Weltweisheit* [Worldly Wisdom=Philosophy], *Mathematik* [Mathematics], *Geschichtskunde* [History], then as a section *Philologie, Kritik, Altherthümer und schöne Wissenschaften*, [Philology, Criticism, Classics and Aesthetics], and finally *Ausländische und Lebende Sprachen* [Foreign and Living Languages].⁷⁴ Within the subject groups, the list is by subject, not by professor, while the Latin *Catalogus Praelectionum*, published in parallel, retained the order by rank of professors until 1895.⁷⁵

Twenty years later, in the summer semester of 1791, many things are already different: theology and law remain the same, but *Arzneygelahrtheit* [Medicine] is now called *Heilkunde* [Healing Science], while the real dynamics are to be found in the Faculty of Philosophy: After Worldly Wisdom (*Weltweisheit*) and Mathematical Sciences, “Natural History”, “History with its Auxiliary Sciences”, “Literature”, “Fine Sciences and Arts”, “Ancient History”, “Philology, Criticism and Ancient Languages”, and finally “Modern Languages and Literature” follow as separate sections. The innovation starts from the natural sciences, i.e., from natural philosophy and natural history, as well as the philologies.⁷⁶ Natural History becomes the basis of the natural sciences.⁷⁷

Another twenty years later, *Gelahrtheit* [Learning] gave way to the concept of science, and we find a general *Wissenschaftskunde* [Introduction to Science] before *Theologische Wissenschaft* [Theological Science], then after Theology in the classical order of precedence Jurisprudence, Medicine, Philosophical Sciences, Mathematical Sciences, Natural Sciences, Historical Sciences, Fine Sciences and Arts, Classical Studies, Philological Sciences, and finally Modern Languages and Literature. In 1796, for example, the Mathematical and Philosophical “Sciences” were already there, while the jurists were still teaching “Jurisprudence” as “*Rechtsgelahrtheit* [Learned Jurisprudence]”.

From a long-term developmental perspective, the next major break came in the summer semester of 1844, when *Staatswissenschaft und Gewerbewissenschaft* [Political Science and Trade science] were established behind “Philosophical Science” and before “Mathematical Science.” Within this new disciplinary rubric, there are “Politics and European Constitutional Law”, “National Economics and

74 Digitally under http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN654655340_1771_WS (31 August 2020).

75 Rasche, “Vorlesungsverzeichnisse,” 469.

76 For the dynamization of knowledge classification in Göttingen also van Miert, “Structuring the History,” 389–416; Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 33–68.

77 Ziche, “Von der Naturgeschichte,” 251–63. On the formation of the natural sciences in Germany, see also Phillips, *Acolytes of Nature*.

Finance”, “Forestry Science”, and “Technology”, and thus cores of the later Political, Economic, Social, and Forestry Science.

However, not every subject area taught led to an academic discipline of its own; military science, for example, did not grow into a discipline of its own under the umbrella of mathematical sciences, although a glance at the course catalogue for the summer semester of 1791 shows that as many as four courses were offered on *Kriegsbaukunst* [Military Architecture] *Feldbefestigungskunst* [Field Fortification], *Militärische Encyclopädie* [Military Encyclopaedia], and *Artillerie und Feuerwerkerey* [Artillery and Fireworks].⁷⁸

However, the periodic announcement of the entire teaching program in print remained a predominantly Protestant feature for a long time. The directories of the Catholic University of Dillingen were a striking exception, to be followed by universities, such as Ingolstadt only in 1780, Mainz and Cologne in 1784, Würzburg in 1785, and Freiburg in 1807.⁷⁹

“The first chair for...” Seniority and authority

The universities’ ambition to trace their own institutional history as far back in time as possible is also reflected in the historical memory policy of individual disciplines and subjects, all of which cultivate their ancestors and traditions.⁸⁰ It is no coincidence that early traces of historical retrospection on individual academic subjects can be found in academic jubilee and commemorative publications, the essential driving force of university historiography.⁸¹ As early as 1978, Wolf Lepenies saw a “traditional function” of disciplinary history as “to demonstrate anciennity for the purpose of gaining or reinforcing legitimacy”.⁸² More recently, William Clark, in his genealogy of the modern research university, has pointed to the charisma generated by particular chairs: “if an Isaac Newton or an Immanuel Kant has sat in a particular chair, then the ghost or spirit of that individually famous academic infuses that chair. One of Stephen Hawking’s many claims to fame today is that he occupies »Newton’s chair«”.⁸³ The chair refers to a quite literal material basis of many professorships.

78 Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen, SoSe 1791, 11 (digitalized: http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN654655340_1791_SS [31 August 2020]). On the context of military science at Göttingen University, see Tütken, „Privatdozenten,” 849–59.

79 Rasche, “Vorlesungsverzeichnisse,” 463.

80 Rieger-Ladich, Amos, and Rohstock, eds, *Erinnern*. For the founding years of individual chairs, see the overview in Baumgarten, “Professoren,” 277–86.

81 Hammerstein, “Jubiläumsschrift,” 601–33.

82 Lepenies, “Wissenschaftsgeschichte,” 449.

83 Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 19.

Academic teaching practices and their material culture of knowledge, especially academic collections, acted as engines of disciplinary differentiation, for many custodians and keepers of collections also became the first professors of a new discipline.⁸⁴ Thus, in many cases, academic collections are thus institutional crystallization points.⁸⁵ Johann Dominik Fiorillo (1748–1821), for example, is considered the founder of art history as an academic subject.⁸⁶ After he came to the University of Göttingen in 1781 as a teacher of drawing, he was given supervision of the university's graphic collections in 1784, and appointed associate professor in 1799, and full professor in 1813. At the University of Landshut, Simon Klotz (1777–1825) was appointed full professor of art history as early as 1804, but due to lack of demand, this remained an episode.⁸⁷

Fiorillo's colleague in Göttingen, Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818), is considered one of the founders of historical musicology. Forkel had been lecturing on music since 1772 and advanced to the position of university music director in 1779.⁸⁸ Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), who also worked in Göttingen, is considered the founding father of two scientific disciplines—anthropology and zoology. Appointed associate professor and inspector of the natural history collection in 1776, he became a full professor as early as 1778. In his almost sixty years of teaching, he taught Natural History and Comparative Anatomy, among other subjects, and accordingly published a *Handbuch der Naturgeschichte* [Compendium to Natural History] (1779–1780) and a *Handbuch der vergleichenden Anatomie* [Compendium to Comparative Anatomy] (1805).⁸⁹

There is no consensus on all genealogies of disciplines. Only recently, for example, has the history of ethnology been extended from the nineteenth to the eighteenth century: Han F. Vermeulen considers Gerhard Friedrich Müller's Siberian expedition in the 1730s/40s, August Ludwig Schlözer's *Völkerkunde* [Ethnography] in Göttingen in the 1770s, and Adam Franz Kollár's (1718–1783) research in Vienna in the 1780s to be the birth moments of academic ethnology.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the disciplinary history of folklore has been shortened again since the late 1980s, when the narrative of its emergence from early modern statistics and geography was

84 See the example of natural history research on the co-evolution of museum and academic discipline Häner, *Dinge sammeln*.

85 On the genesis of university collections in Germany, see Müller, *Der sammelnde Professor*.

86 Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte*, 175.

87 Stalla, "Das »Institut der bildenden Künste«, " 195–214.

88 Fischer, *Das Wissenschaftliche der Kunst*. On the history of the discipline, see Gerhard, ed., *Musikwissenschaft*.

89 Kroke, *Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*; Rupke and Lauer, eds, *Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*.

90 Vermeulen, *Before Boas*.

deconstructed and the beginning was placed in the middle of the nineteenth century with Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl.⁹¹ With Gottfried Achenwall, Göttingen lost a founding father in the history of scientific folklore studies, which turned into a historical “paternity trial.”⁹²

The example of biology shows that in many cases a kind of disciplinary co-emergence was at work, i.e., scientists in different places developed similar ideas at the same time. Thus, researchers, such as Jean Baptiste Lamarck in France or Erasmus Darwin in England, must be added to or contrasted with the ‘Göttingen School’, which has long been the only one to be emphasized in the development of biology around 1800.⁹³ The ongoing search for the founding fathers and the veneration of patron saints of individual disciplines should not obscure the basic insight of the sociology of knowledge that science is always a collective project, never one of individual original geniuses.⁹⁴

The increasing importance of the material foundations of teaching and research is also reflected in the medium of professors’ portraits.⁹⁵ With time, increasing numbers of professors staged themselves next to the traditional wall of books with specific artifacts of their profession. The portrait of professors flourished especially at Protestant universities; there are significant collections in Tübingen, Marburg, Jena, or Göttingen, among others. Viewed serially, the robes of the four faculties initially dominate, but these are repeatedly broken up by individual representations that provide a good barometer for processes of distinction and differentiation. At the University of Marburg, only a few professors stood out from the uniformity with individual artifacts. Among them was Denis Papin (1647–1712), a French physicist and mathematician known for his sense of prestige. His portrait breaks up the contrast between book and object science by placing his famous steam pot in the picture as a third-order object presentation: thus, Papin holds an open book with a clearly visible copperplate of the pot in his hands. The use of objects was particularly pronounced in the portrait of professors at the University of Göttingen, which, after all, claims a whole series of disciplinary formation processes for itself.⁹⁶

For Catholic universities, the four bass violin format paintings in the Orban Hall of the Jesuit College in Ingolstadt, made by Christoph Thomas Scheffler (1699–1756) around 1725, represent a striking example.⁹⁷ They feature Christoph

91 See Könenkamp, “Volkskunde,” 1–25; the older position in Möller, “Aus den Anfängen,” 218–33.

92 Könenkamp, “Volkskunde,” 1.

93 Zammito, *The Gestation*; Scheele, *Grundzüge*, 144–54.

94 Fleck, *Entstehung*; Burke, “Die Explosion,” 202.

95 Füssel, “Die Kunst,” 59–78.

96 Füssel, “Die Kunst.”

97 Mayer-Deutsch, “»Quasi-Optical Palingenesis«,” 105–29.

Scheiner (1573–1650) and Johann Baptist Cysat (1587–1657), two Ingolstadtians, and Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) and Christoph Clavius (1537–1612), two Roman Jesuits who all rendered outstanding services to astronomy. All four are richly endowed with objects; Kircher's portrait, for example, creates a direct link to Orban's collection in Ingolstadt through the inscription "Museum" on one of the spines.

Once again, a look at the Göttingen lecture catalogues reveals something about the increased importance of material cultures of knowledge. Excursions to the mining industry in the Harz Mountains or to local farms could be useful for botany as well as for cameral science or technology. Anatomical theatres and botanical gardens became increasingly important as academic teaching infrastructures. Professor Johann Beckmann, for example, announces his *Göttingen Introduction to Economics and Technology* in the summer of 1789 saying, "At 4 o'clock Economy will be taught by Herr Hofrat Beckmann following his handbook, and the economic plants and their construction in the economic garden will be demonstrated. Technology is taught the same way with the help of manuals at 10 o'clock, visiting the crafts, factories and manufactories in the city and the neighbourhood with his listeners."⁹⁸ He had already published his *Anleitung zur Technologie* [Guide to Technology] in 1777, a manual that would go through five editions by 1809. A not insignificant factor among several that were responsible for the flourishing and pre-eminence of the University of Göttingen in the last third of the eighteenth century was the production of its own textbooks, which were then also taught at other universities.⁹⁹ The phrase "according to his manual" is almost ubiquitous in Göttingen's lecture catalogues. Thinkers, such as Immanuel Kant in Königsberg, also lectured according to Göttingen manuals, such as Gottfried Achenwall's *Naturrechtslehre* (natural law).

In addition to having its own handbook, the specific material equipment also increased both the disciplinary identity formation and the popularity of the course. In the winter semester of 1785, Professor Johann Christoph Gatterer teaches natural history "with a demonstration of his own naturalia"; in the winter semester of 1803, Professor Hofmann treats the physiology of plants in botany "and combines with this the demonstrations and examinations of the construction of plants under the microscope."¹⁰⁰ An introduction to War Sciences is advertised in the winter of 1795,

98 Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen SoSe 1789, 8 (digitalized under http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN654655340_1789_SS, accessed: 31 August 2020). Kernbauer, ed., *Beckmanns Allgemeine Technologie*. Bayerl and Beckmann, eds, *Johann Beckmann*.

99 Saada, "Universität," 45; Schlumbohm, "Markt," 245.

100 Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen WiSe 1785, 12 (Gatterer) (digitalized under http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN654655340_1785_WS, accessed: 31 August 2020); Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen WiSe 1803, 11 (Hoffmann) (digital unter http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN654655340_1803_WS, accessed: 31 August 2020).

in which the engineering major Gotthard Christoph Müller (1740–1803) lectures according to his manual, which is in press, and “everything is shown partly by drawings and silhouettes. As an appendix, he will give a short but interesting account of navigation and naval warfare and will use a very nice ship model”.¹⁰¹ Naturalia, instruments and models, the list is endless.

In addition to the production of handbooks, from about 1780 onwards, an increasing number of journals ensured the discursive cohesion of a discipline.¹⁰² Publication became that “basic social act of the scientist that documents his participation in disciplinary communication”.¹⁰³ Organs devoted to a multiplicity of disciplines, such as the *Journal des Sçavans*, the *Acta Eruditorum*, or the *Philosophical Transactions*, could no longer do justice to the dynamics of differentiation and specialization.¹⁰⁴ An earlier example of mono-disciplinarity is the *Medizinische und Chirurgische Berlinische wöchentliche Nachrichten*, published by the Berlin surgeon Samuel Schaarschmidt between 1738 and 1748 and considered the first German medical journal. Lorenz Friedrich von Crell founded the *Chemisches Journal* in 1778, which continued as the *Chemische Annalen* until 1803; the *Annales de Chimie*, published in Paris in 1789 and still running today, proved more durable.¹⁰⁵ The natural scientist Friedrich Albert Carl Gren from Halle established the *Journal der Physik* in 1790–1794, which was replaced by the *Neues Journal der Physik* in 1795–1797 and has continued to exist as the *Annalen der Physik* since 1799.¹⁰⁶ The preface of a 1832 physics journal makes clear how a new virtual communication space is established with the journals:

“The individual researcher standing isolated, however active, can only find a substitute for the lack of an immediate connection among the various fellow citizens in the realm of the natural sciences in the rapid communication of the results of others, and only journals can reduce the physical space that separates them from one another.”¹⁰⁷

101 Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen WiSe 1795, 11 (digitalized under http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN654655340_1795_WS, accessed: 31 August 2020). The handbook was published 1796 as Müller, *Militärische Encyclopädie*.

102 Becher, “Fachzeitschrift,” 770–72; Stichweh, *Zur Entstehung*, 394–441; on single subjects, see the articles in: Fischer, eds, *Von Almanach*.

103 Stichweh, *Zur Entstehung*, 294; Josephson, “Publication Mill.”

104 Josephson, Karlsohn, and Östling, eds, *The Humboldtian tradition*, 401–3.

105 On Crell see Josephson, Karlsohn, and Östling, eds, *The Humboldtian Tradition*, 422–25; Toftlund, “Lorenz Crell,” 199–200. On the *Annales de Chimie*, see Crosland, *In the Shadow of Lavoisier*.

106 Stichweh, *Zur Entstehung*, 432–35.

107 Stichweh, *Zur Entstehung*, 426.

At the intersection of book studies and disciplinary history, the role of publishers in publication strategies and the establishment of new disciplines has also been elaborated more recently.¹⁰⁸ A particular engine of disciplinary demarcation is the development of specialized disciplinary languages.¹⁰⁹ The three higher faculties produced a high degree of ‘subject dialectal’ distinction potential early on. For German as a language of science, the philosophy of Christian Wolff is considered an important factor.¹¹⁰

Chairs and collections, portraits, lecture catalogues, handbooks, journals, and languages show the wide range of institutional, settings, media, and materiality that not only depict the process of disciplinary differentiation, but constitutively help to shape it.

Conclusion

Our comparative overview of the emergence of academic disciplines in Germany has shown that their study is itself subject to a process of increasing differentiation. This leads to the demand for a transdisciplinary history of disciplines. A multi-perspective history of disciplines is also necessary in order to generate more analytical potential from it than is often realized by the anniversary-driven individual histories of individual subjects at individual universities.

As important as the systems-theoretical approach has been for establishing a comparative perspective on the historical formation of disciplines, it is equally necessary to complement it with other approaches. Thus, there were also quite a few dead ends in the formation of subjects; not every subject of pre-modern scholarship found its way into a modern scientific discipline. A look at the broad German university landscape has shown how important a comparative analysis is in order to avoid findings of one-sided path dependencies. In a further step, transnational comparisons would be necessary to avoid repeating the mistake of a local bias on a European scale. In many cases, it is more likely to assume a kind of co-emergence of certain disciplinary developments.

Finally, the question of how disciplined science has been refers back once again to the ambivalent double character of the concept of discipline, which on the one hand denotes submission to a norm and, on the other, a form of organization.

108 Remmert and Schneider, *Eine Disziplin*.

109 Wiegand, ed., *Sprache*; Hoffmann, Ungeheuer, and Burkhardt, eds, *Fachsprachen*; Pörksen, *Wissenschaftssprache*; Drozd and Seibicke, *Fach- und Wissenschaftssprache*.

110 Menzel, *Vernakuläre Wissenschaft*. For nuanced research, see the de Gruyter book series *Lingua Academica. Beiträge zur Erforschung historischer Gelehrten- und Wissenschaftssprachen*.

The never-ending call for interdisciplinarity, however, is not to be understood as a demand for a return to a less standardized and less differentiated realm of scholarship, but rather as a stimulus for critical reflection on one's own boundary-drawing work.¹¹¹ The history of disciplines offers a rich field of activity for this in the future as well.

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Aging Levee

On the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Gottfried Schramm's *Ein Damm Bricht*

Florin Curta 

Department of History, University of Florida, 202 Flint Hall, P.O. Box 117320, Gainesville, FL 32611-7320; fcurta@ufl.edu

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Abstract. The article is both a survey of the literature since the publication in 1997 of Gottfried Schramm's book, and a critical review of the conclusions drawn by the most recent research. The survey focuses on the main theses put forward by Schramm (his famous eight theses on Romanian ethnogenesis) and the way they fared in the literature. His 1985 and 1986 articles, which formed the basis of the book's fourth part have been translated into both Hungarian and Romanian. However, there has been very little, if any engagement with Schramm's arguments, which are primarily, if not exclusively linguistic, and no retort came either from archaeologists or from historians. Much ink has been spilled on the political implications of his 'eight theses' for the presence of Romanians in Transylvania, but few have noted that the key to the understanding of Schramm's viewpoint is his envisioning of the Slavic migration. The article brings to the fore the results of the archaeological excavations in the countries of the central Balkan region and in Romania (both north and south of the Carpathian Mountains) in an attempt to verify Schramm's theory of a migration of Vlach pastoralists from the Balkans to the territory of present-day Romania. The last part of the paper discusses the episode of the Romanian immigration that appears in the so-called Cantacuzene Annals, the earliest chronicle of Wallachia.

Keywords: migration, transhumance, Transylvania, Vlachs, settlement archaeology

"It's got what it takes to make a mountain man leave his home"
(Robert Plant, "When the levee breaks," *Led Zeppelin IV*, 1971)

Gottfried Schramm (1929–2017) disliked archaeology. Besides being unable to say much about Vlachs and other such mountain dwellers who rarely leave behind any solid and ethnically specific traces, archaeologists avow that they can recognize

linguistic changes by means of their trowels, even though neither potsherds nor skulls speak any (specific) language.¹ Percy Ernst Schramm's second son taught Modern and East European history at the Albert-Ludwig University in Freiburg for more than thirty years.² In other words, he was a historian of "conquerors and denizens" of both Russia and Poland.³ He privileged written sources for the modern period, and linguistic data for the early Middle Ages, particularly place names.⁴ Out of his five books published before 1997, two were on the early modern period in European history. *Ein Damm bricht* was, therefore, his fourth dedicated to the early Middle Ages.⁵ Unlike the other three, the 1997 publication was largely based on earlier articles, especially his famous 'eight theses' on the Romanian ethnogenesis, which are included in the first chapter of the book's fourth part.⁶ That is the part that, in fact, received the greatest attention, being immediately translated into Hungarian, and later into Romanian.⁷ In Romania, it had no echo whatsoever and received no reviews.⁸ In Hungary, it is still regarded as "elementary writing of a German author."⁹ Without citing Schramm, many leading historians in Hungary have uncritically reproduced his basic tenets—that the dispersal of Romanians was made possible by the rise of early medieval Bulgaria¹⁰ and that 'vigorous waves' of Vlachs came to the lands north of the Danube after the formation of the Second

1 For useless archaeology, see Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 282, 284.

2 For Schramm's life and work, see Nachtigal, "Zhizn' i trudy."

3 Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingessene*.

4 Schramm, *Nordpontische Ströme; Altrusslands Anfang*.

5 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*. His earlier books, in chronological order: *Der polnische Adel; Nordpontische Ströme; Eroberer und Eingessene; Anfänge; Europäische Renaissancen*.

6 Schramm, "Frühe Schicksale" (1985); "Frühe Schicksale" (1986); "Frühe Schicksale" (1987). The chapter on Venedi, Slavenes, and Antes is based on Schramm, "Venedi, Antes, Slaveni, Slavi." For Schramm's more recent opinions on this matter, see Schramm, "Ortsnamen und Lehnwörter." For eight 'new' theses, see Schramm, "Lieengelassene Probleme."

7 Schramm, *Korai román történelem* (translated by the Hungarian Albanologist István Schütz); Schramm, *Destine* (translated by the Romanian prehistorian Tudor Soroceanu).

8 To the best of my knowledge, Saramandu, "A propos de l'origine du roumain" is the only Romanian reaction to *Ein Damm bricht*. Schramm is basically accused of completely ignoring the (most recent) works of Romanian linguists and historians.

9 Thoroczkay, "Some Remarks," 253, with note 26 cites *Ein Damm bricht* "for a negative assessment of the Dacian-Romanian [sic!] theory of continuity," so that he could not be accused of bias.

10 Makkai, "The Emergence of the Estates," 187. Like Schramm, whom he did not cite, Makkai believed that Romanians began to appear in the region between the Carpathian Mountains and the River Danube during the tenth century. By contrast, others believed that as soon as the Vlachs began to disappear from Bulgaria during the first half of the thirteenth century, they appeared in great numbers in Hungary, without any stop in Wallachia (Györffy, "Abfassungszeit," 221).

Bulgarian Empire.¹¹ Schramm has by now been dubbed the (last) follower of Robert Roesler (1836–1874), whom, however, he only occasionally cited.¹²

In his own country, Schramm's *Ein Damm bricht* received a cold reception. Although it appears to be less “science-fiction” than some of Schramm's other books, he still relied more on fantasies than on evidence, especially when dealing with the name of the Vlachs and with those of the Slavs.¹³ His etymologies and linguistic theories based on (place) names have received a good deal of criticism.¹⁴ *Ein Damm bricht* is full of historical reconstructions based on Schramm's *outré* interpretation of linguistic facts. For example, he claims that the *Urheimat* of the Slavs must have been in the Dnieper area, because the word *Sclavene* supposedly derives from an old name for that river—Slovota.¹⁵ The shift from the longer (*Sclaveni*) to the shorter name (*Sclavi*) of the Slavs supposedly happened under the influence of an old Albanian word borrowed from the language of the Thracian tribe of the Bessi.¹⁶ The (East) Germanic influences upon Common Slavic must be attributed to the Gepids, who, according to Schramm were the dominant population in the lands north of the Lower Danube, in what is now eastern and southern Romania.¹⁷ The Romanian language came to

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- 11 Vászary, *Cumans*, 27. The idea goes back to Roesler, *Romänische Studien*, 117. Unlike Roesler, however, Vászary also claims that “there is no compelling historical evidence that any serious Vlachian [sic] settlement existed north of the Danube in the twelfth or thirteenth century” (Vászary, *Cumans*, 135).
 - 12 Hegyi, “Continuité daco-roumaine.” Hegyi is right. It was Roesler's idea to use language contact (particularly the relations between Romanian, Turkic and Slavic languages, Greek, Hungarian, and Albanian) as a chronological indicator of migration. Long before Schramm, Roesler used place names to write history. See Roesler, *Romänische Studien*, 123–34. For Hegyi's own Roeslerian views, see Hegyi, “Roumains.”
 - 13 Kristophson, “Review,” 489–90 (“Der Hauptfehler bei G[ottfried] S[chramm] besteht nicht darin, daß er eine Form oder eine Etymologie falsch ansetzt, sondern daß offenbar ein Wissen davon fehlt, was man rekonstruieren darf und aus dem Rekonstrukt schließen kann.”).
 - 14 Schmid, “Review”; Udolph, “Review.” According to Peyfuss, “Grundprobleme,” 212, Schramm engaged in linguistic bungy jumping. To reduce the Romanians of the Middle Ages to a community of transhumant (or mountain) shepherds is no better than the Hungarian stereotype about Romanians being descendants of a Roman penal colony (Peyfuss, “Grundprobleme,” 213).
 - 15 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 190–91; Schramm, “Ortsnamen,” 63–64. In reality, that is not an old name for the Dnieper, but an *epitheton ornans* attested only in the seventeenth century (Mesiarkin, “The Name of the Slavs,” 9).
 - 16 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 206. The shorter name first appears in the works of Agathias of Myrina and John Malalas, neither of whom ever visited the Balkans. Being residents of Constantinople and Antioch, respectively, they had no contact with any population in the Peninsula (Curta, *Making of the Slavs*, 45). For the word *Shqâ* in the Geg dialect of northern Albania and its cognate in Romanian, *șcheau*, see Mihăilă, *Studii*, 16; Poruciuc, “Relevanța.”
 - 17 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 140. At the same time, Schramm, much like Roesler, denied the existence of any words of Germanic origin in Romanian. In reality, there is a large number of

the present-day territory of Romania with immigrants from Bulgaria, as indicated by most Slavic loans in Romanian that cannot be dated before ca. 900 because of the metathesis of the liquids.¹⁸

Against Schramm's Neo-Roeslerian tenets, one could easily summon the results of recent linguistic research. Moreover, while Daco-Roman continuity cannot be proved on the basis of place names in the lands north of the Danube, place names south of the river do not indicate a Romanian ethnogenesis anywhere in the Balkans.¹⁹ Building upon earlier ideas advanced by the German linguists Ernst Gamillscheg (1887–1971) and Günter Reichenkron (1907–1966), it has been suggested that Romanian did not originate as an ethnolect (i.e., a specifically ethnic language), but as a *koiné*.²⁰ That, at least, is the conclusion one can draw from the relative uniformity of all Romanian dialects, both north and south of the Danube.²¹

However, those and several similar arguments do not address the issue of historical reconstruction, especially the question of migration. Historical interpretations based on linguistic evidence are fraught with many problems, the most important of which is the inability to date any phonetic and/or linguistic changes with sufficient precision for historical reconstruction. Because of that, nothing helpful for historical reconstruction could be gleaned from recent studies on the linguistics of migration.²² Similarly, because for the area and the period at the center of

such words, which point to linguistic contacts north, not south of the River Danube. See Poruciu, "Problema vechilor germanisme"; "Linguistic-historical implications"; "The fortune of the Old Germanic loan *fara*." Because of the early origin of the Gothic word for silk, Schramm imagined a vast commercial network organized by the Goths in southern Russia between the third and the fourth centuries and linked it to the Silk Road (Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 141–42).

18 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 333, 338 (with the word for 'one hundred' as an example of a Slavic loan after the metathesis of the liquids). The greater part of Slavic loans in Romanian are of bookish origin—Church literature, charters, and popular literature (Nandriș, "The Earliest Contacts"). Only fifteen words can be attributed to a Common Slavic influence on the basis of their phonetical treatment (Mihăilă, *Studii*, 16; Duridanov, "Die ältesten slawischen Entlehnungen," 15). All of them appear in all Romanian dialects, both north and south of the River Danube (Mihăilă, "Criteriile," 355). For *sută*, the Romanian word for "one hundred," as of Thracian (Dacian), and not Slavic origin, see Paliga, "100 Slavic Basic Roots," 67–68, 83.

19 Solta, *Einführung*, 63.

20 For the (socio)linguistic concept of *koiné*, see Siegel, "Koinés and Koineization."

21 Solta, *Einführung*, 70; Holzer, "Der Walchen-Name," 177–78. To that, one could add the observation of Peyfuss, "Grundprobleme," 213, according to which out of all Romanian dialects, Aromanian, spoken by people who live(d) closest to speakers of Albanian, provides the smallest number of Albanian–Romanian lexical parallels. Conversely, the closest parallels to Albanian in Romanian in terms of pronunciation (e.g., rotacization) and vocabulary (e.g., *nea* for 'snow') appear in the northwestern region of present-day Romania.

22 Krefeld, *Einführung*; Morgenthaler García, "Introducción."

Ein Damm bricht, there is little to no direct evidence, one cannot do anything with another model of analysis that may seem otherwise promising. That model is based on the distinction between language as something that a child, for example, might hear around him or her (the so-called ‘external language’) and the mental system characterizing a person’s linguistic range and represented in that person’s mind (the so-called ‘internal language’).²³ The model allows for a re-conceptualization of glotto-genesis, but cannot be used for tracking the migration of people.

The Hungarian archaeologist István Bóna (1930–2001) was therefore right: “there are many problems that cannot be resolved by archaeology.” However, archaeologists are definitely in a position to tell “whether or not a region was inhabited at any given time.” They also have the ability to confirm with some degree of certainty “whether or not the settlement was a lasting one.”²⁴ There has recently been a great deal of discussion about migration among archaeologists, who now distinguish between long- and short-distance migrations, as well as different patterns of migration that may be recognized in the archaeological evidence.²⁵ In short, it is perhaps time to evaluate the historical reconstruction proposed by Gottfried Schramm twenty-five years ago in the light of archaeological and historical evidence. In doing so, I will shift the emphasis from ethnicity to migration: while, as Schramm was quick to observe, archaeologists cannot ‘read’ linguistic changes in material culture, Bóna was equally (if only intuitively) right when noting that they are in a privileged position when it comes to tracking movements of population.

According to Schramm, the Peutinger Map shows the ethnic configuration in Eastern Europe during the first centuries AD, when the Slavs of the forest-steppe belt did not have any contact with the Roman world but through the Goths and the Gepids, who until the sixth century blocked the Slavic access to the Roman Empire.²⁶ Because of that, the Slavs reached the Danube frontier of the Empire from two directions—from the Middle Dnieper to the Lower Danube across present-day Ukraine,

23 Lightfoot, *How New Languages Emerge*. Equally inapplicable are the conclusions of recent studies on linguistic ideologies, for which, see Silverstein, “Language Structure”; Kroskrity, “Language Ideologies”; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, “The Role of Linguistic Ideologies.”

24 Bóna, “The Hungarian–Slav Period,” 139.

25 Anthony, “Migration in Archaeology”; Härke, “Archaeologists and Migrations”; Burmeister, “Archaeology and Migration”; Curta, “Migrations.”

26 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 149, 151 (with the map). According to Schramm, Venedi was another name for the Slavs. He took the double mention of the Venedi on the Peutinger Map to indicate the western and eastern Slavs, respectively (Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 166–75). Moreover, the Slavs borrowed from the Goths or the Gepids the name for the speakers of (Late, vernacular) Latin (Vlach, from Germanic *walha-*), the name of the River Danube, the word for emperor (*tsar*, from *Kaiser*), and the words for ‘lion’ and ‘elephant’ (Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 150).

Moldova and Romania; and from southern Poland through the Moravian Gate to the Middle Danube.²⁷ In a recent book, I have pointed out that no evidence exists of an ‘emptying’ of the *Urheimat* of the Slavs in the Middle Dnieper region (or farther to the north), which would presumably accompany the mass emigration of the Slavs.²⁸ Nor is there any evidence of a wave (or waves) of settlers moving out from that *Urheimat* to the Lower Danube. The many settlements excavated in eastern and southern Romania—several of them on the territory of present-day Bucharest—provide abundant evidence of communities of agriculturists and of a relatively long-term occupation of sites.²⁹ Moreover, like settlements in Wallachia and Moldavia, those excavated in western Ukraine, particularly in the region between the Dnieper and the Dniester rivers cannot be dated earlier than the late sixth or early seventh century. Assemblages with the so-called Prague type pottery (which is traditionally, albeit wrongly attributed to the Slavs) appear almost simultaneously in various parts of western Ukraine, but without any precedents that could be dated to the first half of the sixth or to the late fifth century—the time of the presumed migration that Schramm had in mind. Those were hardly communities ‘on the move’, much less migrants on their way from the *Urheimat* to the warmer climes of the Balkans.³⁰

Can one imagine a migration of the Slavs to be tracked by means of the Prague-type pottery into the Carpathian Basin? For several decades, archaeologists in East Central and Eastern Europe insisted that that pottery appeared in territories that had previously been evacuated by the late antique population.³¹ In other words, the migration of the Slavs filled a vacuum left behind by the Germanic population. Whatever one can make of such criteria, there is absolutely no indication of an end of the sites previously occupied by the late antique population. In fact, during the sixth century, there is no vacuum. The archaeological evidence from Hungary that has been dated to the Early Avar age (ca. 570 to ca. 630) and attributed to the Slavs (e.g., the cremations found in Pókaszpetk or the pottery found in Oroszlány) has nothing in common with materials from sites in the regions from which the immigrants are supposed to have come.³²

Schramm inadvertently subscribed to the theses of the Romanian archaeologists working under Ceaușescu’s regime, when claiming that by the mid-sixth century, the Slavs had established themselves in the lowlands of Wallachia, as well as in

27 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 216, 220 with Map 6.

28 Curta, *Slavs in the Making*, 126–35.

29 For sixth- to seventh-century settlements in southern and eastern Romania, see Curta, *Making of the Slavs*, 276–307.

30 Curta, *Slavs in the Making*, 128–29.

31 Godłowski, *Frühe Slawen*, 94, 98.

32 For a detailed discussion of the evidence, see Curta, *Slavs in the Making*, 69–89.

southeastern Transylvania. In those parts of present-day Romania, the newcomers lived in close quarters with the natives.³³ Who the natives were with whom the Slavic immigrants coexisted is not clear. However, judging by Schramm's own statements about the territory of Romania in the sixth century, those must have been either the Goths or the Gepids. There is no evidence—written or archaeological—of any of those two groups in mid-sixth century Wallachia. On the other hand, while the assemblages with handmade pottery found in the Covasna and Harghita Counties of present-day Romania on such sites as Poian, Cernat and, more recently Miercurea Ciuc-Șumuleu have indeed been attributed to the Slavs, those Slavs came from just across the Carpathian Mountains, where similar assemblages have been excavated, for example, at the Royal Court in Bacău.³⁴ This was not the migration that Schramm envisioned and its direction was from east to west, and not from north to south or southwest.

The title of Schramm's book, *A Dike Breaks*, hints at the presumed collapse of the limes in 602. To Schramm, that was *the* "catastrophe of the empire."³⁵ As soon as Phocas's rebellion broke out, the defense of the Danube frontier (the 'dike') crumbled, and the Slavic tide invaded the Balkans. The Roman inhabitants of the Peninsula who could not find refuge in Thessalonica and other cities in Macedonia or farther to the south, took shelter in the mountains. In time, the refugees turned to transhumant pastoralism, an economic form previously unknown in the Balkans. The population of sheep-raising Roman refugees (*schaftzüchterische Fluchtromania*) clustered within a limited region in the central Balkans between the forty-one- and forty-three-degrees north latitude.³⁶ However, the idea that the Danube frontier collapsed in 602 turns out to be a historiographic myth. Several hillforts along the Danube frontier had already suffered heavy destruction by fire at some point between Justinian and Maurice's reigns, at least twenty years before Phocas's rebellion. However, in almost all cases, destruction was followed by rebuilding and reoccupation.³⁷ The archaeological evidence in that respect correlates well with the information in the written sources suggesting that the Roman army returned to the Danube

33 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 295 ("Altsiedler").

34 For sites in southeastern Transylvania, see Székely, "Așezări" and Botár, "Finally, Slavs." For the site in Bacău, Mitrea and Artimon, "Descoperiri prefeudale." For the analogies between the sites in southeastern Transylvania and those in the Bacău County, see Curta "An Ironic Smile," 52–53.

35 Schramm, "Die Katastrophe."

36 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 309. In reality, transhumance in the Balkans is first documented archaeologically in the Bronze Age (Takács, "A balkáni vlachok kutatásának," 261).

37 Madgearu, "The End of the Lower Danube Limes"; Turlej, "Upadek"; Custurea and Talmațchi, "Regarding the Fall of the Danubian Limes." For the numismatic evidence, see Gândilă, *Cultural Encounters*, 183–84; Custurea, "Anul 602."

after overthrowing Maurice, in order to continue operations against both the Avars and the Slavs. The hillforts and towns along the frontier, as well as in the hinterland were then abandoned ca. 620, most of them in an organized fashion, as indicated by the careful removal of everything essential from the buildings left behind. The reason for the general withdrawal from the Balkans was that Emperor Heraclius needed all troops in Europe on the eastern front. Those troops never returned to the Balkans but were instead relocated to western Anatolia. Between ca. 620 and ca. 690, when the Thracian theme first emerged, there were no Roman troops in the Balkans anymore.³⁸ Nor was there any Slavic tide flooding the Peninsula. The only evidence in the written sources of Slavs permanently settled in the Balkans is that of the Sclavene tribes besieging Thessalonica in the early years of Heraclius's reign. Even that may, in fact, be a projection back in time of the anonymous author of the second book of the *Miracles of St Demetrius*, who was writing at some point between 680 and 700.³⁹ At any rate, during the seventh century, following the supposed 'catastrophe of the empire', there were no Slavs in Macedonia to force the local Romans fearing for their lives to move to the surrounding mountains. Judging from the archaeological evidence, the interior of the Balkan Peninsula experienced a severe demographic collapse in the 'short seventh century' between ca. 620 and ca. 680. No Slavs from the territories north of the River Danube rushed to grab the lands supposedly left behind by the local Roman population.

A distribution map of all settlements known or supposed to have been in existence in the Balkans during the seventh century shows that the central part of the Peninsula is devoid of any sites whatsoever.⁴⁰ Only on the right bank of the Danube do a few settlement sites appear, and some even on islands in the middle of the river.⁴¹ Those are the first open, non-fortified settlements in the Balkans in more than 150 years, with an economic profile not unlike that of the communities in the lands north of the River Danube.⁴² The distribution of all isolated burials and cemeteries dated with some degree of certainty to the same period (seventh century) shows a clear cluster of sites on the northern boundary of the Balkans, which is directly

38 Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*, 189.

39 Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*, 62, 113–14; Panov, "Reconstructing 7th-Century Macedonia."

40 Curta, "The Beginning," 213, Fig. 12. The first to note the demographic collapse was Popa, "Review," 79.

41 Garvan: Văzharova, *Srednovekovnoto selishte* (see Grozdanova, "Relative Chronology," 22–26, for the earliest phase of occupation on the site). Popina: Văzharova, *Slavianski i slavianobălgarski selishta*. Mihajlovac: Janković, "Le site d'habitation medieval." For the settlement (initially and wrongly interpreted as a cremation cemetery) discovered in 1977 on the western side of the island Ostrovu Mare, see Stîngă, "Cercetări arheologice"; Boroneanț and Stîngă, "Cercetările."

42 Curta, *The Long Sixth Century*, 75–76.

comparable to that of rural settlements.⁴³ However, cemeteries and isolated burials also appear in great numbers along the western coast of the Peninsula, from the Peloponnese to Istria, with a prominent cluster in the mountain region of northern Albania. On sites in Albania, as well as in western Macedonia, burial assemblages are typically associated with ruins of old churches.⁴⁴ Most typical for several cemeteries in northern Albania of the so-called Komani culture is the deposition of weapons—swords, arrow and lance heads, as well as battle-axes.⁴⁵ The burial rites are remarkably homogeneous: stone or brick cists; furnished burial; the occasional deposition of weapons; the use of cenotaphs and multiple burials; the west-east grave orientation; and stark gender differentiation.⁴⁶ The clear evidence of continuity of late antique practices—deposition of water jugs and of fibulae with bent stem—may be interpreted as an indication of a Roman population.⁴⁷ Very little is known about the settlements associated with those cemeteries, but recent research at Koman suggests that the settlement, which was established in Late Antiquity, not only continued but even grew in the seventh century. The excavator suggests that refugees from the northern parts of the Balkans were responsible for the population growth.⁴⁸ Could they have been members of Schramm's *schaftzüchterische Fluchtromania*?⁴⁹ Very few agricultural tools were deposited in graves of the Komani culture, and no animal bones have been found in cemeteries excavated in Albania, Montenegro, and Macedonia. There are no signs of transhumant pastoralism, and the tools known so far bespeak purely agricultural occupations.⁵⁰ However, the eco-

43 Curta, "The Beginning," 214, Fig. 13. The picture does not change much if one adds isolated burials or a few finds from presumably destroyed graves, for which see Daskalov and Dimitrov, "Ein Paar anthropozoomorphen Bügelfibeln"; Petković et al., "A Non-Wandering Soldier's Grave?"

44 Maneva, "Nekoi aspekti"; Nallbani, "Urban and Rural Mortuary Practices."

45 Agolli, "The Distribution of Arrowheads"; Bowden and William, "Social Anxiety," 353–55. See also Zagarčanin, "Ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola," for similar finds in neighboring Montenegro.

46 Nallbani, "Transformations et continuité," 487.

47 Nallbani, "Résurgence"; Curta, "Seventh-century Fibulae."

48 Nallbani, "Early Medieval North Albania," 339–40. At any rate, the finger-rings with Greek inscriptions found on sites in Albania (Spahiu, 'Bagues') suggest that, whatever the language they spoke, the population burying its dead in those cemeteries was in some way associated with, or at least maintained close ties to the Empire. For the population of the Komani culture as speaking a Romance language, see Takács, "A balkáni vlachok kutatásának," 263–64.

49 According to Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 321, in the seventh century the proto-Albanians and proto-Romanians lived side by side in a mountain region.

50 A couple of billknives known from Komani (Ippen, "Denkmäler," 17, Fig. 26.11; Spahiu, "Gjetje të vjetra," Pl. II/4) do not match the expectation of a population practicing transhumance. The same applies to the billknives and mattocks from Shurdhah, which have been tentatively dated to the seventh and eighth centuries (Spahiu, "La ville," pl. VIII/1-3).

nomic profile of the communities burying their dead in those cemeteries remains unknown. Equally unclear is how late the cemeteries of the Komani culture could have been in use. In at least one case, there is evidence of continued use well into the ninth century.⁵¹ Similarly, new excavations at Koman show that the town was occupied without interruption through the thirteenth century.⁵² In other words, nothing indicates that, following the migration of the supposed sheep-raising Roman refugees, the population shrank, much less that there was any large-scale migration to some other place in the Balkans.

Could the *Urheimat* of the Romanians have been in the region of eastern Macedonia around Štip, on the River Bregalnica, as Schramm had it?⁵³ From an archaeological point of view, at least, the problem with that idea is that at the time in question, the region seems to have been depopulated.⁵⁴ In other words, nobody was there to participate in the supposed ethnogenesis of the Romanians. The earliest post-Roman sites in the valley of the Bregalnica cannot be dated before ca. 800. This is clearly the case of the cemetery at Krušarski Rid (in Orizari, in the district of Kočani), which has been dated between the ninth and the tenth century.⁵⁵ To the tenth century may also be dated the glass bracelets from Star Karaorman near Štip.⁵⁶ The population making its appearance in eastern Macedonia after ca. 800 probably came from Bulgaria in the context of that state's westward expansion during the early ninth century.⁵⁷ The lead amulet with Cyrillic inscription containing a prayer against *nezhit*, which was found in Creshka, between Štip and Veles, may well be the earliest incontrovertible evidence of Bulgarian culture in the region.⁵⁸ Judging

51 Doda, "Varreza arbërore."

52 Nallbani, "Nouvelles formes d'habitat," 70. For a church built at Lezha in the eighth or ninth century, see Nallbani, "Nouvelles formes d'habitat," 79.

53 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 325.

54 For Macedonia as a region depopulated between the seventh and the ninth century, see Rashev, "Kām problema za materialnata kultura," 97.

55 Beldedovski, *Bregalnichkiot basen*, 65. A similar date may be advanced for the finds from Begov Dab (in Dulica, district of Delčevo; Beldedovski, *Bregalnichkiot basen*, 66), Goren Kozjak (Aleksova, "Pridones," 14), Kavaklija (Beldedovski, "Ranoslovenski naodi," 227, 228, Figs 3–6), and Krupište (Beldedovski, *Bregalnichkiot basen*, 56), all three in the district of Štip.

56 Beldedovski, *Bregalnichkiot basen*, 64. For later finds in the region, see Maneva, "Srednovekovniot period"; Trajkovski, "Vizantiisko-slavianskie otnosheniia"; Dzhordzhievski, "Kumanovskiot region"; Guštin and Krstevski, "Ranosrednjovjekovni nalazi."

57 Rashev, "Kām problema za materialnata kultura." See also Stanev, "Bregalnica," who believes that Macedonia was organized in the early ninth century into a separate administrative unit centered upon Strumica.

58 Chausidis, "Oloven amulet." The lead amulet can clearly be dated only to 900 or shortly after that.

from the archaeological evidence, therefore, the situation is exactly the opposite of what Schramm imagined. He believed that the 'Romans' (Vlachs) had a prominent role in early medieval Bulgaria as the second imperial nation (*die Stellung eines zweiten Reichvolkes*). In that capacity, they could presumably move freely wherever they wanted and took advantage of the situation to move out of Macedonia to all directions, but still within the boundaries of the Bulgar polity, sticking to the mountains.⁵⁹ However, instead of being the source of emigration, Macedonia was actually populated during the ninth century with immigrants most likely coming from the Bulgar lands to the east. No signs exist so far of an out-migration, and everything points to a growing population after ca. 900. Nor are there any signs of transhumant pastoralism anywhere in Macedonia. Most likely aware of this problem, the Hungarian archaeologist Miklós Takács has proposed a different *Urheimat*, much farther to the northwest. According to him, the settlement excavated at Mušići, in the valley of the Drina River in eastern Bosnia, cannot be attributed to the Slavs, but to a transhumant population, most likely the Vlachs.⁶⁰ He apparently drew that conclusion on the basis of a number of settlement features of circular or irregular plan, which he interpreted as temporary houses (shelters) of shepherds. Leaving aside the fact that those settlement features appear in the ruins of a Roman villa, the pottery found on the site indicates two periods of occupation, one dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, the other to the late seventh and eighth centuries. It is not clear, therefore, whether the features in question are of a late antique or an early medieval date. Similar features have been identified on another site located farther to the north, at Jazbine in Batković near the confluence of the Drina and Sava Rivers. There are clear indications there of iron-smelting as well as weaving, while the features in question cannot in any way be associated with a transhumant pastoralist group.⁶¹

According to Schramm, the Vlachs reached the lands north of the River Danube only after the conversion of Prince Boris of Bulgaria.⁶² Therefore, he argues

59 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 326; see also Makkai, "The emergence of the estates," 187.

60 Takács, "A balkáni vlachok kutatásának," 260–61.

61 Čremošnik, "Die Untersuchungen." For the settlement features of circular or irregular plan, see Čremošnik, "Tipovi slavenskih nastambi." For the dating of the early medieval pottery from Mušići, see Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*, 296. For the interpretation of the Jazbine site as the settlement of an itinerant group of agriculturists migrating southwards from Avar Pannonia during the Late Avar Age, see Dzino, *From Justinian to Branimir*, 135–36.

62 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 336. Schramm seems to have been unaware of the Romanian archaeologist Kurt Horedt (1914–1991) claiming that the Romanians came to southern Transylvania in the early ninth century, when the region was conquered by the Bulgars. See Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 185–86 (echoed by Makkai, "Transylvania," 430), who brought the Romanians directly from Bulgaria, with no stop in Wallachia. Horedt did not make any such claims before his emigration to West Germany in 1981.

that a Romanian presence on the territory of present-day Romania could not be dated before the tenth century.⁶³ The Hungarian historian László Makkai (1914–1989) was also convinced that between 900 and 1000 there were Romanians in the region between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube, which is now included in southern Romania (Wallachia).⁶⁴ However, there are no indications either of a migration or of an ‘infiltration’ from the lands south to those north of the Danube. The occupation on many settlement sites excavated in Romania that may be dated to the tenth century, in fact, began one or two centuries earlier. On those that began in the tenth century, the associated pottery is not unlike that of older settlements.⁶⁵ On such sites, most animal bones are of cattle and of pig, not of sheep or goats, the two species commonly associated with transhumant pastoralism.⁶⁶ To be sure, the high percentage of cattle bones, as opposed to sheep and pig, that were found on the twelfth to thirteenth-century settlement site excavated from 1979 to 1985 in Dridu-Metereze (near Slobozia, Ialomița County), has been interpreted as an indication of nomadism or semi-nomadism.⁶⁷ Those were supposedly nomads from the steppe lands in Eastern Europe (Pechenegs), not Vlachs from the Balkans. That much, at least, results from the interpretation of the large number of clay kettles found on the site.⁶⁸

63 Within one and the same territory (Wallachia), Hungarian historians and archaeologists used to identify graves of Magyar warriors (Róna-Tas, *Hungarians*, 118; Fodor et al., *The Ancient Hungarians*, 438). For a critique of such views, see Gáll, “The grave.” For their nationalist roots, see Melnyk, *Byzantium*, 88–89.

64 Makkai, “The emergence of estates,” 187. Hungarian historians, however, typically bring the Romanians to Transylvania directly from Bulgaria, with no stop in Wallachia. Northern Bulgaria most definitely witnessed a demographic decline in the twelfth century, when the Vlachs are mentioned in the written sources as inhabitants of that region. Following the success of the 1185 revolt led by the two Vlach leaders, Peter and Asen, large numbers of people were moved more or less forcefully from Thrace to northern Bulgaria. That migration may have been responsible for the final assimilation of the local Vlachs, as well as the Pechenegs and the Cumans (Stanev, “Migraciata,” 214, 220, 226).

65 For the lack of cultural differences between settlements of the eighth and ninth centuries, on the one hand, and those of the tenth century, on the other hand, see Ciupercă, “Așezări.” The largest number of settlement sites is in southern Romania, between the Argeș and Mostiștea Rivers; those sites have been occupied between the ninth and the eleventh centuries without interruption (Corbu, *Sudul României*, 30).

66 Preda, “Săpăturile de salvare,” 507–9; Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 165; Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 173.

67 Ioniță, *Spațiul*, 43. The ditch identified next to the settlement features has, in turn, been interpreted as a corral (Ioniță, *Spațiul*, 41–42). The dating of the settlement to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rests primarily on a spur find (Ioniță, *Spațiul*, 96).

68 Ioniță, *Spațiul*, 70–71. By the second half of the twelfth century, the dominant nomads in the lands north of the Danube must have been the Cumans, not the Pechenegs.

Tarrying in Wallachia for a couple of centuries, the Vlach population that had supposedly come from the Balkans before the demise of early medieval Bulgaria and the Byzantine conquest of the central and northern parts of the Peninsula, decided, suddenly, to cross the mountains into Transylvania.⁶⁹ The Vlachs remained pastoralist throughout the entire Wallachian period, so they arrived in southern Transylvania together with their flocks of sheep.⁷⁰ Shortly after 1200, according to Schramm, the Vlachs occupied the lands south of the River Mureş and reached the lands north of the river only in the fourteenth century. Some Vlachs abandoned transhumant pastoralism and within a short while became agriculturists.⁷¹ One would, therefore, expect to recognize their settlements in the archaeological record of Transylvania. However, the evidence of settlement sites in the southern part of the province, to the south from the River Mureş is non-characteristic. The coin-dated settlement sites at Sânmiclăuş and Bratei produced the same materials, especially clay kettles, as those to the north of the same river.⁷² Nor can any discussion of a presumed migration of

69 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 336, 342. According to Makkai, "The Emergence of the Estates," 192, the Romanian shepherds came to Transylvania at the invitation of the Hungarian kings. Initially, the Romanians were grazing their flocks on the pastures of the Transylvanian Alps but were based on the lower reaches of the Argeş River. The Hungarian king (presumably Béla III) needed the Romanian shepherds to undertake frontier guard duties. To win them over, that king handed over to the Romanians the area between the Olt and the mountains, "which was already settled by Hungarian and Saxon communities." Makkai did not notice that his Romanian shepherds were recipients of a royal grant and lorded it over Hungarians and Saxons. Makkai, "Transylvania," 352 has a bizarre twist: Romanians arrived in the Lower Danube region from the Southern Carpathians, moving their herds to winter pasture. In other words, Romanians lived already in Transylvania (at least on its southern border) and it is from there that they moved to Wallachia, not the other way around.

70 Zsoldos, *The Árpáds*, 182.

71 Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 337. The mention of the village of Olahteluk in a charter of King Ladislaus IV dated to 1283 is interpreted as the first piece of evidence pertaining to the sedentarization of Romanians (Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 342; *oláh*, in Hungarian, is the word for Romanian). For the charter, see *Documente*, Vol. 2, 246; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 261. However, the village in question is mentioned along with two others (present-day Uileacu de Criş and Cuiuşd) as estates in the Bihar County, thus at a great distance to the north(west) from the River Mureş. If Schramm's interpretation is taken at face value, it would mean that within less than a century, Romanians abandoned their pastoralist economy of subsistence and turned to agriculture. Moreover, their presence near Oradea before 1300 would indicate that they had apparently crossed the River Mureş at a much earlier date than Schramm presumed. Within less than a century, Romanians were apparently able to move over 150 miles, as the crow flies, from the Olt to the Criş River, about 150 miles. It took them twice as long to cover the same distance when moving from the Lower Danube to the Olt River.

72 Bratei: Ioniţă, *Aşezarea* (fragments of clay pans associated with an anonymous denier, most likely struck for Stephen III, see 130–32 and 151–58; Pls 170–72 and 216–27). Sânmiclăuş: Anghel and Blăjan, "Săpăturile arheologice," 288 (fragments of clay kettles associated with a

the Vlachs to southern Transylvania in the late twelfth century involve the cemetery excavated in Feldioara, the only one so far known from the lands between the Olt and the Mureș Rivers.⁷³ A hoard assemblage that I once associated with the Vlach presence in southern Transylvania is, in fact, more than 100 years later and, thus, linked to a completely different political context.⁷⁴

While the Vlachs cannot be recognized in the archaeological record of Transylvania ca. 1200, they make their appearance in the written sources shortly after that. In his charter of 1223 for the Cistercian abbey of Cârța, King Andrew II confirmed an earlier grant of the land of the Romanians (*"terram... de Blaccis"*), which had previously been taken from them by the king and donated to the abbey at the time when a certain Benedict was voivode of Transylvania.⁷⁵ Knowing that Benedict was voivode of Transylvania twice—first between 1202 and 1206 and, again, between 1208 and 1209—the charter of 1223 points to the existence of a 'land' in the possession of the Romanians during the first decade of the thirteenth century. One year earlier, in 1222, King Andrew II granted to the Teutonic Knights established in Burzenland (the southeastern part of Transylvania around the present-day city of Brașov) full exemption from tolls required when crossing the land of the Szeklers or the land of the Romanians.⁷⁶ The latter is clearly a 'land' different from that donated earlier to the Cârța Abbey, even though the tolls strongly suggest the presence of the royal authority. It is important to note that the Romanians appear in the first royal charters in connection to land, not to obligations.⁷⁷ In other words, there is no hint of a recent migration, of 'guests' or anything but people settled on

coin struck for King Coloman). The contemporaneous settlement site at Sighișoara has been dated by means of two spurs (Harhoiu and Baltag, *Sighișoara—"Dealul Viilor"*, 17, 42–43; 118, Fig. 1090; 127, Fig. 1099; 238, Pl. 26; 285, Pl. 72; 286, Pl. 73; 287, Pl. 74). Another settlement excavated recently at Miercurea Sibiului has also been dated by means of a spur and a bronze bracelet of Balkan model (Corneanu et al., "Prick spurs"). The clay oven from Sibiu-Gușterița was initially dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it may well be later (Lupu, "Un cuptor").

73 Ioniță et al., *Feldioara-Marienburg*, 65 (graves 26, 93 and 98 with anonymous deniers probably struck for Stephen III). Many of the 109 grave pits in the cemetery have head niches, a feature with no parallels anywhere in the Balkans.

74 Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, 354 (a mistake going back to Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 150–52); see now Lukács, "Tezaurul." A later date may also be advanced for the enkolpion from Saschiz, for which, see Zrinyi, "Repertoriul," 144.

75 *Documente*, Vol. 1, 379; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 15–59. See also *Documenta*, 9–10; Senga, "A románok nevei," 19 with note 11. For the estates of the Cârța Abbey, see Tănase, "L'expansion de Cîteaux." For the use of Blac(c)i as the exonym for Romanians, see Senga, "A románok nevei," 17.

76 *Documente*, Vol. 1, 184; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 154–55. See also *Documenta*, 18.

77 A third charter of King Andrew II, issued in 1224 for the same Teutonic Knights grants them the "forest of the Romanians and the Pechenegs" (*silvam Blacorum et Bissenorum*) to use together with them, free of any service (*Documente*, Vol. 1, 384).

their lands. Romanians were not present only on those lands. A charter of King Béla IV of 1256 for Archbishop Benedict of Esztergom grants him the right to collect tithes from all Romanians, wherever they happened to be within the Kingdom of Hungary (ex parte Olacorum etam ubique et a quocumque provenientium).⁷⁸ Along with Szeklers, Romanians were to pay tithes either in cattle or in sheep.⁷⁹ This can hardly be taken as an indication of transhumant pastoralism, or else, the same would apply to Szeklers.⁸⁰ (Neo-)Roeslerian historians place a great deal of emphasis on the fact that Romanians appear in royal charters only during the first third of the thirteenth century.⁸¹ However, if that is an argument in favor of the late immigration of the Romanians, then one must note that both Hungarians and Szeklers first appear in the royal charters at that same time: the 1213 charter of William, Bishop of Transylvania for the Teutonic Knights grants them the right to levy tithes on all inhabitants of Burzenland, current and future, except Hungarians and Szeklers, who would like to go through that country, and who otherwise pay tithes to the bishop.⁸²

Romanians appear in written sources concerning events taking place north of the River Danube before 1200. There were Vlachs in Moldavia by 1164, when Andronicus escaped from prison and fled to the court of Yaroslav Osmomysl, Prince of Halych (1153–1187). As he reached the border of Halych, he was intercepted by Vlachs, who captured and turned him to Emperor Manuel.⁸³ Vlachs are again

78 There is clear evidence of population mobility in relation to the Romanians of Transylvania. King Andrew III's grant for the chapter of Alba Iulia gave permission to sixty households of Romanians to settle on the bishop's estates in Dara, Ampoița and Fylesd, free of any taxes and tithes (*Documente*, Vol. 2, 396; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 300; all three estates were north of the River Mureș). The same king's charter of 1293 orders that all Romanians settled on the estates of the nobles be recalled and brought back by force, if necessary, to the royal estate in Cunța (between Sebeș and Miercurea Sibiului). The sixty households on the Fylesd and Aiud estates of the bishopric of Alba Iulia apparently belonged to Romanians coming from other estates (*Documente*, Vol. 2, 401; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 238). In other words, those Romanians did not come from afar, certainly not from across the Carpathian Mountains or from the Balkans.

79 *Documente*, Vol. 2, 493; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 197. For the name change from *Blaci* to *Olaci/Olati* under King Béla IV, see Senga, "A románok nevei," 17, who notes that *Olat* may be a scribal error for *Olac* (based on the Hungarian word *Oláh*).

80 In a confirmation of 1262, the same king granted the church in Esztergom the right to levy the tithe on the cattle and herds of both Romanians and Szeklers (*Documente*, Vol. 2, 41–42).

81 E.g., Zsoldos, *The Árpáds*, 182.

82 *Documente*, Vol. 1, 371–72. If the date of mention in written sources is any indication of indigeneity, the ethnic group first attested in medieval Transylvania is that of the *Theutonici Ultrasilvani*, who appear in a letter of Pope Celestinus III written in Rome in 1191, confirming that the church of the Saxons was a free provostship (*Documente*, Vol. 1, 361; *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, 129).

83 Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 260; transl., 195. For this episode, see Stănescu, "Les »Blachoi« de Kinnamos," 585–88, who nonetheless believed the Vlachs in question to be those of the Balkans, a special

mentioned as recruits in the troops of Leo Vatatzes, who led one of two corps of the Byzantine army that crossed the Danube in 1167 against Hungary. Leo's Vlach recruits were most likely from the northeastern Balkans. They accompanied the Byzantine troops moving to Transylvania across the Carpathian Mountains perhaps through the Buzău Pass. Another corps, led by John Dukas attacked from "someplace higher up the Hungarians who live near Russia" and crossed the Carpathians probably through the Oituz Pass. Before reaching the central region of Transylvania, the Byzantine troops went through some "wearisome and rugged regions" and crossed a "land entirely bereft of men." There is no mention of Vlachs inside Transylvania, nor of any other ethnic group.⁸⁴ This, however, was the fourth time in the twelfth century that the Byzantine armies crossed the River Danube, from south to north. In response to a Cuman raid that reached the western part of Paradunavon, Emperor Alexius I crossed in 1114 into Oltenia (western Wallachia).⁸⁵ Fourteen years later, supported by the fleet equipped with Greek Fire, John II Comnenus crossed onto the left bank from Belgrade and attacked Zemun.⁸⁶ Finally, in 1148, Emperor Manuel crossed the river at an unknown location (possibly in western Dobrudja) and attacked a Cuman campsite next to a mountain named Tenu Ormon, "which extends to the boundaries of Russia," and managed to capture a Cuman chieftain named Lazarus.⁸⁷ Two of the four instances of Byzantine armies crossing the Danube in the twelfth century were, therefore, parts of the long confrontation with Hungary during the reigns of Emperors John II and Manuel.⁸⁸ This prolonged war has been associated with the so-called 'second South Danubian horizon', visible archaeologically in inhumation cemeteries of the mountain region of the (Romanian) Banat.⁸⁹

unit sent to capture Andronicus; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, 316. The problem this episode creates for advocates of a late Romanian migration from the Balkans has already been noted by Tomaschek, "Review."

84 Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 260 (transl., 195–96); Choniates, *History*, 151–57 (transl., 86–89). For this episode, see Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, 157; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, 316–17.

85 Comnena, *Alexiad*, 458 (transl., 467). See Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, 144.

86 Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 11–12 (transl., 17–19); Choniates, *History*, 17–18 (transl., 11–12). For this episode, see Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, 149.

87 Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 95 (transl., 76–77); Choniates, *History*, 78 (transl., 46). For this episode, see Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, 151–52.

88 Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II"; Stephenson, "Manuel I Comenus, the Hungarian crown"; Stephenson, "John Cinnamus." See also Szegvári, "Johannes Kinnamos."

89 Uzum and Lazarovici, "Așezarea feudală Ilidia"; Uzum, "Săpăturile arheologice"; Uzum, "Necropola feudală timpurie"; Boroneanț, "Cimitirul feudal timpuriu"; Uzum, "Considerații"; Țicu, "Cercetări de arheologie"; Țicu, "Necropole medievale," 238–39 and 258; Țicu, *Banatul montan*, 127 and 147; Țicu, *Studii istorice*, 23–60; Radu and Țicu, "Săpături arheologice." The phrase 'second South Danubian horizon' was coined by Oța, *The Mortuary Archaeology*, 188–89.

Burials in those cemeteries are characterized by bodies laid in the grave with arms folded, as well as a large number of ornaments of Balkan origin or inspiration.⁹⁰ As such, those burial assemblages have no precedent in the region, and represent either a new fashion or a new population. Some ornaments, such as the finger-rings with bezels decorated with crosses, have explicitly Christian symbolism. It has, therefore, been suggested that the local elites who buried their dead in those cemeteries were Orthodox Christians and that they maintained a strong sense of identity as long as the Byzantine power remained in the area, i.e., until the end of the twelfth century (ca. 1190).⁹¹ The Byzantine influence has meanwhile been noted on settlement sites as well (Ilidia-Funii, Gornea-Zomonița and Berzovia-Pătruieni). From eastern Banat, this influence spread to the east, into Oltenia, where it survived longer, in contrast to the situation in the Banat, where the Árpáadian take-over and the establishment of the Banate of Severin shortly after 1200 effectively put an end to the 'second South Danubian horizon.'⁹²

Irrespective of the ethnic attribution of the finds from the cemeteries excavated at Cuptoare, Șopotu Vechi, Gornea, Moldova Veche, Svinița, and Nicolinț, could they be evidence of a migration from the Balkans? The Romanian archaeologist Silviu Oța does not exclude that possibility but insists upon the use of artifacts of Byzantine make or inspiration for the formulation of status claims and, thus, for the construction of an elite identity in the context of military conflict between Byzantium and Hungary taking place in the vicinity. Therefore, could the local elites have come to the Banat from the Balkans during the Byzantine-Hungarian wars? That, in fact, is the interpretation offered by the Romanian historian Ovidiu Pecican to the introduction of the earliest surviving chronicle of Wallachia, the so-called Cantacuzene Annals (*Letopisețul cantacuzinesc*). The introduction, a text that Pecican calls the "Legend of the Coming of the Orthodox Christians" (*Legenda descălecării pravoslavnicilor creștini*), tells of the migration of 'Romanians' from somewhere in the Balkans to the north. Upon crossing the Danube, they established themselves at Turnu Severin, while others moved to Hungary and established themselves along the Olt and the Mureș Rivers, on the Tisza, and reached as far as the Maramureș. The group that established itself in Turnu Severin extended its power to the east, up to the River Olt, as well as along the valley of the Lower Danube across

90 The great resemblance between the ornaments found in cemeteries of the mountain region of the Banat (e.g., Cuptoare-Sfogeia) and those of Macedonia has already been noted by Popa, "Review," 80. For analogies in northern Serbia and Macedonia for the earrings found in Cuptoare-Sfogeia, Gornea and Șopotu Vechi, see Guștin, "A Contribution."

91 Oța, *The Mortuary Archaeology*, 202.

92 Oța, *The Mortuary Archaeology*, 203, 345, Pl. 113 and 360, Pl. 128. Oța notes that, judging from the archaeological evidence, the authority of the Hungarian kings stopped in the twelfth century at the limit of the first hills in eastern Banat.

from Nikopol. The seat of power was first in Turnu Severin, then in Strehaia, and finally in Craiova.⁹³ The Basarabi clan took over as great bans, with other members of the family becoming smaller bans (*banoveți*). Because of the mention of the noble family of the Basarabi, Ovidiu Pecican believed that the entire story was about the migration of that family from the Second Bulgarian Empire, at some point between the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century.⁹⁴ He rightly viewed the story as propaganda for the Craiovescu family of great bans in seventeenth-century Wallachia, as members of that family claimed to be descendants from Basarab I, the first prince of Wallachia.⁹⁵ Pecican is right in shifting the emphasis away from an ethnic interpretation of this story, for throughout the Cantacuzene Annals, the meaning of the word *rumân* ('Romanian') is clearly social, not ethnic.⁹⁶ However, it is important to note that the family of the Basarabi is mentioned in the text after the migration brought the 'Romanians' to the lands north of the River Danube. Since the noblemen of the Basarabi family are explicitly said to have been selected from among those 'Romanians' at a relatively later date, Pecican's interpretation of the story cannot account for several key details, such as the Roman origin of the 'Romanians' or their simultaneous occupation of the lands in Wallachia and (further) migration to Transylvania.

Where did the author of the Cantacuzene Annals get this story? Romanian philologists and historians now agree that the Cantacuzene Annals, as we now have

93 *Cronicari*, 25–26: “Însă dintâi izvodindu-se de rumânii carii s-au despărțit de la romani și au pribegit spre miazănoapte. Deci trecând apa Dunării, au descălecat la Turnul Severinului, alții în Țara Ungurească, pre apa Oltului, și pre apa Murășului, și pre apa Tisei ajungând și până la Maramurăș. Iar cei ce au descălecat la Turnul Severinului s-au tins pre sub poalele muntelui până la apa Oltului, alții au pogorât pre Dunăre în jos. Și așa umplându-se tot locul de ei, au venit până în marginea Necopolei. Atunce s-au ales dintr-înșii boiarii carii au fost de neam mare. Și puseră banoveți un neam ce le zice Basarabi, să le fie lor cap (adecă mari bani) și-i așăzără întâi să le fie scaunul la Turnul Severinului, al doilea scaun s-au pogorât la Strehaia, al treilea scaun s-au pogorât la Craiova. Și așa fiind, multă vreme au trecut tot ei oblăduind acea parte de loc.”

94 Pecican, *Arpadieni*, 17. However, Pecican also believed that the so-called migration must be interpreted as an effort of administrative or political organization of Oltenia either by Symeon the Great, the tenth-century ruler of Bulgaria, or by the Assenids, who established the Second Bulgarian Empire in the late twelfth century (Pecican, *Arpadieni*, 32).

95 Pecican, *Arpadieni*, 18.

96 *Rumân*, for example, is the prince of Wallachia, Radu Șerban (1602–1610) in the speech attributed to the prince of Transylvania, Moses Székely (1603), right before the battle of Brașov on July 17, 1603: “Ia să vedeți acum acel rumân gros ce va să pață” (*Cronicari*, 67). *De moșie rumân* is also Radu Vărzariul, a bad nobleman under Matei Basarab, Prince of Wallachia (1632–1654) (*Cronicari*, 120). It is tempting to associate this usage of the word to the social meaning of *rumân*, ‘serf, dependent peasant.’

them, are the work of the logothete Stoica Ludescu (1612–1695).⁹⁷ For the period between ca. 1290 and his own lifetime, Ludescu, who may have finished the work shortly before his death, probably ca. 1690, relied on the (now lost) official chronicle of Wallachia, initially written under Prince Alexandru Mircea (1568–1577) in Slavonic, then translated into Romanian.⁹⁸ However, the story of the migration of ‘Romanians’ to the lands north of the River Danube was not in that chronicle. Instead, it was a later addition.⁹⁹ The addition was made in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Prince Matei Basarab (1632–1654), and its goal was to date the beginnings of Wallachia before Negru Vodă and his state foundation of 1292.¹⁰⁰ The Romanian historian Ștefan Andreescu has noted that the lands north of the River Danube upon which the story seems to focus are primarily in Oltenia (western Wallachia), with the bans moving in a (north)west-to-(south)east direction, from Turnu Severin to Strehaia and, ultimately, to Craiova.¹⁰¹ This rhymes with the idea of linking the ‘founding family’ of the Basarabi to the Craiovescu family, to which Prince Matei Basarab himself belonged. In other words, the introductory story about the migration of the ‘Romanians’ was clearly added in the 1640s or the early 1650s.¹⁰² Whoever the author of this addition was (perhaps the second logothete Udriște Năsturel, Matei Basarab’s brother-in-law), this story was clearly not based on local folk traditions. Instead, its learned, bookish origin is betrayed by the idea that the ‘Romanians’ separated themselves (*despărțindu-se*) from the Romans,

97 Mareș, *Scriere și cultură*, 225–30.

98 Andreescu, “Goran logofătul,” 789. Previously, Andreescu, “Din nou despre prima cronică” has advanced the idea that Stoica Ludescu used two non-extant chronicles dedicated to the Wallachian princes Radu de la Afumați (1522–1529) and Mircea Ciobanul (1545–1552, 1553–1554, 1558–1559), respectively.

99 Andreescu, “Goran logofătul,” 789. Initially, most likely struggling with the interpretation of this story, which he regarded as a dim recollection of the *Roman* colonization of the lands north of the River Danube, Andreescu, “Considérations,” 362 thought that the migration narrative was part of a complete history of Wallachia. Most recently, he has revised his opinion: initially, the chronicle’s introduction consisted only of the story about Negru Vodă coming from Transylvania to establish the principality of Wallachia in 6800 (AD 1292) (Andreescu, “Despre »faza Matei Basarab«,” reprinted in Andreescu, *Istoria românilor*, 78–94).

100 Andreescu, “Despre »faza Matei Basarab«,” 247. For unspecified reasons, Pecican, *Arpadieni*, 17 dates the text between 1323 and 1343.

101 Andreescu, “Despre »faza Matei Basarab«,” 247. Nikopol (Necopol) is located across the Danube (in Bulgaria) from its confluence to the River Olt, which separates Oltenia from the rest of Wallachia.

102 Andreescu, “Despre »faza Matei Basarab«,” 248 associates those dates with the foundation of the Monastery of Strehaia in 1645 and the consecration of the princely church in Craiova in 1651.

as if Romans and ‘Romanians’ were coeval.¹⁰³ The perspective of the narrator, on the other hand, is clearly from the south, namely from Bulgaria, for in order to describe the easternmost extension of the Basarabi power, the second town mentioned after Turnu Severin is Nikopol (Necopol).¹⁰⁴ It is also interesting to note that the narrative follows the group established initially in Turnu Severin, but has nothing to say about the one moving to Hungary, besides listing the names of the rivers that it reached in its expansion. Hungary does not seem to be inhabited by anyone at the time of the ‘Romanian’ migration, and unlike Wallachia, the ‘Romanians’ established no towns and no seats of power in Hungary. In other words, the author’s intention may have been to describe the maximum expansion of the ‘Romanians’ as a context for the rise of the Basarabi family as great bans. There is no other reason for the description of the ‘Romanian’ expansion into Hungary, which plays no role in the subsequent account of how the great bans of the Basarabi family ruled over Oltenia. In other words, the migration itself may well have been a narrative strategy designed to link the Basarabi clan to the Romans, perhaps in an attempt to boost the imperial pretensions of some of its past and (at that time) current members.

Neither the Cantacuzene Annals, nor the ‘second South Danubian horizon’ could thus be used to patch the levee Schramm believed that he was building around Roesler. The conclusions that he derived from the linguistic data do not align either with the historical or with the archaeological evidence. While he may have intended to revive Roesler’s theory about the Romanian ethnogenesis, he must have already been aware of the major holes in that theory, particularly in the light of the archaeological evidence accumulated within the century or so since that theory had been put forward. This is neither the time nor the place to produce an alternative. My goal has been only to delineate the holes in Schramm’s theory, which was meant to save Roesler’s essential arguments by erecting a dam separating historical reconstructions based on the linguistic evidence from those relying on the archaeological record. Neo-Roeslerianism was on life support already, and Schramm’s intervention happened too late. When *Ein Damm bricht* came out a quarter of a century ago, managing silt deposits and controlling erosion proved impossible for maintaining the levee

103 Another telltale is the use of *romani* instead of *rimleani* (or *râmleani*), the word of Slavonic origin commonly used at the time in reference to Romans. Exactly where this bit of information may have originated remains unknown, but the mixture of humanist ideas and Orthodox fervor is typical for Udriște Năsturel’s other works, such as the preface to the *Pentekostarion* published in Târgoviște in 1649. See Căndea, “L’humanisme d’Udriște Năsturel,” 272.

104 It may not be an accident that Nikopol is also the only town established on the Danube by a fictional founding king named Nicephorus in the *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah of How an Angel Took him to the Seventh Heaven*, an apocryphal text preserved in a seventeenth-century Serbian manuscript, but probably dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. See Biliarsky, *The Tale*, 20, 104, 243, and 247.

system. Schramm may have thought that all he had to do was to put his finger in the dike. However, as Led Zeppelin put it, “when the levee breaks, have no place to stay.” Sticking a finger into the hole of the dike won’t make any difference. Besides, dikes do not break because of holes. And the whole story about the little Dutch boy is not even true. It was made up by Mary Mapes Dodge, who never visited Netherlands.

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Some Remarks on the Investigation of Traces of Transhumance in the Early Medieval Balkans

Miklós Takács 

Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 1088 Budapest, Mikszáth Kálmán tér 1; ELKH Institute of Archaeology, 1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4; takacs.miklos@abtk.hu

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Abstract. The study analyses the issue of the archaeological investigation of transhumance on the Balkan Peninsula in the early phase of the Middle Ages. More precisely formulated, our main question is why is this branch of investigation almost totally absent from the archaeology of the given period and geographical region? In the first part of the study, we give a brief overview of the history of prior research, pointing to the fact that although investigations into transhumance were largely carried out in other branches of science (history, linguistics ethnology), they may have potential impacts on the evaluation of archaeological material. In the second part of the study the factors are enumerated which are—in the author’s opinion—responsible for the described situation. At the end of the study, a potential solution is formulated for the described situation. A change is required in the focal areas of the research, with emphasis not only on the problems connected with the issue of transhumance but also on transgressing analyses based on national historical narratives. This change will—hopefully—create positive results through the initiation of research projects focusing on the discovery and excavation of sites in mountainous areas possibly connected with transhumance.

Keywords: transhumance, Early Middle Ages, Northern Balkans

Introduction

There are at least two opposing narratives concerning the early medieval history of agricultural activities in the northern regions of the Balkans. From one point of view, the production of crops on the karstic fields of the lowlands was the main activity;¹ from the other point of view, “grazing and farming were the main activi-

1 The equivalence of the term ‘agriculture’ with crop production is a characteristic trend—among others—of older Croatian historiography. It is, so to say, symptomatic of how the issue of transhumance is omitted, although Croatian historiography also has to confront the question of the nature of life in the mountainous areas surrounding the Adriatic Sea. I must refer here as a starting point to the overview of Vjekoslav Klaić from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, as this is even today a point of reference. In this work, the question of the agricultural

ties of these people from the Carpathian to the Pindus Mountains since the ancient Thracian–Dacians time until the early twentieth century,”² also including the Early Middle Ages. The first approach is often presented as an obvious fact, with no need for further proof. This point of view can be explained by the fact that the term ‘agriculture’ is often identified with crop production—as follows a simple deduction from the original, similar meaning of the Latin term *agricultura*; i.e., without reference to animal husbandry. It is therefore necessary to immediately pin down the fact that crop production and animal husbandry are closely related to each other in food production in the rural context of practically every pre-industrial society in Europe.³ (As a further premise, it should be also emphasized that according to the latest research transhumance should be analyzed as an integral part of the rural food production activities of mountainous areas.⁴) Differences between various agricultural activities and ways of life arise from the different scales of applying these two branches of food production, as well as from the various technologies and techniques that are used according to differing climatic circumstances. Concerning the second approach, it may be honestly claimed that written sources testify to the presence of transhumance on the Balkan Peninsula only from the High Middle Ages onwards.⁵ Therefore, claims of the existence of animal husbandry prior to this epoch

use of land appears only in the introduction, in the geographical description of areas inhabited by the Croats: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih*, 29–31. This approach can also be detected in a more recent overview of Croatian history written by Nada Klaić. She also focuses on crop production, in spite of the fact that she emphasizes the importance of animal husbandry: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, 83–84; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, 98–119; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem*, 35–36. It is also to be remarked that one of the most recent overviews of the early medieval history of Croatia, written by Ivo Goldstein, generally does not count with the possibility of transhumance, in spite of the fact that it not only focuses on crop production but also mentions the importance of animal husbandry: Goldstein, *Hrvatska*, 35–60.

2 Micle, “From Carpathian,” 27.

3 See two passages from a new handbook on the archaeology of the Middle Ages interpreting food production: Scholkmann, Kenzler, and Schreg, *Archäologie*, 270–73, 281–84. An innovative approach on the issue of food production in a medieval rural environment: Schreg, “Feeding the Village,” 301–20. A new analysis of food production in medieval England also pinned down the reciprocal correlations between grain and meat production, i.e., the correlations between plant cultivation and animal husbandry: Qin, *Food Composition*, 1–15.

4 The outlining of the problem of the various methods of pastoralism vs. crop production was formulated by Paul Halstead for the prehistory of Greece: Halstead, “Pastoralism,” 20–42. Concerning the Middle Ages, the examples of the Iberian Peninsula seem to be also instructive. See e.g., Fernández Mier and González, “Medieval Northwest Spain,” 295, 302–04; Fernández Mier and Tente, “Transhumant Herding,” 219–32; López-Sáez et al., “Transhumance Dynamics,” 233–44.

5 The written sources on medieval transhumance are mainly connected with a particular social group of the Vlachs, to be treated in detail in another reference of our present study. The written

are usually based on reconstructions and retrospective analyses of descriptions of later written sources, or the interpretations of linguistic analyses.⁶ It is sad to say, but one very rarely finds attempts to interpret other types of sources, i.e., archaeological, or archeozoological data.⁷

The outlined controversy associated with the interpretation of the term ‘agriculture’ is also present in the background of many scholarly analyses of the early medieval Balkans. In more precise and sharp words, the issue of transhumance underlies much of the debate connected with the early history of several modern nations connected with the Balkans. It is to be emphasized even at the very beginning that the related controversies may be traced in many analyses of many languages but are nonetheless usually connected with reconstructions of the early history of Romanians and Albanians.⁸ Therefore, the accuracy of such reviews is a problem in itself, not only because of the multitude of languages used for the publication of the various standpoints, but also, or even more so, because of the emotional background of the questions under analysis.⁹ Even so, an attempt to outline the main trends of the research can perhaps give hints for further investigation, especially if the analyses of written sources and linguistic data are not treated as the only way to obtain reliable results.

The main question to be answered in our review is whether there is archaeological research in the states of the Northern Balkans and projects carried out by international teams of scientists that have aimed to identify the material remains of transhumance in the Early Middle Ages. The earliest time limit for our review is the

sources on transhumance were collected by many scholars in the last 150 years, see e.g., Gyóni, “A Balkán félszigeti,” 337–49; Gyóni, “Les sources,” 225–35. This work was done recently also by: Mirdita, “Balkanski Vlasi,” 25–115.

- 6 It is inevitable to point out the fact that this approach is the characteristic trend of the methodology of the given branch of science from the second half of the nineteenth century until the present research. See e.g., the following studies: Miklosich, *Die slavischen Elemente*; Miklosich, *Über die Wanderungen*; Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*; Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*; Jokl, “Katun,” 420–30; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale I,” 223–41; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale II,” 105–25; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale III,” 78–94; Schramm, “Die Katastrophe”; Schramm, *Ein Damm*, 275–343.
- 7 As a positive trend we must refer to two overviews of the archaeological and archeozoological investigations of transhumance, mainly presenting results of the earlier or later epochs: Bartosiewicz and Greenfield, eds, *Transhumant Pastoralism*; Costello and Svensson, eds, *Historical Archaeologies*.
- 8 The studies of Gottfried Schramm form, so to say, an unavoidable point of reference in this respect, regardless of whether one accepts his theses: Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale I,” 223–41; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale II,” 105–25; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale III,” 78–94; Schramm, “Die Katastrophe”; Schramm, *Ein Damm*, 275–343.
- 9 An overview of these questions was compiled by the author of the present study in the thesis for the degree doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: Takács, “A középkor,” 233–492.

turn of the sixth–seventh century AD. I chose the time of the turn of the century when the collapse of the lower Danube border defenses began,¹⁰ as this process provoked massive changes in the settlement structure of the Balkan Peninsula that was formed during the centuries of Roman rule.¹¹ The upper time limit of our review is the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries AD, the time of the so-called Byzantine Reconquista, or—from another point of view—the final collapse of the so-called First Bulgarian State.¹²

The definition of transhumance and its presence within the geographical setting of the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula

It is useful to start the presentation of the data with basic information, no matter what quantity of literature the given problem is associated with.¹³ Concerning the meaning of the term ‘transhumance’, although there are multiple descriptions of the given term, the definition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* seems to fit the standards applied to the investigation of the Early Middle Ages of the Balkan Peninsula. According to this source, “transhumance is a form of pastoralism or nomadism” organized around the migration of “livestock” between mountain pastures in warm seasons and lower “altitudes” the rest of the “year”.¹⁴ It is also worth quoting the third sentence of this definition: “Most peoples who practice transhumance also engaged in some form of crop cultivation, and there is usually some kind of permanent settlement.”¹⁵

A further well-known and well-elaborated issue in this investigation is the geographical setting of the given type of food production in the northern part of the

10 The chronology of the dissolution of the Danube limes was analyzed by Kovačević, “Arheološki prilog,” 57–83; and also by Nagy, “Az Al-Duna,” 79–87. The results of this process were analyzed by Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale III,” 85–93; Schramm, “Die Katastrophe,” 78–94; Schramm, *Ein Damm*, 275–343.

11 An overview of the historical frame of the Late Roman–Early Byzantine age, as well as the early medieval times, is to be found in: Fine, *The Early*, 9–291; Takács, “A középkor,” 53–61; Curta, *Eastern Europe*, 31–249, 306–24; Takács, *Byzantinische*, 12–20, with the bulk of references based on the analyses of other authors.

12 Takács, “A középkor,” 68–69; Takács, *Byzantinische*, 12–20, with the bulk of references based on the analyses of other authors.

13 We would quote only two overviews of the immense literature on the given issue: Adamar, “Transhumanz,” 686; Takács, “A balkáni vlachok,” 239–89.

14 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/transhumance>, accessed: 10 November 2022.

15 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/transhumance>, accessed: 10 November 2022.

Balkan Peninsula. The very first and at some points the most difficult problem is outlining the extent of the Balkan Peninsula. This seems to be a trivial question at first look, but definitions of the borders of the given region are various—it is enough to look at a set of geographical maps with their different alignments.¹⁶ Therefore, it must be emphasized even at the beginning that we will follow the outline of the Balkan Peninsula given by scholars who pursue a natural geographical approach.¹⁷ The Balkan Peninsula is in this way closed on its southwestern, southern and south-eastern sides by the seas of the Mediterranean, with the line of the rivers of Danube and Sava on its northern side, and with the easternmost mountains of the Alps on its northwestern side. The line of big lakes in Macedonia (Ohrid, Prespa, and Dojran) divides the peninsula into a northern and southern half. Further, it is unquestionable that the whole of the Balkan Peninsula possesses an articulated orography,¹⁸ and this specific physical geography is a very suitable environment for the existence of transhumance. This is not only because there are a lot of mountains with peaks higher than 2000 m (some of them even reaching 2800 m), but also because of the abundance of valleys, usually with watercourses and/or lakes, offering continental but somewhat less harsh climatic circumstances in the colder seasons than the high regions of mountains.¹⁹ The specific trends of the climate of the Balkan Peninsula have been observed and recorded for a long time. Knowledge about specific climatic trends has also found its way into the literature of the social sciences.²⁰ This occurred at an early stage of the investigations and usually involved romantic descriptions that rely only on a few pieces of data but are written with a great amount of emotion. There is also another branch of literature: geographical analyses of the given peninsula, which often provide and interpret sets of data important for the understanding of climatic circumstances. It is therefore beyond any doubt that—and here, let us repeat ourselves—the natural environment of the Balkan Peninsula is especially suitable for transhumance. As far as we know, this is a fact that has not been disputed, not even by those scholars who are not convinced of the existence of transhumance in the Early Middle Ages at all.

16 See on this issue the compilation of data of the author of the present study: Takács, “A középkor,” 41–49.

17 Reed, Kryštufek, and Eastwood, “The Physical Geography,” 9–11; in Hungarian: Mendöl, *A Balkán földrajza*. An overview of the various standpoints of the geographical literature: Takács, “A középkor,” 40–49.

18 Reed, Kryštufek, and Eastwood, “The Physical Geography,” 13–20.

19 Reed, Kryštufek, and Eastwood, “The Physical Geography,” 17–20.

20 See the literature collected in Reed, Kryštufek, and Eastwood, “The Physical Geography,” 21–22.

Some remarks on the history of the investigation

The issue of transhumance in Southeastern Europe is associated with a big literature written in large part in the languages of the region.²¹ However, one can also find many important analyses and syntheses written in the German, French, and English languages.²² A detailed overview of all these works would be beyond the limits of this study. We will therefore refer only to the main analyses and syntheses, with the remark that there is, to our knowledge, a further bulk of studies to be referenced in a more detailed overview. We should also refer to the fact that we have already composed in a previous study a thorough overview of the former, with special emphasis on the beginnings of the investigation of the given problem.²³ This overview, published in 2004, focused on studies based on the analysis of written sources and emphasized the problem of the ethnogenesis of the Romanians. It is honestly admitted that by picking this focus we have to some extent omitted a presentation of the newest results of the archaeology of transhumance from a wider, European perspective.

The overview of the literature should start with a quotation from the analyses of Konstantin Jireček.²⁴ Reference to his work should be made even though these pieces were written in the last third of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Jireček repeatedly formulated his opinion about the existence of transhumance in the early medieval Balkans. His positive answer²⁵ was grounded in a reconstruction of the history of the Vlach population²⁶ and based on the com-

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- 21 An overview of the literature in various south Slavic languages/dialects has been created by the author of the present study: Takács, "A balkáni vlachok," 239–89.
 - 22 See e.g., the following overviews: Dedijer, "La transhumance," 347–65; Gyóni, "Les sources," 225–35; Beuermann, *Fernweidewirtschaft*; Bartosiewicz and Greenfield, eds, *Transhumant Pastoralism*; Biagi and Nisbet, "Archeologia della pastorizia," 581–93.
 - 23 Takács, "A balkáni vlachok," 239–89.
 - 24 A short overview of the first part of the life of this scientist may be found in: Mangold, "Jireček," 924. His work was reviewed with a focus only on the Bulgarian perspective: Sendov, ed., *Bălgarska*, 20. Data about his life may be found in various modern encyclopedias: NN₁; NN₂. See also: Takács, "A középkor," 474.
 - 25 Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*; Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*; Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, 34–35. (The last volume referred to is actually a Serb translation of the volume Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, but with many alterations by the translator Jovan Radonić, not marked in the text. It is therefore to be rated as a separate analysis, with results to be compared with the original.) Another approach was formulated by Stojan Novaković: Novaković, *Selo*, 29. The differences between the various approaches are described in Vojvodić, "Transhumance," 71–72. See also: Peyfuss, "Vlachen," 730–32.
 - 26 The meaning of the given term and the history of the given group of people have been analyzed by many scholars with a variety of different approaches. See e.g., Weigand, *Die Aromunen*; Weigand, *Rumänen*; Kadlec, *Valaši*; Peisker, "Die Abkunft," 160–203; Jireček, *Istorija Srba*,

bination of two sets of data. The first starting point was the numerous mentions of transhumant animal husbandry in medieval written sources from the twelfth century onwards. These quotations from the Byzantine or other written sources point to the various activities of transhumant elements, often called—as quoted above—Vlachs. Their mention is usually connected with military activity or the lack of security in the domestic communications of the inner parts of the Balkans.²⁷ An abundant group of references is to be found in the written sources of various origins. Let mention here, for example, some written sources from the time of the Byzantine Empire,²⁸ chapters from medieval Serbia,²⁹ later on some chapters from the medieval city of Ragusa (now Dubrovnik, Croatia) from the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries,³⁰ and written sources composed as far away as in Venice.³¹ The results of linguistic analyses of the languages of the Balkan Peninsula³² were relied on by Jireček as another data source. It should be emphasized that the linguistic analysis of the Balkans—within this, also Balkan languages—was a branch of science that was very well developed in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century; i.e., at the center of the Habsburg Monarchy where Jireček lived.³³ One notices in this Viennese branch of linguistic investigation of transhumance a special interest in the Early Middle Ages, with the aim of reconstructing the ethnogenesis of various modern nations of the region from the results of linguistically analyzed common, personal or place names.³⁴ As a result of these analyses, the well-known term *Balkansprachbund* was established as an explanation not only for the shared etymology of numerous words but also for some similarities in the grammar, syntax, vocabulary and phonology of various Balkan languages (Albanian, Bulgarian,

34–35; Gyóni, “A Balkán félszigeti,” 337–49; Gyóni, “Les sources,” 225–35; Dragomir, *Vlahii*; Peyfuss, “Vlachen,” 730–32. The history of the investigation was also reviewed by the author of the present study: Takács, “A balkáni vlachok,” 239–89.

27 Gyóni, “A Balkán félszigeti,” 337–49; Gyóni “Les sources,” 225–35; Mirdita, “Balkanski Vlasi,” 25–115.

28 Gyóni, “Skylitzes,” 155–73; Herrin, *The Social*, 25, 26, 58; Mirdita, “Balkanski Vlasi,” 25–115.

29 Maksimović, “Vlasi u sklopu,” 401–8.

30 Kovačević, “Srednjovjekovni katun,” 121–41.

31 Caciur, “The Morlachs,” 149–75.

32 See e.g., the following studies: Miklosich, *Die slavischen*; Miklosich, *Über die Wanderungen*; Tomaschek, “Zur Kunde”; Jokl, “Katun,” 420–30.

33 This is a well-known fact in the historical studies about the given region, often presented with negative connotations, especially concerning the investigations connected with the Albanians: Gostenschnigg, “Die Verflechtung,” 221–45.

34 See e.g., the following studies: Miklosich, *Die slavischen*; Miklosich, *Über die Wanderungen*; Tomaschek, “Zur Kunde”; Jokl, “Katun,” 420–30.

Greek, Macedonian, Romanian) belonging to different language groups.³⁵ Special emphasis was laid on the common etymologies of many hundred (!) Albanian and Romanian nouns, especially those mainly connected with pastoralism, and associated with this, the grazing of sheep.³⁶ The name of the Viennese scholar Norbert Jokl³⁷ deserves special mention because of his work on a special type of settlement named the *katun*.³⁸ This was work that shaped the approach and scientific view of many later scholars, especially in German-speaking countries,³⁹ and became an important issue in the social sciences of Romania⁴⁰ and the former Yugoslavia.⁴¹ Further on, and adopting a general point of view, one can also say—perhaps with some exaggeration, but not without reason—that the historical and linguistic analyses of the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth century created the framework for the investigation of the issue of transhumance of the Balkans in the Early Middle Ages. This claim stands regardless of whether the scholar who deals with these problems accepts or rejects the postulates of the abovementioned literature.

As follows from the sentence above, there are basically two approaches concerning the analyses of Konstantin Jireček, Norbert Jokl, and other scholars from German-speaking countries concerning the presence of transhumance in the early Medieval Balkans. The positive approach is one of acceptance. It should be strongly emphasized that the results of Jireček were the starting point for many historians of the given region. A majority of the interesting research was published by Serbian historians, with arguments relying on written sources. Let me refer here only to the name of Dragoslav Antonijević,⁴² with the remark that a more detailed overview should contain references to the studies of further scholars.

In the German literature can be identified the historian Gottfried Schramm, who comprehensively summarized the issue of transhumance in a piece of work known as “*Acht Thesen*” or “*Ein Damm bricht*” on the early history of the Romanians,

35 Modern overviews of the given issue: Solta, *Einführung*, 180–231; Fiedler, “Einführung,” 347–64; Feuillet, “Aire linguistique,” 1510–28.

36 Russu, *Elementele*; Solta, *Einführung*, 39–63. These data were reviewed and evaluated by Gottfried Schramm: Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale I,” point 6.5.1.

37 Alibali, “Remembering Norbert Jokl”; Kniefacz, “Norbert Jokl”; NN₃.

38 Jokl, “Katun,” 420–30.

39 See the bibliographies compiled in the studies of Gottfried Schramm: Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale I,” 223–41; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale II,” 105–25; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale III,” 78–94; Schramm, *Ein Damm*, 275–343.

40 See e.g., the following study: Tanașoca and Tanașoca, “Ancienneté,” 139–44.

41 As shown by a conference organized in 1961 that even in its title explicitly referred to the word *katun*: Filipović, ed., *Simpozijum*.

42 Let us refer here to his main study: Antonijević, *Obredi i običaji*, as well as to an overview of his published in English: Antonijević, “Cattle-breeders,” 147–56.

published in 1985 for the first time.⁴³ The question of transhumance played a crucial but nonetheless—let us say—lateral role in the argumentation of Schramm. The main focus of the study of Gottfried Schramm was the ethnogenesis of Romanians. His main arguments against the continuous presence of Latin-speaking inhabitants in early medieval Transylvania were based on the linguistical analysis of place names from the central region of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as an emphasis on the importance of transhumance as the way of living of the forefathers of the Romanians and Albanians. The dismissal of Gottfried Schramm of the possibility of the continuous presence of Latin-speaking inhabitants in Early Mediaeval Transylvania should have provoked dispute, but for the most part this did not occur. The debate was, in the opinion of the writer of the present study, only delayed. It should also be emphasized that the stress on the importance of transhumance not only gave impetus to the investigation of the given issue but also influenced the examination of the possibility of the early medieval existence of transhumant pastoralism. Negative opinions about the possibility of the existence of this type of sheep breeding in the Balkan Peninsula in the Early Middle Ages are to a certain extent—but not necessarily—connected with positive appraisals of the continuous presence of a Latin-speaking population in early medieval Transylvania. It should also be noted at this point in the argumentation that there were attempts in Romanian historiography to suggest that transhumance also proves the persistence of groups with vulgar Latin language in the various regions of the Carpathian basin during the Early Middle Ages.⁴⁴

Due to the lack of reliable material remains from archaeological excavations, ethnography began to play an important role as a potential source of further data for the analysis of medieval transhumance. The studies of Arnold Beuermann⁴⁵ and Dietmar Lindemann⁴⁶ on *Fernweidewirtschaft* in the Carpathians began to play a crucial role in the analysis of the ethnogenesis of the Romanians. The set of data gathered by the ethnographers was evaluated to a great extent by Gottfried Schramm. A similar role was played by the study of I. M. Matley on the issue of transhumance in Bosnia in the social sciences of the Anglo-Saxon world.⁴⁷ These ethnographers defined ethnography as the third branch of science to be considered in the field—often, unfortunately, the literal battlefield—of debates about the issue of transhumance on the Balkan Peninsula of the Early Middle Ages.

43 Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale I,” 223–41; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale II,” 105–25; Schramm, “Frühe Schicksale III,” 78–94. A second formulation of the thesis in a form of a separate volume: Schramm, “Die Katastrophe”; a third, and a final version: Schramm, *Ein Damm*, 275–343.

44 See e.g., Drăganescu, “Pastoralism,” 16–24.

45 Beuermann, *Fernweidewirtschaft*; and especially the maps compiled by him on pages 22–23.

46 Lindemann, *Fernweidewirtschaft*.

47 Matley, “Transhumance,” 231–61.

It is interesting to see what kind of reception the analyses of transhumance in Albanian or Romanian historiography or other social sciences received, as the predecessors of these two modern nations were quoted most often in debates about the existence and role of transhumance in the early medieval Balkans. One can detect two largely different approaches if the writer of the present study understands the quotations in the literature the right way. In the historiography of Albania the existence of transhumance not only in the Early Middle Ages but also in prehistorical times is widely accepted.⁴⁸ Not to mention the fact that Norbert Jokl—the Viennese scholar previously mentioned in this study—counts as one of the ‘fathers of Albanology.’⁴⁹

A different situation can be detected in the social sciences in Romania, as there are in this environment at least two different approaches. It should be emphasized that, even at the beginning of the enumeration of the respective studies, Romanian scientists regularly focused on Transylvania, a region not belonging to the Balkan Peninsula in terms of natural geography.⁵⁰ Even so, the results of the above-mentioned work usually impacts the reconstruction of the circumstances of the Balkans. One can find many published analyses in Romania in which transhumance is described as a means of animal husbandry of the Romanians, not only in modern times but also medieval ones.⁵¹ Romanian ethnologists have accepted in large part the so-called historical roots of transhumance of the Romanians—let us refer here to the synthetic work that includes a map of the routes of transhumant shepherds designed in its final form by Anca and Nicolae Șerban-Tanașoca.⁵² It is to be stressed that Romanian ethnographers have collected a wealth of especially important data about transhumance in the modern era, and a part of this data is suitable for the analysis of the conditions of earlier, medieval times. At this point we may also refer to many important studies published by the ethnographers of various southern Slavic countries that describe many examples of transhumance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵³

Returning to the investigations of transhumance in Romania: in contrast to the content of the aforementioned literature there exists another direction of

48 See e.g., the following overview, written in French: Proko, Marku, and Civici, “Le pastoralisme,” 183–84.

49 Kniefacz, “Norbert Jokl”; NN₄.

50 See e.g., the statements in the following entries: Schaser, “Siebenbürgen,” 617; Hitchins, “Romania.”

51 See e.g., the following studies: Dragomir, *Vlahii*; Drăganescu, “Pastoralism,” 16–24.

52 Tanașoca and Tanașoca, *Unitate*.

53 See e.g., Filipović, “Struktura,” 45–112; Trifunovski, “Geografske,” 19–39; Novaković, *Selo*, 29–53; Čubrilo, ed., *Odredbe*; Antonijević, “Glavna obeležja,” 257–68; Antonijević, *Obredi i običaji*.

investigation in the social sciences of Romania that takes for granted the existence of transhumance in the animal husbandry of the Romanians only from the High Middle Ages onwards.⁵⁴ Perhaps the writer of this study is wrong in his opinion that the questioning of the existence of transhumance of the Romanians prior to the twelfth century is not connected with a ‘puristic’ interpretation of the written sources, with emphasis on strict compliance with the chronological frame they create, but with a general trend to the interpretation of the history of Romanians in the Early as well as High Middle Ages. Even so, it will be revealing at this point in our study to refer to one of the most important Romanian historians, Nicolae Jorga, and his overview: *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation*.⁵⁵ One finds very few references to transhumance in this work. These mentions are usually not connected with Romanians but with other ethnic groups and their presumed subjugation of the forefathers of the Romanians, and they therefore typically have negative connotations.⁵⁶ In line with a way of thinking based on the division of the world into ‘us vs. them,’ transhumance, defined as a means of animal husbandry of supposed oppressors of the Romanian people, gains, perhaps inevitably, a negative connotation. It is perhaps a bit exaggerated but not without reason to claim that at the core of the thinking of those Romanian scholars who denigrated transhumance stands the conviction that this method of sheep breeding was ‘their’ and not ‘our’ method of animal husbandry. One may observe that the critique of the possibility of the existence of transhumance in early medieval Transylvania has become more modest in the Romanian historiography of the last three decades—assuming the judgment of Ionel Calin Micle on this issue is correct.⁵⁷

54 See e.g., Drăganescu, “Pastoralism,” 16–24.

55 Jorga, *Histoire*.

56 It is worthy to give here a full passage of Jorga’s narrative to have an insight on his opinion, who where the shepherd people of the Antiquity and the Middle Ages, having a need for transhumance. (The phrase ‘besoin de transhumance = need for transhumance’ is underlined by the author of the present study.) “On peut affirmer aujourd’hui que ce peuple, décrit par Hérodote dans son aspect et dans sa légende, n’étaient qu’une confédération éphémère de peuplades, réunies pour la gloire et le butin sous la conduite de quelques familles iraniennes, qui étaient parvenues à fonder des dynasties royales au dire des Grecs. Les guerriers étaient pour la plupart des Touraniens au teint foncé et au corps trapu, pareils aux Turcomans de l’Asie centrale et aux Tartars d’une époque postérieure, qui, après avoir dévoré le fruit de leurs incursions dévastatrices et du tribut fourni par les peuples soumis à leur autorité, se nourrissaient du produit de leurs troupeaux. Leurs déplacements continuels s’expliquent par ce besoin de transhumance, perpétuelle oscillation entre les demeures d’hiver et les champs traversés, toujours sur la même ligne des puits et des citernes pendant l’été, qui forme le caractère distinctif des peuples pasteurs.” Jorga, *Histoire*, 15. https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoire_des_Roumains_et_de_leur_civilisation/02, accessed: 8 October 2022.

57 Micle, “From Carpathian,” 27–32.

Concerning Hungary, only a few scholars who have analyzed written sources and linguistic or ethnographic data have taken part in the debate about the issue of transhumance on the early medieval Balkan Peninsula. As far as we know, all the conclusions are positive—i.e., the analyses of these scholars support the existence of this type of animal husbandry in the given epoch and geographical surroundings.⁵⁸

The point of view of an archaeologist regarding the issue of transhumance in the early medieval Balkans, and a potential way of handling the controversy

From the viewpoint of an archaeologist, the investigation of transhumance in the Balkan Peninsula in the Early Middle Ages has not developed far from point zero. The ground is created by the set of data that emerges from the analysis of the written sources, linguistic research, as well as the interpretation of ethnographic records. The results of these historical and linguistic investigations are promising, but—again from the point of an archaeologist—they need to be verified by sets of contemporary data. As the written sources that date from prior to the twelfth century AD are mute, so to say, a reliable foundation for firm conclusions can be created for the given subject only through the excavation and interpretation of material remains. This is especially true when the issue to be analyzed is of a fundamental character. This means that the mere existence of a special type of animal husbandry in the Early Middle Ages should be determined as the first step, with a definitive ‘yes or no’ response.

Instead of giving a detailed overview of the history of the investigation or the deficiency of interest in the topic, we will try to identify common trends that connect at a given point the archaeologies of the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula (although the major commonality is the lack of research into the latter). As far as we know, there is practically no mention of the term ‘transhumance’ in the archaeological literature that deals with the Early Middle Ages in Bulgaria or the various parts of former Yugoslavia and the successor states after its dissolution (e.g. in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, and Northern Macedonia. We do not mention Slovenia here as we do not treat this country as being located on the Balkan Peninsula). There are—again, as far as we know—references on transhumance⁵⁹ only

58 Let me refer at this point in our study only to two analyses of Mátyás Gyóni from the earlier and the large-scale overview of István Schütz in recently published literature: Gyóni, “A Balkán félszigeti,” 337–49; Gyóni, “Les sources,” 225–35; Schütz, *Fehér foltok*. For the evaluation of the work of István Schütz see also: Simon, “Fehér foltok,” 18–28.

59 See e.g., the following studies: Gušić, *Ekološki uslovi*, 143–58; Greenfield, “A Model of Changing,” 45–56; Greenfield, “A Model of Faunal,” 53–55; Porčić, “Nomadic Pastoralism,” 7–31; Kapuran, *Praistorijski*, 31, 35, 62. Aleksandar Kapuran also refers on page sixty-two of his

in the archaeological literature that deals with the prehistorical cultures of the given region. It is worth mentioning that these are typically positive findings that support the existence of this type of animal husbandry even during the Bronze and Iron Age. Thus the real question is not whether the issue of transhumance is present in the analyses of the material culture of the early medieval Balkan Peninsula, but identifying clues that explain its absence. Further on, we will try to outline the factors which—again, in our understanding—have led to this deficiency.

- Concerning the archaeology of the Early Middle Ages, the nature of the collection of archaeological artifacts and data in the countries of the Balkan Peninsula should be first place on the list of obstacles. The process of obtaining archaeologically relevant items and data has taken a long time, with a lot of local variability, not only in the different countries but also within different regions of the same countries. The common trend was a first stage of collection lasting until the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century. During this long period only ‘valuable’ artifacts were gathered and regularly taken from the Balkans as treasure finds either to Istanbul, or—more rarely—to Vienna, or the museums of Western Europe or America.⁶⁰

The first ‘domestic’ museums were not regularly established in the northern part of the Balkans not earlier than the middle third of the nineteenth century. There are at least three models of the formation of central museums in the northern part of the Balkans. The first one, regularly treated as the ‘classical’ approach, involves the establishment of ‘national’ museums in the capitals of the newly formed countries after their liberation from Ottoman rule. Examples include the National Museum in Belgrade, established in 1844, and the National Archaeological Museum⁶¹ in Sofia, established in 1892. Another process of the establishment of central museums can be identified on the north-western edge of the examined region, in Croatia. This country was during the given period located within the Habsburg Empire, but also an adjacent part of the Hungarian Monarchy. Here the formation of the central museum also began in the middle third of the nineteenth century, in Zagreb, the capital. The establishment of the museum was closely related to the national movement of the Croats, the so-called Illyrian movement.⁶² A special type of case is Bosnia-Herzegovina, as this country after 1878 shifted from under Ottoman rule to

study to the dynamic relations between communities dealing with plant growing and transhumant pastoralism.

60 The finding history of the treasure of Vrap is edifying in this respect: Werner, “Aspekte,” 181–201; Werner, *Der Schatzfund*, 10. See also: Takács, “A középkor,” 256–58.

61 A recent overview of the data: Takács, “A bulgáriai,” 334.

62 Blažević, “Indetermini-Nation,” 203–24.

under the occupation of the Austrian–Hungarian Monarchy.⁶³ Nevertheless, the Monarchy established the first museum of a central character in Sarajevo,⁶⁴ with an interest in archaeology. Finally, Montenegro should be mentioned, but as a negative example, as in this case the gaining of independence was not followed by the foundation of an archaeological museum.⁶⁵

Common to the newly founded museums was their aim of collecting the ‘important’ archaeological artifacts of their countries. These were antiquities, with potential value on the art market, or archaeological objects that could be interpreted within the framework of the national historical narrative. This narrative was in the majority of the countries of the region formed before the time of the foundation of the respective central museums.⁶⁶ The museums of the countries of the Northern Balkans made an effort to build up a network of collaborators, to collect archaeological discoveries, or at least information about them.⁶⁷ The flow of artifacts or information was in principle intense only around the capital or other bigger cities of the given country. The variable tendency to collect and identify archaeological heritage is also important concerning the discovery of the possible traces of transhumance. Recent excavations of sites that may be associated with transhumance in the countries of southern and southwestern Europe (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) highlighted their typical location in high mountains, far away from urban centers.⁶⁸ Moreover—and also of crucial importance—is the fact that at these sites no artifacts of value to the art market are usually found.

- Another important trend with negative consequences for the issue of transhumance is the usual ‘national’ approach to interpreting medieval archaeological heritage⁶⁹ (also a vivid tendency today in many areas). Early medieval archaeological heritage was interpreted in the context of the narrative of the given national historiography that was typically outlined in the first half of

63 Concerning the events of the end of the nineteenth century see the innovative standpoint of Srećko M. Džaja: Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina*.

64 Dautbegović, ed., *Spomenica*; Imamović, “A Bosznia-hercegovinai,” 50–52; Takács, “A középkor,” 270.

65 Takács, “A középkor,” 191–94. With an explanation of the roots of the given situation.

66 An overview of these questions was compiled by the author of the present study in his thesis for the award of Doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: Takács, “A középkor,” 113–232.

67 We presented in our doctoral thesis the construction of a system of ‘museums assignnes’ using the example of the Croatian central museum in Zagreb: Takács, “A középkor,” 437.

68 Stagno, “Short- and Long-distance,” 171–86; Vanni and Cristoferi, “The role,” 197–218; Fernández Mier and Tente, “Transhumant,” 219–32; López-Sáez et al., “Transhumance dynamics,” 233–44.

69 Takács, “A középkor,” 233–492.

the nineteenth century,⁷⁰ prior to the formation of the first institutions that collected archaeological items or data. Although there are many differences between them, the histories of early medieval archaeology in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Croatia involved negotiation between ‘archaeology vs. the national historical narrative’ and may be considered classical examples of this, as detailed in various overviews.

There was considerable interest in medieval archaeological heritage in Bulgaria even before 1878, prior to when the country was liberated from the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹ One of the focal areas of this interest was the period of the so-called I. Bulgarian State; i.e., the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷² Moreover, the power centers of this entity were for the most part located on the northeastern edge of the country, far from the high mountains. There has been practically no archaeological activity on sites with possible connections to the issue of transhumance.

Concerning Serbia, the time before the end of the twelfth century—i.e., the time of the formation of the medieval state of Serbia⁷³—has not been the focus of either historiographical or archaeological research.⁷⁴

The situation contrasts with that in Croatia, where the excavation of early medieval churches and cemeteries was the main point of archaeological interest.⁷⁵ Both churches and cemeteries were in focus in Dalmatia, but mainly only the cemeteries of the eleventh century in the northern parts of the country. Investigations were carried out both in Dalmatia and continental Croatia, mainly with the purpose of reinforcing the argumentation of national historiography.⁷⁶ Sites excavated at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in Dalmatia were usually located in valleys near the Adriatic Sea, or—in continental Croatia—on the southern fringes of the Carpathian Basin.⁷⁷ As far as we know, the possibility of transhumance in Croatia was also never included in the interpretation of the excavated sites.

70 Takács, “A középkor,” 113–232.

71 Takács, “A bulgáriai,” 332–35.

72 Takács, “A bulgáriai,” 334.

73 Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*; Jireček, *Istorija Srba*; Ćirković, *Srbi u srednjem*. The same study in Italian: Ćirković, *I Serbi*.

74 An overview of the data to prove this statement: Takács, “A középkor,” 391–429.

75 An overview of these pieces of work was compiled by the author of the present study: Takács, “A középkor,” 333–62.

76 For the issue of the expectations of medieval archaeology *in statu nascendi* see Takács, “A középkor,” 160–75.

77 Takács, “A középkor,” 333–40.

Concerning Bosnia Herzegovina, the upper chronological limit of the interest in the archaeology of the National Museum (*Zemaljski Muzej*) was late antiquity, with a few exceptions like the peculiar late medieval tombstones.⁷⁸ There were a considerable amount of settlement excavations in this country even at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, focusing on prehistoric hillforts.⁷⁹ As far as we know from the literature, there is no mention of medieval findings in their reports. If there have been findings of this type, they were dug out without documentation—no matter how important they may have been in the analysis of the potential existence of early medieval transhumance.

We must return at this point to an issue already mentioned in the context of the analysis of the argumentation of Nicolae Iorga.⁸⁰ The lack of interest in the early medieval transhumance of practically all the archaeologies *in statu nascendi* of the countries of the Northern Balkans was—most likely—connected with the approach⁸¹ that transhumance should not be identified as the national type of animal husbandry. Moreover—let us repeat this here—through building a position regarding the ‘us vs. them’ duality and designating transhumance as ‘their’ presumed way of life,⁸² a barrier was constructed to the investigation of the given issue. In the reasoning of Nicolae Iorga, it is very peculiar that transhumance gained a negative connotation in the archaeologies of the Northern Balkans as being the animal husbandry of the Vlachs in the Middle Ages.

- There is also a third negative trend concerning the investigation of the possibility of the existence of transhumance on the Balkan Peninsula of the Early Middle Ages. This is the fact that the focus of investigations has not changed in the last hundred years either in a geographical sense or in the outlining of the main fields of research. The question is thus why.

78 An overview of this work was compiled by the author of the present study: Takács, “A középkor,” 269–88.

79 The investigation of hillforts was the focus of the scientific career of Václav Radimský: Filip, “Radimský,” 1114. For other data on the investigation of prehistory see: Takács, “A középkor,” 273.

80 Iorga, *Histoire*, 15.

81 For an analysis of how the national narratives in the northern half of the Balkans were usually built up: Takács, “A középkor,” 233–492.

82 Let us remind the reader here of one very characteristic example, in the words of the Croatian historian Ferdo Šišić from 1925: “Vlasi živući po gorama i držeći se jedino stočarstva, odvikli su od poljodještva i s vremenom postadoše nomadski pastiri.” [The Vlachs, living in the mountains and sticking only to animal husbandry, weaned themselves from agriculture and over time became nomadic shepherds]. Šišić, *Povijest*, 276.

Finances must be mentioned as the first issue. The limited financial resources dedicated to the protection and investigation of archeological heritage is a fact that may be observed in practically all the countries of the given region, and at all times during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Having this negative trend in mind, the growth in the number of museums and other institutions dealing with the investigation of early medieval archaeological heritage (universities, archaeological institutes, and offices for monument protection) is impressive. Nevertheless, it is also a fact that the growth in the scope of these institutions was not typically associated with archaeological coverage of those mountainous areas of the given countries where traces of transhumance could be expected.

There are of course exceptions to this negative trend, both in the western as well in the eastern part of the Northern Balkans from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. As previously mentioned, in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are located historical hillforts that were traditionally investigated from the end of the nineteenth century onwards,⁸³ and this branch of science in Serbia and Bulgaria is associated with a research history of considerable length.⁸⁴ This fact should be treated as important, although we know that this research was usually carried out without reference to the possibility of the presence of early medieval settlement remains.

Another branch of investigation, established only recently (e.g., in Serbia⁸⁵ and Kosovo⁸⁶) focuses on the early Byzantine hillforts that also served also as refuges, typically dated to the sixth–seventh century. The excavation of sites of this type in Serbia and Kosovo gave significant impetus to the analysis of settlement patterns in the given period, but still without reference to transhumance—as far as we see from the literature that was reviewed.

- It is necessary for understanding the outlined situation to make a short digression about the survival of national narratives in the interpretation of the early medieval material remains in the countries of the Northern Balkans after World Wars I and II.

After 1918, the investigation of the issue of transhumance—as far as we know—did not appear among the tasks of archaeology. The reason for this was

83 For data about the investigation of prehistory in Bosnia-Herzegovina see: Takács, “A középkor,” 270, 273.

84 For data about the investigation of prehistory in Serbia see: Takács, “A középkor,” 302, 368.

85 We refer to the one and only example of the excavations of the site Jelica-Gradina: Milinković, *Gradina*.

86 We refer to the one and only example of the excavations of the fort of Harilaq (with the Serb name *Ariljača*): Berisha, *Archaeological Guide*, 81; Peja, Rraci, and Hajdari, *The Castle*.

not only the low level of financial support for archaeological research both in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the period between the two World Wars, nor the fact that the end of antiquity was often treated as the upper chronological limit of ‘real archaeology,’ but the fact that transhumance was usually treated as a specific ‘Vlach issue.’⁸⁷

After the spring of 1945 and the final collapse of Nazi Germany, the countries of the Northern Balkans came not only under the rule of their communist parties but also under the massive influence of the Soviet Union. This influence can be detected in the field of medieval archaeology.⁸⁸ Concerning the archaeology of the early medieval times, this meant the massive spread of so-called Slavic archaeology, as promoted by the Soviet archaeologists of the era of I.V. Stalin.⁸⁹ In the former Yugoslavia, this approach lasted only until 1948, and in Bulgaria until the transition at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s.

The situation in relation to the early medieval archaeology of Bulgaria is easier to describe. The acceptance of the Soviet type of Slav archaeology meant acceptance of the thesis of quick Slavicization after the arrival of the Slavs in the Northeastern Balkans in the seventh century. Any issue that did not fit with this concept was neglected. The problem of the early medieval population of the Northeastern Balkan speaking a Vulgar Latin idiom belonged in this category. Moreover, as the problem of transhumance was traditionally connected with the Vlachs, the investigation of the possibility of early medieval transhumance was put aside. There were other, let us say, more ‘national’ approaches in the analysis of the early medieval archaeological heritage of the country. Their commonality was a focus on the material culture of the I. Bulgarian State. The problem of transhumance was—as far as we know—also not raised in these analyses.

The situation in the archaeologies of the various republics of former Yugoslavia was a bit more complicated, but even so perspicuous. The main accent of the investigations of the Early Middle Ages led to the denotation of the archaeology of Croatia, and partly Serbia, with the terms of the epoch: the Zagreb- and Belgrade schools. In both cases, the traditional approach at the end of the nineteenth century was reestablished or—better to say—reinforced. Moreover, as all these traditional approaches assumed the quick Slavicization of the northwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula, there was no room for the investigation of the ‘Vlach’ issue of transhumance. These approaches underwent

87 See again the lines written by Ferdo in an overview written for a broader audience: Šišić, *Povijest*, 276.

88 Takács, “A középkor,” 105–6.

89 A recent overview of the trends associated with the reception of the Soviet model: Takács, “A középkor,” 200–2, 397–98.

gradual transformation in the second half of the 1980s as the idea of rapid Slavicization was abandoned by some archaeologists of the so-called Zagreb- and Belgrade schools.⁹⁰ However, the formulation of questions connected with the archaeological investigation of transhumance only began with delay, as the turbulent epoch around the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (interethnic wars) significantly reduced the opportunity for archaeological investigations, especially concerning fieldwork. It is, let us say, symptomatic that the first attempts were made—as already mentioned—by archaeologists working in the republics of former Yugoslavia who dealt with prehistory.⁹¹ It is also symptomatic that the identification of transhumant sheep breeding through a reinterpretation of already excavated sites did not lead to firm conclusions.

- It must be stressed that international projects on transhumance were carried out even in the 1960s and at the end of the 1980s in the central and southern parts of former Yugoslavia (in Bosnia-Herzegovina and also Macedonia, currently called Northern Macedonia). In both cases, the sampling of ethnographic data was the focus of research. One of the results of these projects were references to the historical roots of this type of sheep breeding in the given regions.⁹² But the question remained: can these roots be traced back to the Early Middle Ages? We should also refer at this point in the investigation into transhumance in the southern parts of the Balkans. Important archaeological research into transhumance was carried out in Greece, focusing not on early medieval times but on the different epochs of Prehistory.⁹³ The importance of these investigations is amended by the fact that their results were already evaluated concerning the Middle Ages.⁹⁴ Another branch of science that has led to relevant and important results is archaeozoology,⁹⁵ which has produced preliminary findings and a debate about their interpretations.⁹⁶
- Coming to the last point in the enumeration of the facts that influence the investigation, we must refer to one overview of the investigations into transhumance

90 For a short overview of the main trends postulated by these two schools in the field of early medieval archaeology: Takács, "A középkor," 239–40.

91 See e.g., the following studies: Gušić, *Ekološki uslovi*, 143–58; Greenfield, "A Model of Changing Animal Exploitation," 45–56; Greenfield, "A Model of Faunal Exploitation," 53–55; Porčić, "Nomadic Pastoralism," 7–31; Kapuran, *Praistorijski*, 31, 35, 62.

92 See e.g., Matley "Transhumance," 231–61; Rasson, "Mountains," 138–41.

93 Biagi and Nisbet, "Archeologia della pastorizia," 586.

94 Biagi and Nisbet, "Archeologia della pastorizia," 581–93.

95 Greenfield, "The origins," 573–93; Greenfield, "The advent," 15–36.

96 Greenfield, "Reply," 635–37.

in Serbia presented by Uglješa Vojvodić at the *Ruralia XIII* conference.⁹⁷ This is, so to say, a 'state of the art' archaeological investigation of the given subject applicable to the first decades of the third millennium. The overview of Uglješa Vojvodić can be evaluated at least from two perspectives. From an optimistic point of view, we may rejoice when realizing the magnitude of data that is available on the issue of transhumance in the case of the territory of Serbia. From the more pessimistic perspective, it is clear that these data do not refer to the Early Middle Ages. This period is apparently not on the agenda of the archaeological investigations into the issue of transhumance in the given geographical surrounding. At the present moment, we may only hope for this...

Conclusions

A general conclusion may be formulated regarding the lack of interest in the issue of transhumance in the archaeological research of the Early Middle Ages in the second half of the twentieth and the first two decades of the twenty-first century, not only in Serbia, but also in the other countries of the Northern Balkans. The situation can be described in the very figurative and instructive words of Florin Curta:

"Transhumant pastoralism was an economic strategy associated with mountains, and old preconceptions about »primitive« or »backward« mountain communities of shepherds may be responsible for the current lack of archaeological studies of medieval pastoralists."⁹⁸

According to the present analysis, the last sentence should be amended a little bit. The perception of 'primitive' or 'backward' mountain communities was not the only reason for the lack of archaeological studies. The other reason for the lack of interest was—most likely—connected with the desire⁹⁹ that transhumance not be associated with the animal husbandry techniques of individual nations. Let us again emphasize that, according to the process of opinion formation that relies on an 'us vs. them' duality, transhumance has been disfavored as 'their' presumed way of life, thus a barrier was constructed to investigations of the given issue. This is the starting point that must be always taken into consideration during the outlining of further research steps. A change is required in the focus of the research, with an emphasis on problems connected with the issue of transhumance. This change can—hopefully—lead to positive results through the initiation of research projects that focus

97 Vojvodić, "Transhumance," 69–79.

98 Curta, "Introduction," 12.

99 For an analysis of how the national narratives in the northern half of the Balkan were usually built up: Takács, "A középkor," 233–492.

on the discovery and excavation of sites in mountainous areas possibly connected with transhumance. One should not forget that targeted projects focusing on the discovery and excavation of the summer camps of transhumant shepherds in the mountains led to positive results in Italy, Southern France, and Spain.¹⁰⁰ It is also to be mentioned that these projects were carried out with international cooperation. Again, in our opinion it would be very useful to create projects of a larger scale in the various countries of the Northern Balkans, if possible, with an international background, but without reflection on the issue ‘whose heritage’ is the history of transhumance on the Balkan Peninsula. This remains a crucial concern even today, regardless of whether it is a legacy of the times of national romanticism (and in most cases from the second half of the nineteenth century, onwards when the narratives of the different historiographies of the given regions were formulated). Analysis should be continued to identify whether there is reliable material proof of the existence of transhumance in the northern part of the early medieval Balkans.

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Russian Sources on Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro–Hungarian Rule, 1878–1908

A Short Overview

Lydia Pakhomova 

Independent researcher; lydia.pakhomova@gmail.com

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Abstract. The article provides a brief overview of Russian historical sources on the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of the Austro–Hungarian occupation. The body of literature on the subject includes a wealth of work devoted to Austria–Hungary’s modernisation policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1914. However, researchers have not yet considered how the Great Powers that made important decisions about the fate of the provinces appraised the governance model of the Austro–Hungarian Empire. Such decisions were made not only on the basis of foreign policy interests and international relations, but also on the basis of observations from the occupied territories. Russian analysts closely explored the development of the provinces in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Monarchy between 1878 and 1908. Russian officials realised that the situation in the multireligious region was very complicated. They analysed both how Austria–Hungary managed this situation as an empire, and their governance model from the point of view of another empire.

Keywords: Russian foreign policy, the Habsburg Monarchy, occupied provinces, diplomatic documents, communications from consuls, ethnographic research

In the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the period of Austro–Hungarian occupation was marked by the exacerbation of old problems and the emergence of new ones.¹ The difficulties of the province’s incorporation into the empire were predictable: the Ottoman rulers had successfully put down revolts in the Bosnian Vilayet by force of arms. Austria–Hungary, too, used arms to pacify the rebellious vilayet in 1878 and 1882. However, by acting more energetically and dynamically, and by investing more money, the dual monarchy created an environment conducive to the development of infrastructure, manufacturing, agricultural industries, and culture. However, the most important problem—agriculture—was not solved.

1 The article was written at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences to which I am profoundly grateful for cooperation and support.

The subject considered here overlaps with other, equally complex subject areas: Austria's policies in the region, the functioning of the Habsburg Monarchy, and international relations in the Balkans. The period of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina is probably the best explored chapter in the province's history.² Scholars from different countries produced studies focused on different aspects of modernization of the occupied provinces and their incorporation into the Habsburg Monarchy: industrialization, and the issue of workers related thereto;³ the legal framework;⁴ the organization of the military;⁵ language policies⁶ and trade policies;⁷ the history of towns and urbanization;⁸ cultural development;⁹ and other issues.¹⁰ Some of the subject areas, such as the 1882 uprising,¹¹ have mainly been addressed by Yugoslavian historians.

If we are to obtain a better understanding of how the new lands were integrated, we should take an especially good look at how the Habsburgs ruled over the empire and why this empire broke up.¹² Recently, Austrian policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been approached through the prism of colonial studies.¹³ In this way, Clemens Ruthner demonstrates that the occupied provinces were a colony. Ruthner draws on the ideas of the postcolonial studies theorist Gayatri Spivak, according to whom the terms 'coloniser' and 'colonised' can be used "when an alien nation-state establishes itself as a ruler, impressing its own laws and system of education and rearranging the

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- 2 See, for instance: Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegowina*; Skarić, Nuri-Hadžić, and Stojanović, *Bosna i Hercegovina*.
 - 3 Sugar, "Austria-Hungary and the Balkan Crisis"; Hauptmann, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft*; Juzbašić, "O uključenju Bosne i Hercegovine"; Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda*; Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase*.
 - 4 Imamović, *Pravni položaj*.
 - 5 Šehić, *U smrt za cara i domovinu!*
 - 6 Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*.
 - 7 Kasumović, *Austrougarska trgovinska politika*.
 - 8 Kruševac, *Sarajevo*; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo*; Kurto, "Arhitektura"; Donia, *Sarajevo*; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*.
 - 9 Reynolds, "Kavaljeri, kostimi, umjetnost"; Sparks, *Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo*.
 - 10 See, for instance, Šehić, ed., *Bosna i Hercegovina*.
 - 11 Kapidžić, *Hercegovački ustanak*; Kapidžić, *Bosna i Hercegovina*.
 - 12 Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*; Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy*; May, *The Habsburg Monarchy*; Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*; Kann and Zdenek, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*; *Die Habsburgermonarchie*; Rudolph and Good, eds, *Nationalism and Empire*; Islamov and Miller, eds, *Avstro-Vengriia*; Khavanova et al., eds, *Avstro-Vengriia*; Kolm, *Die Ambitionen Österreich-Ungarns*; Schall, *Der österreichisch-ungarische Dualismus*; Kolodnikova, *Sud'ba dvukh imperii*; Pivovar, *Mekhanizmy vlasti*; etc.
 - 13 See: Ruthner et al., eds, *Wechselwirkungen*; Šístek, *Imagining Bosnian Muslims in Central Europe*.

mode of production for its own economic benefit”.¹⁴ Whatever their views on how the occupied territories were governed, most scholars agree that the government laid the groundwork for absolutism. Bojan Aleksov calls this system authoritarian paternalism based on a culture originating from Josephinism.¹⁵

Tomislav Kraljačić wrote a seminal piece about Austrian rule in the occupied territories: *The Kállay Regime, 1882–1903*.¹⁶ He characterized the rule as absolutist, while also pointing out some positive effects of economic modernization. Yet another work of fundamental importance in relation to the Austro-Hungarian period is Robert Donia’s *Islam under the Double Eagle*.¹⁷ Despite Benjamin von Kállay’s efforts, his dream of the peaceful coexistence of Bosnians never came true; one of the reasons, in Donia’s opinion, was the fact that the imperial minister did not take political steps and therefore failed to tame the rivalry among ethnic groups.

In literature devoted to the national liberation movement much prominence is given to the activities of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s residents themselves and of the Habsburg authorities.¹⁸ The authors of these works, however, practically do not mention the role of Russia, which was interested in helping Orthodox Christians (the Serbs). Some aspects of this problem have been addressed by Soviet and Russian researchers.¹⁹

The history of the diplomatic settlement of the Bosnian problem has been comprehensively researched in many studies devoted to the history of international relations and to the foreign policies of Austria-Hungary and Serbia.²⁰ Scholars have studied the Bosnian problem profoundly and consistently in the context of Russia’s handling of the Eastern question.²¹

14 Ruthner, “Sleeping Beauty’s Awakening.”

15 Aleksov, “Habsburg Confessionalism.”

16 Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim*.

17 Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*; Donia, “The Habsburg Imperial Army”; Donia and Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina*.

18 Madžar, *Pokret Srba*; Bataković, “Prelude to Sarajevo”; Grunert, *Glauben im Hinterland*.

19 Kondratieva, “K istorii pervykh let okkupatsii”; Freidzon, “Otkliki v Rossii”; Vyazemskaya, “Porokhovoi pogreb”; Vyazemskaya, “Bosniia i Gertsegovina”; Vyazemskaya, “Konfessii i natsional’nost”; Novikova, “Bosniisko-gertsegovinskaia politika”.

20 Seton-Watson, *The Role of Bosnia*; Vojvodić, *Putevi srpske diplomatije*; Medyakov, *Mezhdru Vostokom i Zapadom*; Aganson, “Politika Velikobritanii”; Preshlenova, *Avstro-Ungariya i Balkanite*; Medlicott, *The Congress of Berlin*; Bridge, *From Sadowa to Sarajevo*; Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy*; Diószegi, *Bismarck und Andrassy*; Adam, *Großbritanniens Balkan-dilemma*; Rauscher, *Die fragile Großmacht*; Williamson, *Austria-Hungary and the Origins*; etc.

21 Chikhachev, *Velikie derzhavy*; Butkovsky, *Sto let avstriiskoi politiki*; Zhigarev, *Russkaia politika*; Khvostov, *Istoriia diplomatii*; Vinogradov, *Bosniiskii krizis*; Skazkin, *Konets avstro-russko-germanskogo soiuza*; Kinyapina, ed., *Vostochnyi vopros*; Fedosov et al., eds, *Rossia i vostochnyi*

Because I approach the subject relying on Russian sources, I need to take into account the situation in the Russian Empire: in the 1880–1890s it was going through a period of apparent calm marked by multiple internal storms.²² When the focus shifted to the Far East, the result was the war with Japan in 1904–1905 and, hard on its heels, the First Russian Revolution. The empire ruled by the Romanovs was busy managing its own provinces and incorporating the new Muslim-populated lands along its periphery.²³ As for foreign-policy decisions, they were made by the Tsar relying on reports submitted to him by his close associates. The views of many of them are well known.²⁴ The spectrum of opinions on the matter was analyzed by Irina S. Rybachenok, who pointed at their common thread—Russia was regarded as a great power with a historical mission of becoming the connecting link between the East and the West. The foreign ministry's general position was set out in instructions sent to ambassadors,²⁵ and specific practical steps were discussed in letters exchanged by the ministry and ambassadors. The main pillar of Russia's Near-East policies was Orthodox Christianity—the success of the political concepts originated from the specifics of the way of life of the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire.²⁶ I agree with Lora A. Gerd, who argues that with regard to the history of Russia's foreign policies after 1878 the term 'pan-Slavism' is incorrect: this term became a "symbolic [...] label" deployed by these policies' opponents.²⁷

Another important thing to mention is the publications that address the Bosnian question in the context of Russo-Austrian relations. One of these publications is a thesis defended by Nachum Samonsky at the University of Vienna in 1928. It is interesting because the author, researching Russia's position, used reports by Austro-Hungarian diplomats stationed in St. Petersburg: the diplomats paid much

krizis; Pisarev, *Velikie derzhavy i Balkany*; Kinyapina, ed., *Balkany i prolivy*; Zolotukhin, *Rossia, zapadnoevropeiskie derzhavy*; Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements*; Anderson, *The Eastern Question*; Marriott, *The Eastern Question*; Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone*; Sugar, "Austria-Hungary and the Balkan Crisis"; Haselsteiner, *Bosnien-Hercegovina*; Horel, ed., 1908, *l'annexion*; Nikiforov, ed., *Istoriia Balkan*; etc.

22 On the history of Russian foreign policy in the last third of the nineteenth – early twentieth century, see the works in the previous footnote, and also: Rybachenok, *Soiuz s Frantsiei*; Rybachenok, *Zakat velikoi derzhavy*; Ignatyev, *Vneshniaia politika Rossii*; Ayrapetov, *Istoriia vneshnei politiki*; etc.

23 Kappeler, *Rußland als Vielvölkerreich*; Miller, *Zapadnye okrainy*; Lieven, *Empire*; Arapov, *Rossia i musul'manskii mir*; etc.

24 Rybachenok, "A.B. Lobanov-Rostovskii"; Avdeev, "A. P. Izvolsky"; Chernov, N. V. *Charykov*; Loshakov, "Graf V. N. Lamzdorf."

25 Rybachenok, "Korennye interesy Rossii."

26 Gerd, *Konstantinopol' i Peterburg*.

27 Gerd, *Peterburg i Konstantinopol'skii patriarkhat*, 44–45.

attention to public opinion.²⁸ Another reason for this choice of focus is the lack of access to many documents held at the Austrian archive. Yet another study was penned by Oksana N. Novikova—she focused mostly on the annexation-related crisis and the reactions of the Russian press to it.²⁹

However, researchers have not yet considered how the Great Powers, which made important decisions about the fate of the provinces, appraised the governance model of the Austro–Hungarian Empire. Russia played a crucial role in the transfer of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina, to Austria–Hungary. Later, Russian observations were carried out in the context of studying the problem of the viability of the Austro–Hungarian Empire. In 1888, based on consular reports, Russian Foreign Minister Nikolai Karlovich Girs concluded that the Danube Monarchy would do its best to establish itself in the occupied lands.³⁰ Twenty years later, in 1908, after a meeting in Buchlau, Minister Alexander Petrovich Izvolsky wrote that the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria–Hungary would be beneficial for Russia. Tsar Nicholas II agreed with his Minister.³¹ For the St Petersburg Cabinet, it was obvious that the Habsburg Monarchy would face huge challenges resulting from the annexation of the occupied provinces: the problems of the dual system were evident, and the Russian government was interested in weakening its antagonist. The decisions by Russian officials and the Tsar were based on a long-term analysis of the incorporation model used in the occupied territories, which had previously been parts of a different state and political system.

The role that Bosnia and Herzegovina played, after the Congress of Berlin, in Russian foreign policy and sociopolitical life has attracted researchers' attention, albeit not very often. Historians that have addressed this subject include Vera N. Kondratieva, Yelena K. Vyazemskaya, and Vladimir I. Freidzon. Kondratieva analyzed Bosnia-related communications from consuls in Ragusa and Cetinje.³² Vyazemskaya focused her attention on the correspondence of the Russian consul in Sarajevo between 1879 and 1880.³³ Freidzon delved into old newspapers to investigate Russian society's reaction to the occupation in 1878.³⁴ In present-day Russia,

28 Samonsky, "Bosnien und Herzegovina."

29 Novikova, "Bosniisko-gertsegovinskaia politika."

30 Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiyskoi istorii (AVPRI). Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/2. Delo 303. Consulats politiques. 1888. Listy 103 oborot –104.

31 AVPRI. Fond 151. Opis' 482. Delo 3201. Listy 94–96. Some documents from this file have been published: Bor'ba v praviashchikh krugakh Rossii po voprosam vneshnei politiki vo vremia Bosniiskogo krizisa, *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 5 (1962).

32 Kondratieva, "K istorii pervykh let."

33 Vyazemskaya, "Bosniia i Gertsegovina."

34 Freidzon, "Otkliki v Rossii."

the subject of Bosnia has been addressed by Oksana N. Novikova.³⁵ She zeroed in on newspapers published in Russia's south, mostly during the annexation-related crisis.

In this article, I would like to offer a brief but unfortunately incomplete overview of Russian sources related to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of the Austro–Hungarian occupation. (This overview does not contain materials produced between the start of the annexation crisis in 1908 and World War I.) There are several identifiable types of sources:

- documents of the Russian government, namely
 - A. Foreign Ministry documents
 - consular reports
 - correspondence between ministers and ambassadors
 - ministry reports
 - official documents
 - B. Military Ministry documents
 - agent reports
 - statistical data
 - mapping data
- ethnographic studies
- newspaper publications.

Documents of the Russian government: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Consulates as information-gathering centres

The Russian Consulate in Sarajevo was a fully developed hub for gathering and analyzing information about the occupied provinces. Consuls Nikolai Nikolaevich Ladyzhensky (1879–80), Modest Modestovich Bakunin (1880–93), and Gustav Viktorovich Igelström (1893–1914) continued the tradition of watching the situation in Bosnia.

The first Russian diplomat in Bosnia after the occupation, Ladyzhensky, held office for only a few months before the arrival of his replacement, Bakunin, who had already served as Russian Consul in Sarajevo during the Great Eastern Crisis—from the beginning of the Herzegovina Uprising in 1875 until the start of the Russo–Turkish War in 1877. Bakunin was transferred to Batavia (now Jakarta) in 1893; in the same year, Igelström was transferred from the Bulgarian town of Plovdiv to Sarajevo, and would remain in Bosnia until the start of World War I.

A matter worth noting was the uncertain status of foreign diplomats in a province governed by Austria–Hungary but which *de-facto* remained a domain of the Ottoman

35 Novikova, “Bosniisko-gertsegovinskaia politika.”

Empire. For instance, the question of status had to be dealt with when Rudolf, Crown Prince of Austria, visited Sarajevo in 1888. The Russian ambassador to Vienna, Prince Aleksey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky, instructed Bakunin not to acknowledge, even indirectly, the Habsburgs' right to Bosnia—Rudolf, wrote Lobanov-Rostovsky, should be treated only as the heir to the throne of the Monarchy, whatever objectives he might be pursuing in the occupied territories.³⁶ The consuls' official status and the procedures they had to go through to obtain authorization for their arrival remain a matter of conjecture. It could be that the diplomats' work in the occupied province was governed neither by Austro-Hungarian nor by Ottoman documents. The fact that the Russian Foreign Ministry's Personnel Department refused to issue a consular commission to Igelström was no obstacle to the performance of his function as Russia's envoy to Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁷

The search for sources of information was another challenge facing Russia's consuls. In their reports, they had to relate not only official news but also local opinions. Consul Ladyzhensky, however, failed to forge links with locals, who, anxious to stay on the good side of the new authorities, refrained from maintaining contact with the Russian consul. Whereas British, German, and French envoys who had stayed in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Russo-Turkish War between 1877–1878 could use their old sources, Ladyzhensky had none.³⁸

Since Bakunin was already familiar with the region, he had old acquaintances among locals and often travelled around Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia. The Consul wrote: "Frequent travel is absolutely necessary for collecting all the information that is unavailable in Sarajevo, the information which local authorities would hide from a local Russian consul now even more carefully than ever".³⁹

Bakunin's successor, Igelström, however, had a hard time trying to forge links with the residents of the occupied provinces: he did not know the local language and it was difficult to find a language teacher. Moreover, the landlords of the building rented by the Russian Foreign Ministry for its Sarajevo mission refused to renew the rental agreement for fear of incurring the wrath of the Austro-Hungarian administration. "The grip of fear on the Serbs is so strong that communicating with them directly is next to impossible", stressed the diplomat. He acknowledged that as a result "the main question of interest to us—learning about the situation of the Serbian population—is precisely the one that is the most difficult to answer".⁴⁰

36 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/2. Delo 303. List 94.

37 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/1. Delo 1139. List 3–3ob.

38 AVPRI, Fond 161/2. SPb. Glavnyi arkhiv. V-A2. Opis' 181. Delo 830. List 1ob.–2.

39 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/2. Delo 330. List 63ob.–64.

40 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/1. Delo 1139. List 25–26.

The Bosnians⁴¹ were not the only ones to avoid contact with Russian diplomats—the Austro–Hungarian officials, too, tried to shield the local Christian Orthodox population from contact with the consuls: not only on account “of the linguistic affinity and the sameness of the religion”, as Ladyzhensky assumed,⁴² but most likely also because they remembered how Russian diplomats had acted in Ottoman Bosnia. Working in close cooperation with the Slavic committees, Russian consuls had helped the Christian Orthodox community—primarily in the educational sphere. However, attempts to intervene and help often caused tension between the diplomats and the Ottoman authorities.⁴³

Now, with Bosnia governed by Austria–Hungary, the empire was doing all it could to deprive foreign powers, especially Russia, of any pretext for intervention in the province’s affairs. The new administration set up ‘communal’ schools in order to reduce the role of religion in education, provided churches with all necessary furnishings and literature, and paid salaries to senior clergy. Therefore, Bakunin had difficulty delivering books and icons which the Slavic Committee, keeping in mind the charitable activities it had undertaken between the 1850s and 1870s, was sending from Russia.⁴⁴

In fact, the Austro–Hungarian administration had real reasons for concern—at least with respect to Bakunin. The duties of the Russian Consul included not only collecting information about the economic, sociopolitical, and cultural situation in the area, but also gathering military intelligence.⁴⁵

Austria’s agents were therefore busy keeping an eye on Russian diplomats. The reports they sent to the Governor-General of the occupied region have survived at the Bosnia and Herzegovina Austrian–Hungarian Ministry of Finance Archive.⁴⁶ Each step by Russian diplomats and other Russian visitors to Bosnia and Herzegovina was reported through the Head of the Bosnian Government to the Joint Ministry of Finance in Vienna.

Bakunin’s trips around the area and his contacts with locals regularly put him at odds with the Austro–Hungarian authorities. Bakunin believed that the local administration—and the Civil Governor Hugo von Kutschera in particular—did not respect him and had demonstratively indicated that he was *persona non grata* in

41 Here ‘the Bosnians’ are the people who lived in the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this article I also use the adjective ‘Bosnian’ for the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

42 AVPRI, Fond 161/2. Aziatskii departament. Opis’ 181. Delo 830. List 1ob.–2.

43 Melchakova, *Bosniia i Gertsegovina*.

44 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol’stvo v Vene. Opis’ 514/2. Delo 303. List 47.

45 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol’stvo v Vene. Opis’ 514/2. Delo 303. List 19.

46 *Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine. Zajedničko ministarstvo finansije*.

Sarajevo. This is how Bakunin characterized his situation: “An extremely difficult, delicate and awkward situation of the Russian Consul in Sarajevo amidst animosity and the suspicious Austrians, who are captious, confrontational and perpetually confusing the police with politics”.⁴⁷ This was Igelström’s first impression on arrival too.

Despite Bakunin’s propensity towards conflict and a certain over anxiousness, he acted as the Russian Foreign Ministry’s eyes in the region, closely watching Austria-Hungary’s political manoeuvring. It appears, however, that after yet another big scandal (in 1893), the situation around the Russian diplomatic mission became so tense that Bakunin was recalled from Sarajevo, to be replaced with consul Igelström, who was instructed by Lobanov-Rostovsky as follows: “maintain the friendliest relations and do not become involved in internal administrative affairs, inform the [Russian Empire’s] Embassy about all directives and novelties introduced by the Austrian government that apply to all of the country and also identify [...] negative and positive effects that these reforms may produce on residents of the provinces”.⁴⁸

Thus, recognizing Austria-Hungary’s right to govern but not to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russian diplomats were adapting the Consulate’s work to the new reality: fifteen years after the beginning of the occupation this formerly proactive agent of influence had to assume a largely ceremonial role and adjust himself to the position of observer.

It is a source of regret that there are many communications from the Sarajevo consuls that are still to be found. Among the currently available sets of reports, the most comprehensive ones are dated from 1880 and 1881. Later communications are fragmentary and scattered across different funds of the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire: embassies in Vienna and Constantinople, diplomatic missions in Belgrade and Cetinje, the chancellery and secret archive of the Foreign Minister, the Slavic and Turkish Desks, and the Main and Political archives. Perhaps the difficulty associated with the search for the consuls’ reports is tied to the evacuation of the Russian mission from Vienna in 1914. It was there that the consuls sent all their communications. Documents related in one way or another to Bosnia that have been found are mostly focused on local Serbs and the Christian Orthodox Church. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Russian Foreign Ministry was primarily concerned about Orthodox Christians living in the occupied provinces.

Correspondence between the foreign minister and the ambassadors

The Russian government was especially mindful of the situation of the Christian Orthodox Church in Bosnia. From 1902 to 1904, the Most Holy Synod, the

47 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol’stvo v Vene. Opis’ 514/2. Delo 330. List 15ob.

48 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol’stvo v Vene. Opis’ 514/2. Delo 384. List 56–56ob.

foreign minister, and the Russian diplomats—ambassadors to Constantinople and Vienna and the consul in Sarajevo—were involved in the negotiations between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and Austria–Hungary’s government concerning the status of the church and its communities in the occupied provinces.⁴⁹

The issue of the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina as such was addressed mostly within the context of Russian–Austrian relations. Russian plenipotentiary at the Congress of Berlin, Pyotr Andreyevich Shuvalov, believed that although Article 25 of the Peace Treaty’s final text referenced “occupation for an indefinite period of time”, all emissaries of the European Great Powers assumed that occupation was tantamount to annexation.⁵⁰ The politicians from St Petersburg, too, did not rule out the possibility that the establishment of temporary control over Bosnia would lead to irreversible annexation.

There was only one thing that could offer comfort to Russian diplomats: the occupation revealed a weakness in the Austro–Hungarian system. Russia’s Foreign Ministry predicted that the growth of the Slavic population in the Habsburg Monarchy would create “a weak spot in case of a war against us”.⁵¹ As Alexander II noted in 1880 in his draft of instructions to the Ambassador to Vienna, Pavel Petrovich Ubri, the fact that Austria–Hungary “would be attached to the Adriatic region, far from the Black Sea”⁵² was yet another reason not to worry about the occupation.

The Bosnian question figured in Russo–Austrian relations throughout the 1880s—there were several reasons for this. First and foremost, after the Congress of Berlin, the system of international relations changed and the great powers regrouped. Important information illuminating the impact of international factors in Bosnian history is contained in documents pertaining to the alliance treaties signed in 1881 and renewed in 1884 and again in 1897.⁵³ A large collection of documents from the Foreign Ministry was produced between 1908 and 1909—the time when Austria–Hungary was preparing for annexation and the period of crisis in its aftermath.⁵⁴ Second, Bosnia in Russian diplomatic correspondence was discussed in the context of the events unfolding in the wider Balkans, Serbia, and Bulgaria. In addition, the goings-on in Austria–Hungary itself and its occupied territories were quite important too. In letters exchanged between the foreign minister and the ambassadors to Vienna, Berlin, Cetinje, and Belgrade, the question of potential change in the provinces’ status

49 AVPRI, Fond 180. Posol'stvo v Konstantinopole. Opis' 517/2. Delo 3671.

50 AVPRI, Fond 133. Kantseliariia ministra inostrannykh del. Opis' 470. Delo 201. List 19.

51 AVPRI, Fond 133. Kantseliariia ministra inostrannykh del. Opis' 470. Delo 201. List 24–24ob.

52 AVPRI, Fond 133. Kantseliariia ministra inostrannykh del. Opis' 470. Delo 201. List 24.

53 For instance, AVPRI, Fond 133. Kantseliariia ministra inostrannykh del. Opis' 470. Delo 114.

54 AVPRI, Fond 133. Kantseliariia ministra inostrannykh del. Opis' 470. Delo 201.

was broached in the context of the 1881–82 Herzegovina uprising⁵⁵ and the reception of the delegation from Bosnia and Herzegovina by Francis Joseph,⁵⁶ etc.

Foreign Ministry reports

Relying on diplomatic documents, the Foreign Ministry prepared reports on different countries every year. The documents on Serbia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina have been published by Lyudmila V. Kuzmicheva and Dušan Kovačević.⁵⁷ The Foreign Ministry's annual reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina offer information about practically every aspect of the life of local Serbs. Over the course of twenty-five years—from 1878 until 1903—the Russian diplomats in every report emphasized Austria–Hungary's ambition to better integrate the occupied territories with a view to later annexing them. However, whereas between 1878 and the early 1890s officers of the Asian (First) Department often mentioned issues of economic development in their reports to the emperor, their later reports made fewer references to this aspect of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead, far more attention was paid to the question of the church, or rather, the struggle for autonomy of the church and schools.

Other documents

The official documents of different departments mostly concern Russian assistance to Slavic communities outside Russia. After the 1877–1878 Russo–Turkish War, the structure of philanthropy changed appreciably as the Moscow Slavic Charitable Society phased out its activities.⁵⁸ The Society's Saint Petersburg Branch tried to keep alive the tradition of sending books and icons to Bosnia. However, since the Austro–Hungarian government was eager to supply churches with all essentials, the authorities refused to accept gifts from the Russian Empire.⁵⁹ The consulate was no longer the link in the delivery chain from Russia's partly governmental, partly public philanthropy aimed at Orthodox Christians living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it used to be under Ottoman rule.⁶⁰ Different governmental agencies tightened their regulatory grip on assistance given to Slavic communities abroad, and documents

55 AVPRI, Fond 138. Sekretnyi arkhiv ministra. Opis' 467. Delo 63/67; AVPRI, Fond 138. Sekretnyi arkhiv ministra. Opis' 467. Delo 64/68; AVPRI, Fond 138. Sekretnyi arkhiv ministra. Opis' 467. Delo 65/69; AVPRI, Fond 138. Sekretnyi arkhiv ministra. Opis' 467. Delo 68/73; AVPRI, Fond 166. Missiia v Belgrade. Opis' 508/1. Delo 29.

56 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/2. Delo 295.

57 Kuzmicheva and Kovačević, eds, *Godišnji izveštaji*.

58 See: Popovkin, "Slavianskie blagotvoritel'nye."

59 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/2. Delo 303. List 47.

60 See: Melchakova, *Bosniia i Gertsegovina*.

they exchanged to handle money transfers survive. For instance, the Russian Foreign Ministry, after consultations with the Ministry of Finance and the Emperor's approval, sent a one-time grant of 10,000 roubles to the Montenegrin government by way of assistance for Herzegovinian refugees in 1885;⁶¹ and in 1892 the Ober-Procurator of the Most Holy Synod Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev allocated funds in response to requests from priest Trifković from the village of Blažuj, who needed money for the upkeep of a Christian Orthodox church, and from the Banja Monastery, whose residents wanted to set up a Serbian secondary school and support a local parish.⁶² There are also documents showing that the Foreign Ministry dedicated some of its resources to Bosnian natives who came to Russia and found themselves in a difficult spot.⁶³

Documents of the Russian government: the Military Ministry

The developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina were watched not only by diplomats, but by military intelligence as well. Instructions sent to military attachés in 1880 and updated in 1905 stated that they should collect information and report on military recruitment and the composition of the army, procurement (including victuals and fodder), military training, transportation routes, and budgets. In addition, military intelligence officers had to write profiles of top generals and report on the populace's views about matters social and political.⁶⁴ The agents' reports from Vienna show that they followed these instructions to a tee. Judging by the maps and compendiums of army statistics held in fund 846 *Voенно-уче́nyi arkhiv* [the Academic Military Archive], Russia's military intelligence agents kept an eye on Bosnia and Herzegovina and collected publications produced by Austria–Hungary's military ministry.

Communications of intelligence officers prior to 1917 are held at the Russian State Military Historical Archive [*Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv*, abbr. RGVIA]: fund 401 *Voенно-уче́nyj komitet* [Academic Military Committee] and fund 2000 *Glavnoe upravlenie General'nogo shtaba* [Main Directorate of the General Staff]. Researching these documents is a fairly difficult task because the names of the files do not reflect their actual contents: standard, generic appellations are often attached to unique documents of great historical value.⁶⁵ This is because

61 AVPRI, Fond 146. Slavianskii stol. Opis' 495. Delo 9149.

62 AVPRI, Fond 172. Posol'stvo v Vene. Opis' 514/2. Delo 370.

63 For instance, AVPRI, Fond 146. Slavianskii stol. Opis' 495. Delo 4660; AVPRI, Fond 146. Slavianskii stol. Opis' 495. Delo 4698; AVPRI, Fond 146. Slavianskii stol. Opis' 495. Delo 4718; etc.

64 *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv* (hereinafter RGVIA). Fond 2000. *Glavnoe upravlenie General'nogo shtaba*. Opis' 15. Delo 24.

65 Kashirin, *Dozornye na Balkanakh*, 56.

the inventories and contents of the military intelligence files were kept secret until the 1990s. Nevertheless, several reports from Vienna by military intelligence officers Vladimir Khristophorovich Roop (1900–1905) and Mitrofan Konstantinovich Marchenko (1906–1910) have been located. They reported on the internal situation in Austria-Hungary, sending detailed accounts which contained much of the same information that was supplied by diplomats in their reports. References to Bosnia and Herzegovina do not come up in intelligence reports filed before 1908. Only once, in 1907, did Marchenko mention his intention of seeking the Austro-Hungarian authorities' permission to visit the occupied provinces. Unfortunately, whether Marchenko indeed made the visit as he wished to in the autumn of 1907 has yet to be determined. The reports now held at the Joint Ministry of Finance's Fund at the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina show that Russian military officers used to visit the occupied provinces. In particular, 1900 saw the visit of the future military agent in Belgrade, Vladimir Petrovich Agapeyev (1907–1909).

RGVIA's fund 2000 contains special folders related to the annexation crisis. In addition to those from Marchenko in Vienna, reports about Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908–1909 were filed by agents stationed in Serbia and Montenegro, Vladimir Petrovich Agapeyev and Nikolai Mikhailovich Potapov (1903–1916).

Marchenko focused on the military build-up in Austria-Hungary's south, compiling tables about the army units' movements, reporting on army reserve personnel, procurement, types of weaponry, and financial expenditure. He related conversations he had had with various highly placed individuals in Vienna (including the heir to the throne), described reactions in both parts of the empire, and conveyed his thoughts on the consequences of the annexation of the occupied provinces. In addition, he wrote about public attitudes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the capitals towards the annexation. In one of his communications to the general staff, he noted: "Bosnia's populace, although dissatisfied with Austria, does not at all want to live under Serbia's rule, much less to be annexed by Hungary; it dreams of autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina".⁶⁶ Copies of some of the agent's reports were sent to the Foreign Ministry and have survived in its archive.

In 1908, Agapeyev, the agent in Belgrade, reported specific movements of troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina, quoting a source in the Austro-Hungarian military. The agent in Cetinje, whose letters, journals, and reports have been published,⁶⁷ focused on public attitudes in Montenegro and the actions of Nicholas I of Montenegro, and his texts do not contain much detail about the situation in the annexed province.

Russia's naval agent for Austria-Hungary and Italy also addressed the situation

66 RGVIA. Fond 2000. Glavnoe upravlenie General'nogo shtaba. Opis' 1. Delo 713. List 118–118 oborot.

67 Potapov, *N. M. Potapov*.

concerning the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although in his other reports he did not bring up these matters. Communications about potential battlefield developments and the possible consequences of the warfare that could result from the annexation were filed by naval agent Dmitry Vladimirovich von Den (1906–1911) and are now held at the Russian State Archive of the Navy [*Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv voenno-morskogo flota*], fund 418 “*Morskoi Generalnyi Shtab*” [Russian Navy Headquarters].

Ethnographic works

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was studied not only by Russian diplomats and soldiers, but also by scholars, who put down their observations in travel notes. As Maria Todorova shows, travelogues have been very important for “imagining the Balkans” and played a role during the periods of the discovery of the Balkans, the making of the Balkans, and the classification of the Balkans.⁶⁸ Ksenia V. Melchakova in her work analyzed travel notes about Ottoman Bosnia written by the first Russian consul in Bosnia, Alexander Fyodorovich Hilferding.⁶⁹ The body of literature on the subject that is discussed includes, inter alia, monographs focused on Bosnia travel notes: Neval Berber, for instance, published a monograph about the travels of Britons in the region.⁷⁰

An informative account about the takeover of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Habsburg troops is provided in the travel notes of Pavel Apollonovich Rovinsky (1831–1916), a reporter sent to the Balkans by the Saint Petersburg newspaper *Novoe vremya* [The New Time]. Late in the autumn of 1879, he travelled through the Sanjak of Zvornik, Bosnia’s north-eastern region. Rovinsky set out on his Bosnian journey late in the autumn of 1878. His earliest dispatches from Bosnia are dated November 1878 and the latest April 1879, when the Austro–Hungarian police expelled the journalist from the occupied province.⁷¹

Rovinsky’s article “Observations during My Bosnian Travel in 1879” was printed in the third (March) issue of the *Magazine of the Ministry of Public Education* in 1880.⁷² Unlike Rovinsky’s newspaper dispatches, this text focused on Bosnia’s north-eastern region (Sanjak of Zvornik and its central town Donja Tuzla), and is well structured, has clear paragraph division, and offers various bits and pieces of information, including historiographical information.⁷³

68 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*.

69 Melchakova, *Bosniia i Gertsegovina*.

70 Berber, *Unveiling Bosnia-Herzegovina*.

71 Khlebnikova, “«Russkii chernogorets»”, 75.

72 Rovinsky, “Nabliudeniia.”

73 See on Pavel Rovinsky’s travel notes: Pakhomova, *Balkan Litmus*.

It is worthwhile to note that Rovinsky's notes about Bosnia are, on the one hand, a travelogue—that is, personal commentary—but on the other, are an ethnographic study that meets the standards of scholarship that existed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; and his dispatches printed in one of the most popular Russian newspapers can be characterized as social commentary. Rovinsky's texts about Bosnia and Herzegovina are especially interesting because they were written at the beginning of a period of great upheaval in Bosnian society. They are significant because they capture the population's first reactions to the foreign presence.

Pavel Rovinsky believed that after an 'Islamic aristocratic' phase Bosnia entered a period of 'Christian democratic' protest against the authorities. Particularly noteworthy is the traveller's observation that this transformation came about not due to agitation by the Serbs but because of the Bosnians' high level of political culture. Rovinsky's travel notes are full of cutting remarks about the Islamic elites and Austro–Hungarian authorities, while the tone of his passages about the local Orthodox Christians is positive. Rovinsky held these views because he came from the fold of Russian Orthodoxy. Besides this, his texts reflect his *narodnichestvo*—between 1862 and 1863 he was one of the most influential participants of the clandestine revolutionary organization *Land and Will*. The writer sympathized with the common folk and criticized the aristocracy and large landowners for oppressing peasants, as well as the Ottoman and Austro–Hungarian governments for their failure to solve the agrarian question.

After the pacification of the region, the Habsburg Monarchy began a systematic study of it and opened the Regional Museum (*Zemaljski muzej*) and the Balkan Institute. Historians Ćiro Truhelka, Kosta Hörmann, Lajos Thallóczy and others were involved in historical research. Although Slavenko Terzić called the study of Bosnia and Herzegovina during Habsburg rule "academic propaganda", it should be remembered that these scholars made a valuable contribution to the study of the region's history.⁷⁴

Eager to show off and publicize the first achievements of the initial stage of their rule, the Austro–Hungarian authorities in the 1890s began to invite journalists, academics, and travellers to the region. In 1893, they organized the visit of a group of journalists from *The Times*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Temps*, etc. This visit produced, inter alia, a book by the Berlin journalist Heinrich Renner.⁷⁵ Renner was already familiar with Bosnia and Herzegovina: in 1878, in the capacity of a war reporter, he accompanied the Austro–Hungarian troops under General Josip Filipović's command during the

74 Terzić, "Projekt austrougarskog Balkana."

75 Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina*.

invasion.⁷⁶ 1897 saw the release of *Outgoing Turk*⁷⁷—a book written by the famous traveller Harry Thomson who visited Turkey's other provinces, as well as Rhodesia, India, and China.

In 1894, the government organized a congress of anthropologists and archaeologists in Sarajevo. On-site research was carried out in Bosnia as well. This research produced, amongst other things, books by two scholars of Central Asia—French ethnographer Guillaume Capus⁷⁸ and his Russian colleague Alexei Nikolaevich Kharuzin,⁷⁹ each of whom contributed a great deal to the development of ethnography as an academic discipline.

A study by ethnographer and statesman Alexei Kharuzin offers a comprehensive account of the process and results of the Austro–Hungarian administration and a multifaceted analysis of Bosnian and Herzegovinian history. Regrettably, it was only recently that Kharuzin and his works were introduced to the general public, since the scholar fell victim to repression in the Soviet Union in 1932. He was an ethnographer with a rich experience of studying the ethnic groups of Central Asia and had been a statesman working in the Russian Empire's ethnic borderlands. He worked in Estland, the Vilna governorate, and Bessarabia.

In 1899, Kharuzin travelled to the occupied provinces in order to study in-depth the process of the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Taking note of the general positive effects of the Austro–Hungarian modernization and infrastructure improvement programme, he nonetheless concluded that the practice of ignoring society's traditions created difficulties, and the purely mechanical growth of economic indicators did not amount to successful modernization.⁸⁰ The ethnographer's point of view about the development of ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina is interesting. Despite Kharuzin considering religion to be an important factor in the nation-building process, he was against its absolutisation.⁸¹ According to Kharuzin, the Austro–Hungarian government had demonstrated the formation of a political nation based on the results of historical, ethnographic, archaeological, and anthropological research, as well as on language and national consciousness.⁸² The idea of a Bosnian nation, which Benjamin Kállay tried to promote, was not supported by the Russian scholar. Kharuzin believed Kállay's purpose was purely to oppose the Serbian people. The Russian ethnographer was particularly displeased by the fact

76 Capus, *A Travers la Bosnie*, 56.

77 Thomson, *The Outgoing Turk*.

78 Capus, *A Travers la Bosnie*.

79 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*.

80 See, Pakhomova, *Balkan Litmus*.

81 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 38.

82 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 37–38.

that the authorities banned the words ‘Serb’ and ‘Serbian’ in relation to the Orthodox population. Kharuzin believed that the Serbs and Croats had begun to separate in the tenth century, when church masses began to be held in the Slavic language.⁸³ The final division of the peoples, according to Kharuzin, could have occurred in the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, after the split in the Christian church.⁸⁴ The ethnographer considered another feature of belonging to the Serbian or Orthodox nationality was the use of the Cyrillic script, while the Croatian or Catholic nationality used the Latin alphabet.⁸⁵ As for Islam, the scholar believed that some of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina had embraced Islam primarily because of the related social and economic privileges,⁸⁶ although Kharuzin did not exclude the existence of sincere feelings of the adherents of Islam.⁸⁷

Newspapers

There is not much information about Bosnia and Herzegovina in Russia’s socio-political space as yet. Published works include the already mentioned study by Oksana N. Novikova. Coverage of the Balkans in the Russian press is addressed in Elena G. Kostrikova’s publications,⁸⁸ although in neither case does the research extend to a period earlier than 1908.

Our analysis of the daily newspapers *Novoye vremya* and *Moskovskiye vedomosti* has shown that there was a surge of public interest in Bosnia in 1878 and 1908, as well as in the mid-1880s. This was probably related to the activities of the well-known Slavophile Gavril Sergeevich Wesselitsky-Bozhidarovich.

It is generally believed that Wesselitsky-Bozhidarovich began his career in 1882 as a London-based correspondent of *Novoye vremya* writing under the pen name Argus.⁸⁹ The first dispatch signed ‘Argus’ from Vienna was printed in issue 25 (13) of September 25, 1883.

In his publications from Vienna, the journalist regularly addressed Bosnian themes. Three issues were especially important to him: Catholic propaganda, ‘the Catholic–Jewish’ governance of the occupied province, and rumors of annexation. His correspondence with publisher Alexander Sergeevich Suvorin, which is held

83 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 231.

84 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 232, 241–42.

85 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 231.

86 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 247–48.

87 Kharuzin, *Bosniia-Gertsegovina*, 246.

88 Kostrikova, *Russkaia pressa*; Kostrikova, *Rossiiskoe obshchestvo*.

89 In ancient Greek mythology, Argus is a giant with many eyes who never sleeps.

at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, shows that Wesselitsky stayed in Vienna when he was sending dispatches ostensibly written in Sarajevo.⁹⁰

However, the shift in thematic focus was conditioned not only by Suvorin's demand to write "a nonsense though it is tiny" but also by the fact that Wesselitsky set up a news agency in Berlin called *Allgemeine Reichs Correspondenz – ArcBureau* and in 1884 became a Berlin correspondent for the *Moskovskiye vedomosti* newspaper. He signed his dispatches for the Moscow daily "X.X". In 1885, this newspaper ran a series of articles entitled "Letters from Bosnia and Herzegovina". Considering Gavriil Wesselitsky-Bozhidarovich's interest in his ancestors' country, it can be assumed that the letters were penned by him.

It appears that Wesselitsky concealed the fact that he worked for two leading Russian news outlets at once. Suvorin's archive contains Wesselitsky's letter in which the writer informed him that he worked for a scientific publication. Wesselitsky contributed stories to *Moskovskiye vedomosti* for four years, until the death of the newspaper's publisher Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov in 1887.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs knew Wesselitsky not only as a journalist. In 1885, the Russian ambassador to Vienna, Alexei Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky, believed that Wesselitsky, who was living in Dresden but filing stories datelined Zagreb, had organized and become the head of a Bosnian Revolutionary Committee. The Committee was financed by the Slavic Charitable Society. Wesselitsky and his associates were supposedly laying the groundwork for an uprising in the spring of 1886.⁹¹ However, neither the academic literature nor primary sources contain any reference to a revolutionary committee active in the 1880s.

In the spring of 1892, the German authorities expelled him from Germany. While he was still working as a correspondent in Vienna, he had visited London on several occasions, and after his expulsion he relocated there. For more than twenty years, he was a London correspondent for *Novoye vremya*.

Since it appears that the Bosnia and Herzegovina stories published in the dailies *Moskovskiye vedomosti* and *Novoye vremya* are not absolutely trustworthy sources, they should be treated accordingly. These publications ought to be regarded rather as an expression of sympathy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The documents prepared by Russian analysts supply researchers with a plethora of information such as how the Habsburg Monarchy organized a peaceful life for its subjects, how Russia was preparing for a potential war, and how Russia influenced the destinies of the Balkan nations. Russian documents on Bosnia mostly

90 Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva. Fond 459. Suvorin. Opis' 1. Delo 678.

91 AVPRI, Fond 138. Sekretnyi arkhiv ministra. Opis' 467. Delo 759/764. List 127–29.

show Russia's role in Bosnian history. In the majority of Russian sources on Bosnia, there is little in the way of statistics or quantitative data. Diplomats, ethnographers, and journalists presented their own opinions on Bosnia and their picture of Bosnia, or more precisely, Orthodox Bosnia. Russian officials realized that the situation in the multireligious region was very complicated. They analyzed both how Austria–Hungary managed this situation as an empire and their governance model from the point of view of another empire. The main object of observation was the Habsburg experience in the field of modernization and of the maintenance of an empire.

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How Tall Were the Jews?

Anthropometric Data on Income Inequality between the Jews and Non-Jews in Hungary from the Mid-Nineteenth Century until World War I

Dániel Bolgár 

Department of Economic and Social History, Institute of History, Faculty of Humanities,
Eötvös Loránd University, H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum körút 6-8; bolgar.daniel@btk.elte.hu

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Abstract. The widespread belief that the Jews were far more affluent than the non-Jews in Hungary in the decades before the Holocaust lacks sufficient empirical corroboration. The present study aims to present the income disparity between Jews and non-Jews in the light of anthropometric data. A review of the physical anthropological literature concerning height and menarcheal age of Jews from the 1850s until World War I, together with an analysis of height data from the 1913 conscription and measurements of physical fitness involving schoolchildren between 1886 and 1916, suggest that the Jews' biological standard of living was higher than that of non-Jews, although the inverse was true in the upper stratum of society.

Keywords: Jews, height, income, inequality, anthropometric history

Introduction

There is a widely held view that Jews in Hungary were far wealthier than non-Jews in the period between the emancipation of the Jews (in 1867) and the Holocaust. According to the historical and social scientific literature, the Jewish share of national wealth and income was 20–25 percent before the Holocaust on the country's post-1920 and pre-1938 territory,¹ while Jewry made up roughly 5 percent of the total population. Previous research by the author of this paper, however, has revealed

1 Kádár and Vági, *Self-Financing Genocide*, 13–33; Ungváry, *A Horthy-rendszer mérlege*, 20–59; Ungváry, *A Horthy-rendszer és antiszemitizmusának mérlege*, 32–82. See also Deák, "Jews and Communism," 58; Dean, *Robbing the Jews*, 343; Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 225–26; Karády, "The Ashkenaz of the South," 90, 116; Klacsmann, "Abandoned, Confiscated, and Stolen Property," 135.

recently that this claim is actually a fantasy of the radical anti-Semites of the inter-war period about the richness of the expected loot,² and that it was (and still is) completely unsubstantiated.³ Research so far has been able to prove systematically only that Jews were heavily overrepresented in Hungary among the very rich (e.g. the highest tax payers, owners of factories and mines, and great landowners).⁴ Nevertheless, this finding does not prove that Jews were more well-off than non-Jews because the exclusive investigation of the affluents does not provide information on the average standard of living of the entire Jewish and non-Jewish population.⁵ All in all, the stereotype of rich Jews versus poor Gentiles is not sufficiently supported by previous research. The aim of the present study⁶ is to present the conclusions that can be drawn using methods of anthropometric history⁷ concerning the extent of the disparity in income between Jews and non-Jews in Hungary from the middle of the nineteenth century until World War I.⁸

Anthropometric historiography analyses available records of measurements of human body size, and above all, measurements of height, in order to assess the extent to which the environment was of benefit to the human body in past societies—that is, to measure the biological standard of living, meaning the biologically utilized element of wealth.⁹ Individual differences in height do not provide a great deal of information in this respect, as individual differences are, to a significant

2 For example, Bosnyák, *Magyarország elzsidósodása*, 117–18; Kovács, *A csonkamagyarországi zsidóság*, 56; Bosnyák, “Nincs más út,” 210–15.

3 Bolgár, “Mítoszok a zsidó jólétről,” 129–55; Bolgár, “Újabb mítoszok a zsidó jólétről”; Bolgár, “Viszonzás Ungváry Krisztiánnak,” 1–17.

4 Kovács, *A csonkamagyarországi zsidóság*, passim. Bolgár, “Mítoszok a zsidó jólétről,” 115–21; Bolgár, “Újabb mítoszok a zsidó jólétről”; Bolgár, *Zsidók és nem zsidók számokban*.

5 Bolgár, “Mítoszok a zsidó jólétről,” 121–22; Komlos, “The Standard of Living of Jews,” 127–28, 133.

6 For the partial results of this research, see Bolgár, “Wealthier Jews, Taller Gentiles.”

7 For the few historical studies in Hungary that used anthropometric methods and arguments, see Szántay, “Testmagasság és ipari forradalom”; Szilágyi, *A kékek és a zöldek*; Káli, “Antropometrikus történetírás”; Káli and Magyarosi, “Kutatócsoport alakítása,” 7–18; Halmos, “A dualizmus kori társadalom,” 263–64.

8 The data collected for the purposes of this study refer to the pre-1920 period projected onto the post-1920 and pre-1938 territory of Hungary, where allegedly 20–25 percent of the national wealth and income belonged to the Jews. Needless to say, it would be useful to take into account areas outside the country’s 1920 borders as well, but conducting research in foreign archives was not possible for technical reasons. Consequently, the supposedly indigent Jewish population of the north-eastern counties of pre-Trianon Hungary are not included in the analysed datasets.

9 Komlos, “Hol tart az antropometrikus történetírás,” 269.

extent, genetically determined.¹⁰ The average stature of a larger population, however, can be regarded as an indicator of biological well-being, since at the level of the population genetic differences tend to cancel one another out.¹¹ We know very little about the genetic differences that determine the variation in height between individual ethnic groups.¹² However, various studies have found that the members of most peoples living in identical socioeconomic circumstances will reach the same average height, the ethnic differences that cannot be explained by environmental factors being relatively insignificant.¹³ Moreover, the evolution over time of the average height of a population that remains fundamentally unchanged in terms of its genetic composition certainly is the product of environmental factors—namely, of the balance between nutrient intake and energy consumption.¹⁴

The mean stature of a bigger population, and changes to it, are thus related to the cumulative net nutrition in that population—that is, the extent to which the quantity and quality of the food consumed from the foetal stage until the age of twenty to twenty-three meets nutritional needs—while this in itself is related to income level.¹⁵

Human stature is nevertheless an imperfect indicator of income status, for net nutrition is affected, for instance, by diseases, work intensity, and so on. One of the factors that can influence the average height of a population, besides level of income, is income distribution, since, with respect to nutrition, the law of diminishing marginal utility applies.¹⁶ This means that, with an incremental increase in the number of food portions consumed, height will increase according to a steadily declining scale, and, after a certain time, will not increase at all—that is, improvements in nutrition due to the addition of further and further units will lead to steadily decreasing

10 Silventoinen, “Determinants of Variation in Adult Body Height,” 271, 275.

11 Tanner, “Introduction: Growth in Height,” 1; Baten and Blum, “Growing Tall but Unequal,” 68; Steckel, “Biological Measures of Economic History,” 407.

12 McEvoy and Visscher, “Genetics of Human Height,” 300–1; Harris, “Anthropometric History and the Measurement of Wellbeing,” 18–20, 23.

13 Eksmyr, “Anthropometry in Privileged Ethiopian Preschool Children”; Habicht et al., “Height and Weight Standard for Preschool Children”; Graitcer and Gentry, “Measuring Children”; Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract*, 138–39; Floud, “The Heights of Europeans since 1750,” 12–13; Baten and Blum, “Growing Tall but Unequal,” 68–69; Steckel, “Biological Measures of Economic History,” 407; Steckel, “Biological Measures of Well-Being,” 211–12.

14 Komlos, *Nutrition and Economic Development*, 28; Tanner, “Introduction: Growth in Height,” 2; Komlos, “Az antropometrikus történetírás jelentőségéről,” 6; Komlos, “Hol tart az antropometrikus történetírás,” 271.

15 Steckel, “Biological Measures of Well-Being,” 37–41; Steckel, “Biological Measures of Economic History,” 405–9; Komlos, “Hol tart az antropometrikus történetírás,” 268–71; Komlos, “Az antropometrikus történetírás jelentőségéről,” 5–7.

16 Gossen, “Entwicklung der Gesetze des menschlichen Verkehrs,” 4–5.

returns in terms of stature.¹⁷ As a result, the wealthy, who enjoy better nutrition, will on average be taller than the poor, although their superiority in terms of height will not be equal in measure to their financial superiority.¹⁸ Thus one (more) reason why physical height is an inaccurate indicator of income level is that it underrepresents the wealth of the affluent. This means that, in the context of a given average income level, the bigger the disparity in income within a population, the smaller the average stature will be, and the lower the biological standard of living. In other words, in a society in which the same amount of goods are distributed more unequally than in another, there will be more people whose daily nutritional needs are not fully met, and who are thus short in stature. This will not be compensated by the fact that the wealthy in that society are wealthier than in the other, since, however stuffed their wallets may be, they will still never grow so tall that their heads touch the sky. If we compare the height of Jews and non-Jews in Hungary, it is possible to gauge the differences in income levels without the data becoming heavily influenced by the well-known fact that amongst those with the greatest fortunes Jews were represented to a far greater extent than Christians were. This uncovers whether Jews enjoyed, on the whole, higher levels of wealth among the masses with smaller incomes or whether any previous measures of Jewish affluence have reflected merely the impact of the relatively high number of Jews among the extremely rich.

But who in fact were taller, the Jews or the non-Jews? In the nineteenth century, Péter Schwarz, who came from the Hungarian town of Nagykőrös, was a giant who gained fame throughout Europe. We know his precise measurements at the age of nineteen only: at 186.5 cm he was tall according to contemporary standards and weighed 225 kg.¹⁹ What is interesting about the Nagykőrös giant is that it was considered important to make mention of the fact that he was Jewish,²⁰ as if the fact that he was a Jew made his huge stature even more surprising—as if Jews were expected to be diminutive. But do the measurements in fact support this assumption?

A review of studies concerning Jewish height in Hungary

If we look at general anthropological works concerning humanity as a whole, the European population, or the Jewish population, from the end of the nineteenth century to the Holocaust, we find that they promulgated the idea—as formulated

17 Komlos, “Hol tart az antropometrikus történetírás,” 271.

18 Blum, “Inequality and Heights,” 182–83; Steckel “Biological Measures of Economic History,” 409–11; Steckel, “Stature and Standard of Living,” 1912.

19 Hamary, “Rendkívüli termet,” 44–45.

20 Hamary, “Rendkívüli termet,” 44; “A »legfontos«-abb magyar zsidó,” 6.

by Hans Günther,²¹ the leading racial theorist of the Third Reich—that “the Jews are on average of short stature”.²² However, writers of Jewish anthropology believed that the Jews nevertheless did appear to be taller than certain peoples, and in many cases their claims referred precisely to the Magyars (i.e., ethnic Hungarians). Joseph Jacobs reported that the Jews were the shortest people in Europe “excepting, perhaps, Magyars”.²³ Maurice Fishberg concluded from his research that there were many individuals of short stature among the Jews, and that, besides them, “only the Magyars, Lapps, and Sardinians can show such a large proportion of short persons”.²⁴ This notion even gained a certain popularity outside the realms of anthropological literature: in 1902, in the journal *Jüdische Turnzeitung*, Max Nordau, one of the founding figures of the Zionist movement, included the Magyars in his list of peoples that were certainly not taller than the Jews.²⁵ Might it be the case that in Hungary the Jews were not in fact shorter than average height?

1) As far as is known, the earliest data on the anthropometry of Hungarian Jewry were published in a paper that tried to explore racial differences in the population of Pest-Pilis County, written by Eduard Glatter, head of the Statistical Office of Vienna and the former chief medical officer of Pest-Pilis County. Glatter’s study²⁶ on the one hand reported that the average height of the twenty-year-old Jewish potential recruits in Pest-Pilis County was 164.5 cm in eight unspecified years of the 1850s according to the conscription registers (Table 1). This means that the Jewish young men were taller than the Magyars, but shorter than the Slovaks, and exactly as tall as the Germans. (The average stature of the total population reaching conscription age is unknown.) On the other hand, Glatter collected data on the menarcheal age of few hundred

21 Günther, *Rassenkunde des jüdischen Volkes*, 210.

22 See also Weisbach, *Körpermessungen verschiedener Menschenrassen*, 213; Andree, *Zur Volkskunde der Juden*, 32; Jacobs, “The Racial Characteristics of the Modern Jews,” XI; Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 349, 377; Hutchinson, Gregory, and Lydekker, *The Living Races of Mankind*, 250; Jacobs and Fishberg, “Stature,” 536–39; Fishberg, *The Jews*, 27–46; Deniker, *The Races of Man*, 425; Frigyes, *A zsidók természetrajza*, 16; Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*, 164–65; Coon, *The Races of Europe*, 643; Szilágyi, *A zsidó népegyéniség*, 29. For the findings of current research on Jewish body height, see Komlos, “The Standard of Living of Jews”; Aschoff, and Hiermeyer, “The Physical Stature of Jewish Men,” 111; Kopczyński, “The Physical Stature of Jewish Men”; Hermanussen et al., “Adolescent Growth,” 345; Blum and Rei, “Escaping the Holocaust”; Tassenaar and Karel, “The Power of Kashrut,” 668; Beekink and Kok, “Temporary and Lasting Effects of Childhood Deprivation,” 206–8; Kopczyński and Sobechowicz, “The Impact of Urbanization,” 365–66; Blum and Rei, “Escaping Europe.”

23 Jacobs, “The Racial Characteristics of the Modern Jews,” XI.

24 Fishberg, *The Jews*, 31. See also Fishberg, “Materials for the Physical Anthropology of the Eastern European Jews,” 181.

25 Nordau, “Was bedeutet das Turnen für uns Juden,” 385.

26 Glatter, “Das Racenmoment.”

married women. (The method of data collection is unknown.) Age at first menstruation—like height—is dependent on nutritional status, while this in turn is related to income level: poor nutrition tends to delay sexual maturity.²⁷ Glatter's observations show that in Pest-Pilis County sexual maturation occurred at a younger age among Jewish females than in the case of women of any other ethnicity.²⁸

Table 1 Height of men reaching conscription age (20 years old) and the menarcheal age of females in Pest-Pilis County (1850s)

Religion/ethnicity		20-year-old males		Married females	
		N	Average height (cm)	N	Average age at menarche (year)
Jewish			164.5		15.61
Non-Jewish	Slovak	n/a	168.9	n/a	16.97
	German		164.5		16.89
	Magyar		162.6		16.99
	Serb		161.4		15.64
	Total		n/a		n/a

Source: Glatter, "Das Racenmoment in seinem Einfluß auf biotische Zustände."

2) The foreign anthropologists took the idea that the Magyars were even shorter than the Jews from the same source as they obtained practically all their information concerning Hungary: they referred consistently to Sámuel Henrik Scheiber, who had initiated large-scale measurements of height in preparation for the 1876 International Congress of Anthropology in Budapest. Scheiber obtained conscription registers²⁹ from three military augmentation commands, from which he compiled the heights, recorded at the time of conscription examination, of all twenty-year-old men for the years 1866, 1867, and 1868 in the entire territory of Veszprém, Fejér (including Székesfehérvár) and Győr (including the city of Győr) counties, as well as various municipalities in Tolna and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun counties (including Buda and Pest).

27 Eiben and Mascie-Taylor, "The Age at Menarche."

28 Wilhelm Joachim, a physician from the city of Pest, reported in 1853 that in Hungary the age at the onset of menstruation was 13–14 among Serb girls, 14–15 among Jewish females, 15–16 among the daughters of Magyar peasants, and 16–17 among Slovaks. However, Joachim did not substantiate his claims (Joachim, "Zur Aetiologie einiger Frauenkrankheiten," 105).

29 Scheiber, "Magyarország lakóinak középtermetéről."

In the territory of the five counties, at the time of the Austro–Hungarian Compromise (1867), twenty-year-old Jewish potential recruits were on average 163.3 cm tall, which corresponds to the average height of all men of conscription age who were measured. The Germans and Slavs, whose results were tied, were taller than the Jews. The Magyars proved to be 1.4 cm shorter than the Jews, which, according to Scheiber, meant that the Magyars were the shortest not only in Hungary, but on the continent as a whole (Table 2).³⁰

Table 2 Height of men reaching conscription age in five counties of the Kingdom of Hungary
(20 years old, 1866–1868)

1			2	3
Religion/ethnicity			N	Average height (cm)
Jewish			810	163.3
Non-Jewish	German		4926	164.6
	Slavic ³¹		1487	164.6
	Magyar		8884	161.9
	Total	calculated	15 297	163.0
		reported by Scheiber		163.3

Sources: for the second column see Scheiber “Recherches sur la taille moyenne des hommes en Hongrie,” for the third column see Scheiber, “Magyarország lakóinak középtermetéről”; “Untersuchungen über den mittleren Wuchs.”

However, Scheiber’s findings were not based on established scientific methods. The conscription registers did not mention the potential recruits’ ethnicity, mother tongue, or even spoken language, on the basis of which it would have been possible to decide who was a Magyar and who was a Slav, etc. Scheiber undertook name analysis, deciding merely on the basis of the sound of a person’s family name whether they belonged under the heading Slav, German, or Magyar.³² However, this method is extremely questionable bearing in mind the fact that while people generally have one family name, they have two parents, from both of whom they can inherit their ethnic identity. Even so, Scheiber was able to determine accurately from his source who were Jews and who were not because the conscription registers do record denomination. Scheiber’s observation that young Jewish men at around the time of the 1867 Compromise were the same height, to the millimetre, as the non-Jews in the investigated area, is therefore credible.

30 Scheiber, “Magyarország lakóinak középtermetéről,” 244–45.

31 Serbs, Slovaks, and Slavs whose ancestors came from Bohemia, Moravia, or Poland.

32 Scheiber, “Untersuchungen über den mittleren Wuchs,” 257–59.

3) In 1875, József Lenhossék, a professor of anatomy at the Budapest University, investigated the skull size and head shape of the various ethnic groups in Hungary. In order to calculate the so-called head quotient, he also needed height measurements. The data show that the Jews had the smallest stature of all the ethnic groups in the research, at 2 to 3 cm shorter than the non-Jewish average (Table 3).

Table 3 Height of ethnic groups in the Kingdom of Hungary (1875)

Religion/ethnicity		N	Average height (cm)
Jewish		15	167.8
Non-Jewish	Serb	16	171.7
	Croat	12	170.7
	Magyar	50	170.3
	Romanian	20	170.2
	Slovak	9	169.6
	German	21	168.5
	Total	128	170.2

Source: Lenhossék, *Az emberi koponyaisme*.

However, Lenhossék's research leaves much to be desired: he was working with very small and arbitrarily assembled ethnic samples;³³ in the case of certain ethnicities, he selected his research subjects from among soldiers who had already met the height criterion for military service; not every measured individual had reached maturity; and everyone was wearing shoes while the measurements were taken.³⁴

4) József Kőrösi, the founder and director of the Budapest Office of Statistics, undertook measurements of height with respect to ethnicity during 1878 and 1879, although the results of his research were never published in detail. Nevertheless, three different summaries of his research are available.³⁵

These summaries give us only an approximate picture of the conditions of the research. What is certain is that Kőrösi measured the heights of newly drafted soldiers (aged between nineteen and twenty-two) with the cooperation of the military authorities—that is, of those young men who were obliged to present themselves for draft, the research included only those who had already been deemed suitable for military

33 On Lenhossék's unusual techniques of ethnic classification, see Bolgár, "A méret a lényeg," 120–21.

34 Lenhossék, *Az emberi koponyaisme*, 28, 62.

35 Kőrösi, "Sur l'anthropométrie des races de Hongrie"; Kőrösi, "Az országos régészeti és ember-tani társulat"; Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern oder Magyaren*.

service and who, as a result, also met the minimum height requirement of 155.4 cm.³⁶ Kőrösi made no attempt to ensure that his research subjects represented a random sample of Hungary's population, or of individual ethnic groups. In other words, he designed his measurements on the assumption that the average height of individual peoples was a racial attribute, thus it was of no importance who participated in the investigation. All that was important was for the ethnic subsamples to be 'purebred'. As far as we know, he attempted to ensure this in the case of non-Jews by selecting his subsamples from purely Magyar, Slovak etc. villages.³⁷ This inevitably meant that while the Jews who participated in the measurements also included city dwellers, those who were selected to represent other ethnic groups in the sample were from rural villages without exception.

Kőrösi presented data for around 10,000 soldiers at a session of the Society of Anthropology of Paris, held on 18 July 1878.³⁸ From among the twelve ethnic groups, the Jews were ranked in sixth place, although even then they were 0.8 cm taller on average than those who were identified as Magyar. We cannot know whether the Jews were taller than average, since Kőrösi did not include average height in his presentation, nor is it possible to calculate an average height using his tables (Table 4). In a presentation given on 30 December 1879 in Budapest, Kőrösi reported on the more advanced stage of his investigations. A brief summary of this presentation was published.³⁹ By this time, he was able to present height data for over 20,000 recruits. The Jews continued to prove to be taller than the Magyars (by 1.1 cm), and in fact slightly taller (by 0.4 cm) than the average for the country as well. Finally, Pál Hunfalvy published partial data from the total survey, which he may have obtained from Kőrösi, according to which the Jews were taller than the Magyars by 1.1 cm on average, and taller than the countrywide average by 0.3 cm.⁴⁰ All in all, Kőrösi's research, which was scarcely representative of Hungary as a whole, yielded the conclusion that in 1878/1879 Jewish men declared fit for military service were somewhat taller than the rest.

5) Thus far, our overview has focused on investigations carried out exclusively among men with one exception. This gender imbalance can be redressed if, instead of height, we focus on the available data for the female population concerning menarcheal age as an indicator of net nutrition.

36 Act XL of 1868 § 16, Decree of the Minister of Defense No. 49841/1875, quoted in *A véderöröl szóló törvény*, 603; Komlos, "A Habsburg-hadsereg újoncozási módszerei," 738.

37 Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern oder Magyaren*, 253.

38 Kőrösi, "Sur l'anthropométrie des races de Hongrie," 308–9.

39 "Az országos régészeti és embertani társulat," 17–18.

40 Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern oder Magyaren*, 253–54.

Table 4 Height of newly recruited men in Hungary⁴¹ (19–22-years-old, 1878–1879)

Findings of the research								
18 July 1878			30 December 1879			Published by Hunfalvy in 1881		
19–22 years old						Presumably 19–22 years old (according to Hunfalvy 19 years old)		
Ethnicity	Average height (cm)	N	Ethnicity	Average height (cm)	N	Ethnicity	Average height (cm)	N
Slovenian	164.7	n/a	Slovenian	164.7	n/a	German	164.2	1900
French	164.4		German	164.2		Serb	163.8	600
Croat	163.9		Croat	164.1		Slovak	163.8	1100
Serb	163.8		French	163.8		Jewish	163.6	1790
Slovak	163.7		Slovak and Serb	163.8		Romanian	163.1	880
Jewish	163.4		Jassic	163.5		Magyar ⁴²	162.5	2400
Jassic	163.0		Jewish	163.5		Ruthenian	161.9	500
Romanian	162.9		Romanian	163.0				
Magyar	162.6		Magyar	162.4				
German	162.4		Ruthenian	161.8				
Ruthenian	162.1		Cuman	161.5				
Cuman	160.9							
Average/ total	n/a	nearly 10 000	Average/ total	163.1	20 667	Average/ total	163.3	9170

Sources: Kőrösi “Sur l’anthropométrie des races de Hongrie”; “Az országos régészeti és ember-tani társulat...”; Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern oder Magyaren*.

In Hungary, the only statistics except for those from Glatter’s early survey that can tell us anything about age at menarche among Jewish females are those that were compiled in 1891 by Dr. Sándor Doktor, a teaching assistant at Budapest University. The medical records of women who were treated at the university’s department of gynaecology, or who gave birth there, routinely included a record of how old they were, as far as they remembered, when they had their first monthly period (retrospective method). Although Doktor stated that such records had been taken “for a long time”, we do not know precisely to which years his calculations refer. Patients attending the clinic came from the lower classes.⁴³

41 Without Transylvania.

42 It is not known whether the Jassics and the Cumans are included in the data for Magyars.

43 Doktor, “A hősámról,” 478–79.

With respect to age at sexual maturity among Jewish and non-Jewish females, Doktor observed that the average age at menarche among 1,410 Jewish patients was fourteen years and nine months, while among the 8,190 Gentiles the menarcheal age was fifteen years and six months.⁴⁴ Jewish females thus reached sexual maturity nine months earlier than their non-Jewish counterparts.

6) In 1910, Lajos Bartucz, an anthropologist at Budapest University, analysed the height data for men of conscription age from Arad County in 1907, 1908, and 1909 (aged between twenty-one and twenty-three), broken down by ethnicity.⁴⁵ Bartucz aimed to create subsamples that were as homogeneous as possible in terms of race/ethnicity, thus among the Christians who spoke Hungarian as their mother tongue he selected only those with Hungarian family names for the research, and—with the exception of the Jews—he presumably proceeded in a similar way with other ethnic groups as well. As a result, it is quite possible that his findings do not accurately represent the height of the inhabitants of Arad County.

In Bartucz's study of Arad County, only the Germans proved to be taller than the Jews (Table 5). The Jews were 0.9 cm taller than the average height of men of conscription age in Arad County. However, we should bear in mind that a total of just twenty-two young Jewish men took part in the measurements.

Table 5 Height of men of conscription age in Arad County (21–23 years old, 1907–1909)

Religion/ethnicity		N	Average height (cm)
Jewish		22	165.6
Non-Jewish	German	843	166.4
	Magyar	1536	165.2
	Romanian	6538	164.4
	Slovak	14	162.6
	Total/average	8931	164.7

Source: Bartucz, "Arad megye népének anthropologiai vázlata."

7) Lajos Bartucz also analysed height data recorded during conscription examinations⁴⁶ in the Balaton region. He does not report the year in which his data collection was undertaken, although we do know that he completed his research in part of this region in 1911.⁴⁷ The 19,642 men reaching conscription age (twenty-one years old) who

44 Doktor, "A hőszámról," 479–80. Cp. Komlos, "The Age at Menarche in Vienna," 133; B. Bodzsár, "Studies on Sexual Maturation of Hungarian Children," 157–58.

45 Bartucz, "Arad megye népének anthropologiai vázlata," 113, 130–53.

46 Bartucz, "Dunántúl népének antropológiai vizsgálata," 110–11.

47 Bartucz, "Göcsej és Hetés népének anthropológiájáról," 11.

were considered by Bartucz to be Magyar were on average 165.4 cm tall. However, the 830 Jewish potential recruits who were twenty-one years old had an average height of 165.6 cm.⁴⁸ Thus, on this occasion, too, Bartucz found the Jews to be slightly taller (by 0.2 cm) than the non-Jews.

Table 6 Height of schoolboys in Arad County and in the Balaton region (1910–1920)

Age (years)	Jewish		Non-Jewish		Advantage (+) or disadvantage (–) of Jews in cm
	N	Average height (cm)	N	Average height (cm)	
6	14	111.4	876	111.9	-0.5
7	47	116.0	2755	114.9	+1.1
8	48	120.2	2933	119.8	+0.4
9	60	125.0	3030	124.2	+0.8
10	68	129.8	3085	129.0	+0.8
11	48	133.5	2915	133.3	+0.2
12	45	138.8	1991	137.4	+1.4
13	35	144.3	546	144.3	0.0
14	25	152.5	315	151.3	+1.2
15	16	162.7	157	157.4	+5.3
16	20	168.0	113	165.4	+2.6
17	12	165.7	86	167.0	-1.3
18	5	167.8	54	167.4	+0.4
19	6	169.0	60	169.1	–
20	–	–			

Sources: Bartucz, “Über die Anthropologie der Ungaren”; Bartucz, “Az iskolás gyermekek termete nemzetiség szerint I”; Bartucz, “Az iskolás gyermekek termete nemzetiség szerint II”; Bartucz, *A magyar ember. A magyarság antropológiája*; Bartucz, “Die körperlichen Merkmale des heutigen Ungartums”; Bartucz, “A magyarság antropológiája.”

8) Lajos Bartucz analysed not only the height of men of conscription age, but the heights of male and female children as well. In 1910 in Arad County, and in 1911 and sometime between 1915 and 1920⁴⁹ in the Balaton region, teachers measured the heights of a total of 36,762 students in elementary and higher-grade schools. Bartucz classified his research subjects by ethnicity—in the case of the non-Jews presumably according to name analysis methods—then investigated which ethnic group’s children had grown the tallest in each age group.⁵⁰

48 Bartucz, “Über die Anthropologie der Ungaren,” 65–66. See also Lóczy, *A Balaton földrajzi és társadalmi állapotainak leírása*, 130–31.

49 See Bartucz, “Die Körpergrösse der heutigen Magyaren”; Lóczy, *A Balaton földrajzi és társadalmi állapotainak leírása*, 132.

50 Bartucz, “A mai magyarság termetéről,” 284; Bartucz, “Arad megye népének anthropologiai

As far as we can judge from the data published by Bartucz (Tables 6 and 7), Jewish schoolchildren grew the tallest, overtaking the Magyars, Germans, Romanians, and Slavs. The data for schoolchildren are of particular interest with respect to the under-twelve age group, since until this age school was compulsory for all children—that is, at this age there is at least some chance that Bartucz’s data accurately reflect the general average difference in height between Jews and non-Jews. Within this age bracket, Jewish children were unequivocally taller than Christian pupils of the same age.

Table 7 Height of schoolgirls in Arad County and in the Balaton region (1910–1920)

Age (years)	Jewish		Non-Jewish		Advantage (+) or disadvantage (–) of Jews in cm
	N	Average height (cm)	N	Average height (cm)	
6	16	109.0	761	111.2	-2.2
7	36	114.0	2500	114.1	-0.1
8	49	119.6	2683	118.9	+0.7
9	60	125.0	2955	123.5	+1.5
10	62	129.0	3076	128.6	+0.4
11	54	134.9	2687	133.4	+1.5
12	53	142.6	1503	138.8	+3.8
13	38	147.6	327	148.4	-0.8
14	26	150.1	193	150.0	+0.1
15	16	155.3	73	154.1	+1.2
16	7	154.1	28	156.1	-2.0
17	1	157.0	29	152.9	+4.1
18	1	152.0	38	155.1	-3.1
19	5	155.4	79	157.3	–
20	1	157.0			

Sources: Bartucz, “Über die Anthropologie der Ungaren”; Bartucz, “Az iskolás gyermekek termete nemzetiség szerint I”; Bartucz, “Az iskolás gyermekek termete nemzetiség szerint II”; Bartucz, *A magyar ember. A magyarság antropológiája*; Bartucz, “Die körperlichen Merkmale des heutigen Ungartums”; Bartucz, “A magyarság antropológiája.”

9) In the 1911/1912 academic year, Elemér Szőke, a sports teacher at a secondary school in Győr, measured the height of children in every class in his school, from which he concluded that the Christian pupils were taller than the Jews.⁵¹ However, the claim was substantiated not by reporting the average height of individuals in the

vázlata,” 112, 153; Bartucz, “Az iskolás gyermekek termetbeli növekedése,” 89–90.

51 Szőke, “Adatok ifjúságunk fejlődéséről és egészségéről,” 78–82.

two groups, but by reporting the religious affiliation of the tallest and shortest boys in each individual class in the course of the measurements performed at the beginning and end of the year. He found that in just three cases out of twenty-six (12 percent), a Jewish boy was the tallest in the line-up, and in two of these cases it was a dead heat, even though 48 percent of the pupils as a whole were Jewish. By contrast, the Jews were overrepresented among the shortest pupils, since in eighteen cases out of twenty-six classes a Jewish pupil was the smallest (69 percent). Although this is deserving of attention, it merely makes it likely that the Jews were shorter than the non-Jews among the schoolchildren in Győr, while not providing any convincing proof.

We have identified a total of eight anthropological studies in Hungary before the Treaty of Trianon in which the height of Jews was compared to that of others.⁵² The findings of those studies in which it is at least feasible that a representative sample of the Jewish and non-Jewish populations was studied can be summarised as follows: at around the time of emancipation, the Jews and non-Jews were still of around the same height, after which the Jews were taller than the Christians. (The findings also show a Jewish advantage in those two studies that investigated the age at menarche instead of height.) However, in the single study that investigated differences in height among the elite—secondary-school pupils and university students—the Jews were reported to be shorter.⁵³

In order to establish the validity of the picture that emerges from the contemporary investigations, which can be regarded as rudimentary in terms of research design, I carried out two studies on a wider scale than the earlier ones (covering more people and/or a wider geographical area). The goal of the first study was to examine whether the Jews could indeed have been taller than others in terms of the population as a whole. The second study attempted to ascertain whether the Jews were indeed shorter than the non-Jews among students attending higher-level schools.

The height of men reaching conscription age in 1913

Materials and methods

The only source from which it is theoretically possible to ascertain the height of all Jewish and Christian men are the conscription registers in which the individual

52 The only person to investigate Jewish stature after 1920 in the Horthy era was the racial anthropologist László Apor of Budapest University, who took measurements of first-year and third-year university students in the 1937/38 and 1938/9 academic years. He published the findings for Jews and non-Jews separately, without making any comparisons between the two groups. However, from his tabulated results it is possible to calculate that, in the years leading up to the Holocaust, non-Jewish university students in the capital city were taller.

53 The same is true for the sole known survey of the post-1920 period.

results of medical examinations were recorded.⁵⁴ I analysed all extant conscription registers from 1913, the last year of peacetime before World War I, relating to the post-1920 territory of the country. On reaching conscription age—that is, in the calendar year in which they turned twenty-one—men were obliged to appear before the conscription commission of the settlement of which they were registered citizens so that a decision could be made as to whether they were physically fit for military service.⁵⁵ One element of the medical examination was the measurement of the height of potential recruits, without their shoes, by a military doctor with the assistance of a sergeant.⁵⁶ In 1913, men born in 1892 reached military age, thus the individual height data in the examined conscription registers provide information on nutritional conditions roughly from the decade either side of the turn of the century.

But do the height data contained in the conscription registers really give an accurate picture, at least in terms of a specific age group of men in its entirety, of the difference in stature between Jews and non-Jews? According to the 1912 Defence Act, the conscription was general; i.e., on reaching the age of twenty-one all men were obliged to report for military service. However, the small number of young men who already belonged to military units at the time of reaching conscription age as volunteers or as students at military schools did not have to present themselves for medical examination, nor did those who were deemed clearly unfit for service: amputees, those who were deaf and mute, those who were blind in both eyes, etc.⁵⁷ In other words, it can be argued that a conscription register presents the heights of almost the entire given age group of men in a certain region.

The conscription registers were compiled according to conscription district. Each administrative district and town corresponded to one conscription district.⁵⁸ The registers are available from 1913 for 38 conscription districts. Fifteen of these were made up of towns, and the remainder villages. An analysis of this material provides information on the height of around 16,100 men of identical age, along with their religion, 12.2 percent of whom were Jews.

Results and discussion

The findings show that Jewish potential recruits, while they would not be considered at all stalwart by today's standards, were decidedly tall compared to the contemporary average (Table 8). In the fragment of Hungary for which conscription registers

54 For a Europe-wide history of the conscription examination, see Hartmann, *The Body Populace*, 69–92.

55 Act XXX of 1912 § 16–17.

56 *A véderőről szóló törvény*, 216, 218, 587.

57 *A véderőről szóló törvény*, 160, 177, 179–81, 190, 196, 215–18, 229.

58 *A véderőről szóló törvény*, 157–58, 493–516, 565–83.

Table 8 Height of men of conscription age in 1913 in Hungary (21 years old, post-1920 territory)

County	Conscription district	Jewish			Non-Jewish														Advantage (+) or disadvantage (-) of Jews in cm
		N	cm		Roman Catholic		Calvinist		Lutheran		Greek Catholic		Eastern Orthodox		Other		Total		
					N	cm	N	cm	N	cm	N	cm	N	cm	N	cm	N	cm	
Baranya	Pécs tív.	27	167.7	245	168.0	10	168.7	6	169.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	261	168.1	-0.4
Bács-Bodrog	Baja tív.	20	168.2	125	168.0	1	159.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	165.7	-	129	167.9	+0.3
Borsod	Miskolci j.	21	166.7	225	165.1	139	164.0	16	165.8	47	164.7	-	-	-	-	-	427	164.7	+1.0
	Miskolc tív.	67	166.5	86	167.8	71	165.8	15	170.7	2	170.5	-	-	-	-	-	174	167.3	
Csanád	Battonyai j.	4	165.3	205	165.8	26	163.9	7	167.4	2	172.0	57	167.0	-	-	-	297	166.0	
	Makó rtv.	24	166.7	105	164.8	170	165.1	3	163.3	18	163.1	1	168.0	-	-	-	297	164.8	+0.6
	Mező-kovácsházai j.	5	163.2	186	165.4	17	166.8	30	165.4	-	-	1	176.0	-	-	-	234	165.6	
	Nagylaki j.	6	167.7	109	166.4	5	166.6	76	166.0	23	165.9	55	165.5	-	-	-	268	166.1	
Csongrád	Hódmező-vásárhely tív.	14	169.9	159	166.3	389	165.2	9	166.8	1	164	6	162.3	4	166.3		568	165.5	+4.5
Győr	Győr tív.	40	167.7	202	167.9	8	166.9	27	166.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	237	167.7	
	Pusztai j.	6	168.0	273	165.8	48	163.3	21	167.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	342	165.5	+1.6
	Tósziget-csilizközi j.	8	168.0	343	165.4	12	165.6	19	167.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	374	165.5	
Hajdú	Debrecen tív.	47	166.9	72	166.8	379	164.1	4	166.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	455	164.5	+2.4
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Túrkeve rtv.	2	162.5	13	163.5	131	163.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	144	163.7	-1.2

County	Conscription district	Jewish				Non-Jewish																Advantage (+) or disadvantage (-) of Jews in cm
		N		cm		Roman Catholic		Calvinist		Lutheran		Greek Catholic		Eastern Orthodox		Other		Total				
Veszprém	Devecseri j.	7	167.6	309	165.0	43	165.8	45	164.6	-	-	-	-	1	166.0	379	165.0	+2.6				
	Keszthelyi j.	8	166.6	247	165.6	1	168.0	1	180.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	249	165.7					
	Nagykanizsa rtv.	45	168.3	152	166.3	-	-	3	171.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	155	166.4					
	Pacsai j.	7	167.6	301	165.4	-	-	1	172.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	302	165.4	+1.1				
Zala	Zalaegerszeg rtv.	13	163.8	69	169.4	2	175.3	1	166.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	169.5					
	Villages	257	166.9	6341	165.6	756	164.7	732	166.0	74	165.4	118	166.2	5	164.8	8026	165.5	+1.4				
Total	Towns with a council	128	167.8	678	166.3	552	165.2	15	166.0	18	163.1	1	168.0	2	159.5	1266	165.8	+2.0				
	Towns with municipal rights	236	167.3	1016	167.6	857	164.8	152	167.6	3	168.3	9	163.4	4	166.3	2041	166.4	+0.9				
	Budapest	1341	168.0	2334	168.7	245	167.6	201	168.4	4	163.3	9	171.3	13	166.6	2806	168.5	-0.5				
	Hungary	1962	167.8	10369	166.5	2410	165.1	1100	166.7	99	165.0	137	166.4	24	165.6	14139	166.3	+1.5				

Notes: j. = járás (administrative district, which consists exclusively of villages), rtv. = rendezett tanácsú város (town with a council), szfv. = székesfőváros (capital city), tiv. = törvényhatósági jogú város (town with municipal rights)

Sources: MNL OL X4304; B 920. 95. Baja város; MNL OL X4296. B 688. 55. Battonyai járás; MNL OL X4285. B 438. 38. Biai járás; MNL OL X4284. B 329. 108–109. Budapest város; MNL OL X4305. B 948. 42. Csomai járás; MNL OL X4299. B34/2. 43. Debrecen város; MNL OL X4302. B 830. 11. Devecseri járás; MNL OL X4285. B 449. 46. Gödöllői járás; MNL OL X4301. B 799. 44. Győr város; MNL OL X4295. B 635. 45. Hódmezővásárhely város; MNL OL X4305. B 943. 45. Kapuvári járás; MNL OL X4303. B 845. 42. Keszthelyi járás; MNL OL X4297. B 702. 16. Kiskunfélegyházi járás; MNL OL X4297. B 706. 38. Kiskunhalas város; MNL OL X4285. B 450. 4. Kispesti járás; MNL OL X4294. B 592. 45. Kőszegi járás; MNL OL X4296. B 681. 47. Makó város; MNL OL X4296. B 693. 38–39. Mezőkovácsházi járás; MNL OL X4300. B 766. 148. Miskolci járás; MNL OL X4300. B 749. 57. Miskolc város; MNL OL X4285. B 457. 35. Monori járás; MNL OL X4303. B 833. 7. Nagykanizsa város; MNL OL X4285. B 461. 27. Nagykáta járás; MNL PML NF V. 276. f. 51. Nagykőrös város; MNL OL X4296. B 666. 20. Nagylaki járás; MNL OL X4303. B 838. 30. Pacsai járás; MNL OL X4304. B 854. 65. Pécs város; MNL OL X4285. B 471. 44. Pomázi járás; MNL OL X4301. B 807. 52. Püspöki járás; MNL OL X4294. B 595. 15. Sárvári járás; MNL OL X4305. B 927. 92. Sopron város; MNL OL X4294. B 601. 38. Szombathely város; MNL OL X4301. B 814. 33. Tószigetcsillagközi járás; MNL OL X4288. B 538. 45. Túrkeve város; MNL OL X4285. B 480. 48. Váci járás; MNL OL X4294. B 599. 5. Vasvári járás; MNL TML IV. 417. d. 63. Völgységi járás 1913; MNL OL X4303. B 846. 28. köt. Zalaegerszeg város.

from the 1913 draft are available, twenty-one-year-old Jewish men grew to 167.8 cm, making them taller than the young men of any other religion.⁵⁹ The non-Jews were on average 1.5 cm shorter than the Jews. Among the Christians, the Lutherans were the tallest, although even they were over 1 cm shorter than the Jews.

But just how universal was this observed pattern? Was the Jewish height advantage based merely on exceptional results or a larger population of one or two specific regions? The finding that the Jews were taller than the Christians was widespread. We have data from at least one conscription district in a total of fourteen different counties, and in just three counties were the Jews reported as being shorter than the other candidates. In two of these three cases, the difference was minimal. And from each of these three counties, only a single conscription register is available—in other words, the Jewish average in the three counties is based on measurements of an extremely small number of young men (Table 8).

However, the extent of the height difference between the Jews and Christians varied according to the type of settlement (Table 8). As a general rule, the bigger the settlement the taller were both the Jews and the non-Jews living there,⁶⁰ while at the same time the superiority of the Jews in terms of height was smaller. The Jews were the furthest ahead in villages and small towns (so-called towns with a council). The difference did not even reach 1 cm in the bigger provincial towns (towns with municipal rights). The conscription registers for the capital city, however, show the Jewish men reaching military age to be half a centimetre shorter than the others.⁶¹ Since data for Budapest are by chance strongly overrepresented in our database—that is, in Hungary as a whole the proportion of the population not living in the capital was bigger⁶² than in the fraction of Hungary for which the 1913 conscription registers are available—the height advantage of the Jews may well have been bigger in the whole of Hungary than that suggested by our data.

59 For data for the whole country undifferentiated by religion, see Nemeskéri et al., *A 18 éves sorköteles fiatalok*, 84–86.

60 Cp. Scheiber, “Untersuchungen über den mittleren Wuchs,” 257; B. Bodzsár, “A Review of Hungarian Studies on Growth and Physique,” 144.

61 The fact that according to the conscription register for the capital city the Jews were slightly shorter does not necessarily mean that the Jews were shorter within Budapest society. Those who were obliged to present themselves before the Budapest conscription committee were not those who were living in Budapest, but those who had legal residence in the municipality of Budapest (Act XXX of 1912 § 17; *A véderőről szóló törvény...*, 180–81, 186–88, 193–94). There is a good chance that the more peripheral segments of Budapest society, comprising new arrivals and those staying in the city temporarily (e. g. domestic servants, students and casual labourers) did not have legal residence in the capital. The conscription registers thus bring to light only the fact that, within the part of Budapest society with permanent residence, the Jews were shorter than the non-Jews.

62 *Az 1920. évi népszámlálás*, 10.

Table 9 Height of male students in nine secondary school
(1886/1887–1915/1916, post-1920 territory of Hungary)

Age (years)	Jewish		Non-Jewish		Advantage (+) or disadvantage (–) of Jews in cm
	N	Average height (cm)	N	Average height (cm)	
10 or younger	57	131.6	150	136.2	-4.6
11	128	133.8	373	136.4	-2.6
12	118	138.0	459	140.2	-2.2
13	151	145.9	529	146.2	-0.3
14	219	153.6	768	155.3	-1.7
15	278	160.7	894	161.6	-0.9
16	301	164.7	895	166.5	-1.8
17	254	167.4	748	168.9	-1.6
18	114	169.3	416	169.7	-0.4
19 or older	32	166.6	261	169.3	-2.7

Sources: see the references of Bolgár, “Az erőmérési táblák: keletkezéstörténet, forráskritika, leírás.”

The height of secondary-school children (1886–1916)

What form did the difference in stature between Jews and Christians take in that sphere to which a great many Jews had succeeded in gaining access—that is, in the upper strata of society? Were the Jews in Hungary taller in this environment as well, or precisely the opposite, as suggested by the contemporary examinations of secondary-school pupils and university students?

Materials and methods

Large amounts of data are available regarding the height of secondary-school male pupils from the so-called physical fitness assessment tables. In the one-and-a-half decades or so either side of the turn of the century, typically over the course of several years, individual secondary schools published anthropometric data and data related to sporting achievements in tabular format in their annual reports, based on measurements carried out by physical education teachers at the beginning and end of the academic year. The contents of the tables varied, although they generally included the height, and in an ideal case also the age, of each individual pupil, while the pupils' religious affiliation can be identified from the lists of the students and their grades published in the annual reports.

Results and discussion

Having analysed all the secondary-school physical aptitude assessment tables that contained both the body height and religious affiliation of pupils in the post-1920 territory of the country, I found that in only two schools were Christian pupils not taller on average than their Jewish counterparts.⁶³ Nine schools,⁶⁴ from more than 7,100 cases, also reported the age of pupils: in these cases, the Jewish pupils were generally around 2 cm shorter than the non-Jewish pupils of the same age (Table 9).⁶⁵ In these schools and in eight others⁶⁶ the age of approximately 3,400 more pupils was not recorded, only the school year to which they belonged. If we assume that all of these pupils belonged to the school year appropriate for their age, and, with this assumption in mind, examine the height of children in all seventeen schools, we still find that the Jews were shorter: in fact, the difference is now even bigger, at 2.5 cm (Table 10). If we calculate the heights of the members of the different Christian denominations separately, we find that the tallest secondary-school pupils were generally the Lutherans, while the shortest were the Jews.

Why might Jewish secondary-school pupils have been shorter than non-Jews, if the Jews were taller outside the walls of the schools? One possibility is that the Jewish pupils were less well-off than the Christians, since the less affluent among the Jews sent their children to school as well. The other possibility is that the Jewish pupils were shorter than the non-Jewish pupils because, although on average their income was higher, income inequalities were more pronounced in this context. In this case there were many Jewish pupils who attained their maximum height due to their parents' comfortable financial circumstances, and a significant proportion of the family's wealth was not 'embodied' in their children, thus these Jewish boys were not taller than their Christian counterparts to the same extent as they were richer. However, many Jewish secondary-school pupils lived in less affluent circumstances than the Christian pupils, which meant difficulties in meeting their nutritional needs.

63 For the BMI of one part of this population, broken down by religion, see Bolgár, "Puhány zsidók vagy részrehajló tornatanárok," 196–97.

64 The following secondary schools were studied: Békés, Budapest (8th district), Debrecen (Piarist), Gyöngyös, Kecskemét (Calvinist), Magyaróvár, Makó, Szolnok, and Zalaegerszeg.

65 Where the reports give the age of the pupils to the precise half-year, I have rounded the age up to the nearest whole year.

66 The following secondary schools are included: Budapest (1st district), Budapest (2nd district), Jászberény, Kecskemét (Piarist), Miskolc (royal Catholic), Szekszárd, Vác, Eger (public).

Table 10 Height of male students in seventeen secondary school
(1886/1887–1915/1916, post-1920 territory of Hungary)

Age (years)	Jewish		Non-Jewish		Advantage (+) or disadvantage (–) of Jews in cm
	N	Average height (cm)	N	Average height (cm)	
10 or younger	57	131.6	150	136.2	-4.6
11	160	134.1	560	137.4	-3.3
12	139	138.3	528	140.6	-2.3
13	176	145.7	599	146.6	-0.9
14	455	151.7	1015	155.1	-3.4
15	399	159.2	1310	161.4	-2.2
16	437	163.7	1337	166.4	-2.7
17	350	167.1	1038	168.8	-1.7
18	370	168.1	1216	170.3	-2.2
19 or older	32	166.6	261	169.3	-2.7

Note: The age of 3,444 students is estimated on the basis of the school year to which they belonged.

Sources: see the references of Bolgár, “Az erőmérési táblák: keletkezéstörténet, forráskritika, leírás.”

Conclusion

Based on what we know, the Jews, at least at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, were on average taller than the non-Jews. If this was not caused by some hitherto entirely unknown genetic difference between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations, then it must have been owing to differences in cumulative net nutrition between the two groups. Such an advantage in terms of childhood nutrition, however, suggests that the Jews were on average wealthier than the non-Jews.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, if the average income of the Jews was higher, it cannot simply have been caused by the fact that there were a large number of Jews among the few who were super rich. Instead, we should conclude that the Jews en masse enjoyed more favourable financial circumstances than the Christians en masse, since the Jews proved to be taller despite the fact that the significant proportion of the wealth of the very rich that is not capable of being converted into height has no impact on the average height of a group.

⁶⁷ The high church taxes in the Jewish communities may also have contributed to the height difference between Jews and non-Jews, since these taxes were largely borne by wealthy Jews, and predominantly used to support poor Jews, thus a proportion of the wealth of the rich that could not be converted into height went towards improving the nutrition of those in need. At the same time, the difference may have been reduced by the production cost of kosher meat, as a consequence of which at least the practising Jews paid an additional charge for their protein.

The higher average stature of the Jews, however, was not necessarily an every-day experience, thus it is not certain that they were also the tallest among the people with whom they were in regular contact. Indeed, the secondary-school studies suggest that Jewish students—that is, the tallest and most successful among the Jews—were shorter than their non-Jewish peers.

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Marija Gimbutas 100

A ‘Grande Dame’ of Twentieth-Century Prehistory and Her Connections with Hungarian Archaeology

Eszter Bánffy 

Römisch-Germanische Kommission, German Archaeological Institute, Palmengartenstraße 10–12
60325 Frankfurt am Main, Germany; eszter.banffy@dainst.de

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Prehistoric archaeologist and cultural anthropologist Marija Gimbutas was born exactly a century ago. Although she left us over a quarter of a century ago (she passed away in 1994), her person and her still controversial ideas continue to attract considerable interest, reflected both by the acclaim and the harsh critique that her work and theories have received and continue to receive. In light of recent archaeogenetic findings and their interpretation, the debate has even intensified over the past few years. Despite the storm of controversy around her, she was undoubtedly one of the most influential archaeologists of her time in both Europe and North America. Her life and work have been remembered on countless occasions and in many studies. However, few of the authors of these recollections appear to have been aware of her long-standing professional and personal relationship with Hungary. Since I had the good fortune of meeting her a few times in Budapest and elsewhere in Europe, this short commemorative piece will also cover these aspects of Marija Gimbutas’ life.

She was born in Vilnius as Marija Birutė Alseikaitė; she started to study archaeology at Kaunas University, partaking in prehistoric excavations from the very beginning of her studies (Figure 1). She continued her studies at Vilnius University until World War II engulfed Lithuania, with all its consequences, which no doubt played a role in her early graduation in 1941. Freshly married and with a baby girl, she managed to flee, still during the war, across Austria to Germany. She defended her PhD thesis at Tübingen University¹ under the Lithuanian version of her maiden and married name: Marija Alseikaitė Gimbutienė. A few years later, when publishing her book, *The Balts*, in London, she changed her name to Gimbutas, the neutral western variant.

1 Gimbutas, “Die Bestattung.”

In 1949, the young family received permission to settle down in the United States. The move to New York marked the first step in Marija Gimbutas' remarkable career in the New World. Soon after their arrival, Gimbutas began working for the Department of Anthropology of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University in Boston/Cambridge, where she spent the next fifteen years. Although it must have been difficult to navigate the male-dominated acropolis of the Ivy League, especially for a woman with a

strong Eastern European accent, her time there has been vividly remembered by later professors like Clifford Charles Lamberg-Karlovsky and Ofer Bar-Yosef, who mentioned her impact on the department even as late as 2008 when I was a Fulbright visiting scholar there for a semester. They particularly highlighted her commitment to combining the Baltic and Eastern European cultural heritage with prehistoric Europe (or, to use the term she coined, Old Europe, covering Southeast Europe and the Carpathian Basin), and with the professional network of the West.

Gimbutas' sky-rocketing career took off when she was invited to California and started to work as professor of European archaeology and Indo-European studies at UCLA. As if this combination was not unusual enough, she also gave courses of lectures on subjects other than the Neolithic and Bronze Age of Europe, such as Eastern European (Baltic and Slavic) mythology. She referred to Lithuanian, her mother tongue, as being the most archaic living Indo-European language, closely related to Sanskrit, ancient Greek, and the language of the Avesta. She drew from ancient mythology and its surviving elements in Lithuanian folklore in her interpretations of the prehistoric world.² This phase of her career marked the beginning of her acclaim as an archaeologist, a researcher *sensu stricto* in the academic world—as well as an imaginative story-teller, poised halfway between hard evidence and fanciful visions based on early beliefs, myths, ritual practices, and religion that survived from the Neolithic to later times.³ But first, let us focus on Marija Gimbutas, the erudite and prodigious prehistoric archaeologist.



Figure 1 Maria Gimbutas 100
(a stamp from Lithuania)

2 Gimbutas, *The Balts*.

3 Until as late as the twentieth century AD according to some of her texts: cf. Gimbutas, *The Civilization of the Goddess*, 318–21.

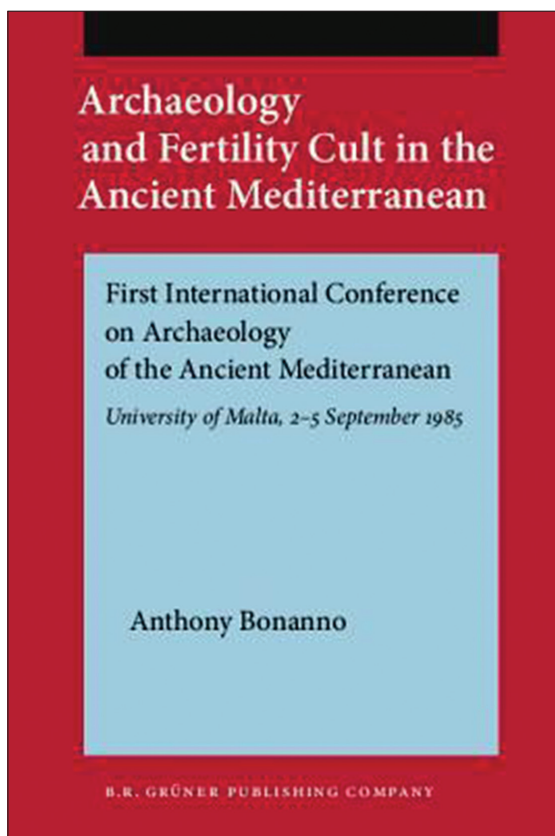


Figure 2 The Malta conference announcement in 1985 (author's private collection)

The first large excavation project followed after discussions with the renowned Yugoslavian archaeologist Alojz Benac, a devoted scholar who represented traditional German-style archaeology and museology in Sarajevo. In the Yugoslavia of the 1960s, the fact that the city was Bosnia's capital was no more than a minor, interesting historical detail. The excavation of the Obre site stemmed from these connections. This was Gimbutas' first encounter with Hungarian specialists: namely, János Nemeskéri and Imre Lengyel, who were responsible for analysing and assessing the human skeletal remains, and Sándor Bökönyi, the first Hungarian archaeozoologist, then based at the Hungarian National Museum, who analysed the faunal assemblages. Gimbutas and Bökönyi had met not long before the excavation at UCLA, where

Bökönyi had spent an academic year on a Ford fellowship. Other meaningful names who played a long-standing role in Marija Gimbutas' network also appeared in the final excavation report: Michael Herity from Dublin, Ernestine Elster from UCLA, as well as Jane and Colin Renfrew. Her visit to the Sitagroi site, whose excavation was directed by Colin Renfrew, led to fruitful cooperation between them—their mutual respect lasted for quite a long time.

The next challenge for Gimbutas was the Anza/Anzabegovo site, located in the southeast of Yugoslavia at the time, whose occupation began around 6500 BC, centuries earlier than Obre, and was promising in terms of potential pre-Neolithic occupation layers, an oft-discussed subject at the time, and a moot point and the subject of heated debate between the Greek Dimitrios Theokharis and the Serbian-German Vladimir Miložić.⁴ Gimbutas was correct in claiming that there was no archaeological

4 Reingruber, *Die Argissa Magula*, with further literature.

evidence for anything other than a fully sedentary life based on agricultural subsistence. The different views on the ‘preceramic’ Neolithic were undoubtedly one of the many reasons for Miložić’s furious reaction to the monographic publication of the Anza site.⁵ In his long and vituperous book review, he mocked Gimbutas’ excavation method as ‘tourist archaeology’ and even went as far as to claim that the word *Anza* meant ‘dumb’ in Turkish (which hardly seems to be the case).⁶ Her UCLA team at Anza included, among other people, Judith Rasson, who became a long-time and devoted fellow of the Central European University in Budapest, and Charles A. Schwartz, who participated in the excavation of Hungarian Neolithic tell sites such as Öcsöd-Kováshalom and in the 1980s defended his PhD thesis on faunal remains in Budapest.⁷ The effort to involve several experts specialising in lithic, botanical, and faunal assemblages despite the small datasets proved to be a pioneering initiative that eventually became standard practice in later excavation reports. The fieldwork at Anzabegovo ultimately came to an end due to the lack of amicable cooperation with Milutin and Draga Garašanin, but also for logistical reasons. This gave Gimbutas the opportunity to turn her attention to Achilleion in Thessaly. She started the project with Theocharis in the early 1970s: the site yielded not only additional evidence on the Early and Middle Neolithic but also a rich assemblage of female figurines that she later published.⁸ All in all, the variety of excavations, the visits to countless sites, and the discussions with archaeologists based or working in South-East Europe proved to be highly instrumental in shaping her vision of ‘Old Europe.’

An interesting in-depth perspective on the connections between Gimbutas and Hungarian prehistorians can be obtained from her long correspondence with Sándor Bökönyi. The archive of the (former Academic) Institute of Archaeology in Budapest hosts thirty-eight letters written by Bökönyi between 1968 and 1987,⁹ which clearly reveal how intensive their working relations were, and how many faunal assemblages Bökönyi evaluated from her excavations across South-East Europe. This correspondence also offers insight into the broad and impressive academic network Gimbutas created and maintained with Bökönyi, Colin Renfrew, and the Italian Maurizio Tosi, a mutual friend, as well as many other colleagues in the former Yugoslavia. Further connections between Gimbutas and the Hungarian archaeologists of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s are also apparent from the letters. Bökönyi regularly updated Gimbutas about the colleagues she knew: on the death of László Vértes and

5 Gimbutas, ed., *Neolithic Macedonia*.

6 Miložić, “Rezension zu Marija Gimbutas,” 548.

7 Schwartz, “Beginnings of Cattle Keeping.”

8 Gimbutas, Winn, and Shimabuku, *Achilleion*.

9 I would like to express my gratitude to Gabriella Kulcsár, director of the Institute of Archaeology, for kindly providing access to Bökönyi’s correspondence in the Archives of the Institute.



Figure 3 Malta, 1985: Maria Gimbutas and the author (author's private collection)

Gyula Gazdapusztai; on the course of the excavations conducted by Ottó Trogmayer, Nándor Kalicz, and János Makkay; on Ida Kutzián's resignation as the head of the Interdisciplinary Department; and also on his own career. The personal tone of these letters, which also contain events from his private life, reflects how their relationship went beyond work and that Gimbutas was not only a colleague but a close friend, with deep ties to Hungarian archaeology for three decades.

Aside from inviting various specialists to participate in the assessment of the finds from her excavations, Gimbutas was also open to novel methods such as dendrochronology and radiocarbon-based absolute dating. With hindsight, it must have been difficult to advocate these

methods of 'New Archaeology' that came under persistent attack (among others, by Vladimir Milojčić and the Hungarian János Makkay) at a time when the radiocarbon method was still undergoing its birth pangs, lacking the refining techniques that enable precise dating in the twenty-first century. However, her firm belief in combining traditional cultural historical methods with the natural sciences was truly pioneering, pointing forward to a far wider perspective than existed at the time of the 'New (Processual) Archaeology'.

With her profound knowledge of Eastern European sites, archaeological collections, and publications, Gimbutas was an outstanding figure in the Anglo-Saxon academic community. She arrived in Germany and the United States with sound knowledge that she enriched by several study trips to the Soviet Union, making her virtually the only scholar in the West who was personally familiar with the prehistoric finds that fill the museum storerooms of the smallest towns. Moreover, she was able to read all the journal articles and small excavation reports published in Russian, Belarussian, Ukrainian and the Baltic languages. These capabilities were coupled with her unique visual memory: she was able to describe, for example, the decoration of figurines and models of houses down to the tiniest detail, even many years

after onsite visits—I greatly enjoyed our talks about inaccessible finds that she brought alive through her descriptions. She published comprehensive overviews of Eastern European prehistory in which she made this barely accessible knowledge available to others: her first monograph¹⁰ was published during her years at Harvard; a few years later, she wrote her next book.¹¹

This overarching knowledge of both the Central and the Eastern European Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Bronze Age coupled with her linguistic expertise about Lithuanian shaped her interest in the origin of the Proto-Indo-European population: she linked the emergence of these groups, which established the Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Celtic languages in Europe, to the massive westward migration of the Kurgan people from the southern Russian and Ukrainian steppe regions. The kurgans are burial mounds, representing a mortuary custom that mainly existed among the local communities. Her studies on the Eastern European Corded Ware culture (*Schnurkeramik*) also fit into this concept. At UCLA, she held lecture courses on the above themes and was also one of the founding editors of the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, a special issue of which featured all her studies on the Kurgan theory after her death, collected and edited by two of her former students.¹²

Newly analysed aDNA samples,¹³ which appear to have fully vindicated Gimbutas' Kurgan theory, evoked opposing reactions among the archaeologists of the early twenty-first century: some saw the genetic results as finally doing justice to Kurgan theory, no matter how late in coming, while others fiercely rejected the implications of the DNA analyses and hurled accusations of 'diffusionism' and called them 'Gimbutas kind of rubbish' (for example, in the EAA 2013 section in Pilsen). Recent discussions have shed more light on the differences between the genetic

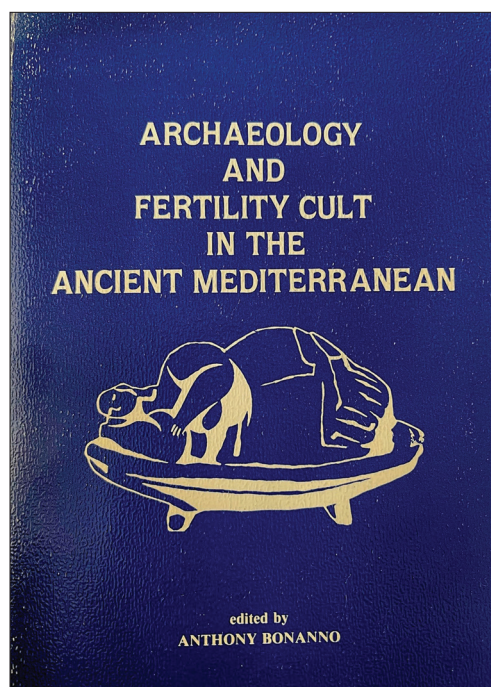


Figure 4 The publication of the conference, in Amsterdam (author)

10 Gimbutas, *The Prehistory of Eastern Europe*.

11 Gimbutas, *Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe*.

12 Gimbutas, Dexter, and Jones-Bley, eds, *The Kurgan Culture*.

13 Haak et al., "Massive Migration from the Steppe."

record, providing data on biological roots, but contributing little to issues of culture and group identity or Gimbutas' Kurgan invasion theory, which she believed was connected with the decline of Old Europe ruled by the Great Goddess.

At this point, we have arrived at Marija Gimbutas' other *persona* that existed alongside the rigorous prehistoric archaeologist; the same person who created a self-contained pantheon filled with divine beings, mainly female goddesses, represented by the great variety of small figurines in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Old Europe. The notion of Old Europe itself was principally based on her rich field experience in Neolithic Southeast Europe. Her first detailed study on this pantheon was *Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe*,¹⁴ in the book's next edition, the title was reversed as *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*,¹⁵ and she continued to publish increasingly more elaborate and imaginative presentations of the many forms of the omnipotent Great Goddess. The archaeological finds were vested with her interpretative fantasy and immense knowledge of cultural anthropology and folklore. In her descriptions of various aspects of the Great Goddess, such as the Bird Goddess or the Snake Goddess, she did not follow the strict ladder of inferences demanded by the discipline. The Pantheon, as well as the peaceful, agricultural, flourishing, woman-ruled, and woman-controlled Neolithic and Chalcolithic world that according to Gimbutas was not marred by war or conflict, was nothing short of a paradise. This paradise was lost with the arrival of the mobile, pastoral, male-controlled groups of the Kurgan culture which wielded metal weapons and worshipped an aggressive male god, and who conquered and brought an end to the peaceful millennia of Old Europe and introduced patriarchal societies.

It becomes apparent that there is an immense gap between Marija Gimbutas the erudite scholar with her sharp mind and argumentation on East European prehistory, and the story-teller who elaborated on the pantheon of Old Europe, whose powerful vision simply had to be believed as it was. She consistently ignored male or, more often, sexless Neolithic figurines; she was to all appearances oblivious of fortified settlements, human and animal sacrifices, and signs of conflict. In contrast to her views, social inequality has been attested at many sites, principally mortuary ones: suffice it here to merely reference the Varna burials with their riches of gold jewellery and other precious grave goods accorded to the chosen ones within the community.

Perhaps the most expressive way of describing this epistemology can be found in the last, concluding chapter on the continuity and transformations of the Goddess in the Indo-European and Christian eras in her book, *The Civilisation of the Goddess*:

14 Gimbutas, *Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe*.

15 Gimbutas, *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*.

“The dethronement of this truly formidable goddess [...] is marked by blood and is the greatest shame of the Christian Church. [...] This was the beginning of the dangerous convulsion of androcratic rule which [...] reached the peak in Stalin’s East Europe”.¹⁶

The undertones of a ‘paradise lost’ can certainly be felt in this text, underscoring a point made by Sarunas Milisauskas, who explained the pantheon as partly originating from Gimbutas’ roots in ancient Baltic myths.¹⁷

The conference *Archaeology and Fertility Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean* held in Malta in September 1985 was a milestone in several respects (Figures 2–4). Organised by Anthony Bonanno and hosted by the University of Malta in Valletta, the conference was attended by some one hundred participants, including linguists, anthropologists, and archaeologists, mainly from the United States, but also from several European and African countries. Among them were Colin Renfrew and Marija Gimbutas. By that time, her *The Goddesses and Gods* book had become widely known and was both admired and the target of criticism. Gimbutas was accompanied and surrounded by a large group of feminists, mainly from California, who followed a special esoteric ‘New Age’ religion with the ancient Great Goddess at its centre. These women assisted her and worshipped her, much like a high priestess would be idolised. ‘Skeptics’ were also present, and given that the latter included all the Neolithic specialists, the divide appeared to be between professionals and amateurs. Colin Renfrew delivered his introductory keynote lecture in this rather heated atmosphere: he emphatically aligned himself with Marija Gimbutas, the esteemed and knowledgeable prehistorian, the great visionary, the expert on Eastern European archaeological heritage. Renfrew’s words clearly had a major impact on the audience.¹⁸

In the aftermath of the Malta conference, Gimbutas travelled through Hungary a few times, usually when returning from Greece. On these occasions, first at the request of Sándor Bökönyi, for whom I was working as an assistant and PhD student at the time, and later in my own right, I showed her some of the highlights of Budapest. After she heard about the theme of my dissertation, Neolithic figurines in their archaeological context, she began to increasingly concentrate on this area. Later, based on the PhD I defended, she invited me to the second Indo-European conference she was organising. It was planned to be held in Dubrovnik, but due to the conflict unfolding in Yugoslavia at that time she accepted the invitation of Michael

16 Gimbutas, *The Civilization of the Goddess*, 319.

17 Milisauskas, *European Prehistory*.

18 Cp. Renfrew’s study in the conference volume: Renfrew, “The Prehistoric Maltese Achievement,” 121.



Figure 5 An ultimate photo from Newgrange, 1989 (M. Everson, author's copy)

Herity, her old colleague, to move it to Dublin in September 1989. Although a major portion of the presentations were on Indo-European linguistics, the tension between proponents of the arguments for and against Gimbutas' Kurgan theory was palpable. She discussed new finds and her interpretation regarding their place in the Great Goddess pantheon with me, but I could clearly sense her disappointment when I was reluctant to agree. Our silent disagreement took place in a similar way to the more significant debates between Gimbutas and Ernestine Elster, who wrote that she eventually chose flint techniques as the theme of her PhD to avoid a confrontation with Gimbutas, given their different opinions.¹⁹

We talked a lot during an excursion to Newgrange and other megalithic monuments in the Boyne Valley, but I often had to step aside when people wanted to take a photo of her. She suddenly turned to me and said that they were taking the pictures because they thought that they could well be the last photos of her (Figure 5). This was our last meeting. She died after a long-lasting illness in 1994.

Marija Gimbutas came to be an icon of feminist archaeology even within her lifetime and remained one after her passing away, not so much because she was a female scholar, but mainly owing to her 'Great Goddess' theory. Feminist archaeologists, who have been critical both of male dominance and modern western cognition and norms among archaeologists, and have also challenged mainstream views on gender roles and female agency in prehistory, found these to have been major issues in the life and work of Gimbutas. She herself might not have been a feminist archaeologist, but as has been alluded to above, she was perfect for being made into a carefully constructed and symbolic icon. Her views were criticised,²⁰ as was her vision of a stable world with rigid gender roles.²¹ Yet, ultimately, she was a scholar with an unrivalled knowledge of prehistory, despite her controversial views on 'Old

19 Elster, "Marija Gimbutas."

20 See e.g. Tringham, "The Mesolithic of Southeastern Europe"; Meskell, "Goddesses, Gimbutas."

21 Fagan, "A Sexist View on Prehistory."

Europe' and her fascinating but initially rejected theory on the invasion of Indo-European-speaking groups from the east. A great mind, whose mistakes nevertheless inspired research. Above all, she was a warm and emotional person, always with a friendly smile on her face and a never-fading curiosity.

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Patterns of the Circulation of Scientific Knowledge in Hungary, 1770–1830

National Research, Development and Innovation Office,
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Lilla Krász 

Institute of History, Department of Early Modern History, Eötvös Loránd University, H-1088
Budapest, Múzeum krt. 6–8., Hungary; krasz.lilla@btk.elte.hu

Abstract. During the past six years (2016–2020, including a nineteen-month extension due to the COVID-19 pandemic, lasting until the end of 2022), the project team has been working on seven fields of knowledge (history; classical philology/aesthetics; philosophy; statistics; anthropology; medicine; agricultural sciences), investigating how and through which personal, institutional, and media channels different types of knowledge have been transformed into scientific disciplines. Each researcher sought to model the respective patterns of knowledge through an analysis of hitherto unknown manuscripts and printed texts of various genres characteristic of Hungary’s scientific life between 1770 and 1830 involving epistemic arenas, the technologies of ‘making sciences’, and media tools.

As many as seventy-one publications appeared during the course of the project. These include a monograph and a publication that comprises historical sources in the field of agricultural sciences, and an online publication that consists of a substantial number of sources associated with the above-mentioned disciplines. The proceedings of two international conferences in Hungarian and English, a collection of papers in English, and two in Hungarian should also be noted. All these should be accessible in print and open-access format at the end of 2022.

The synthesis volumes on the processes of development of the seven fields of knowledge into independent disciplines may be utilized as university textbooks or as manuals for researchers. The digital edition of sources (comprising forty-five author’s sheets) was created using open-source Wikibase™ software that can support both text publication and provide the backend database that is needed for data enrichment. It is in an open-source format, making it possible to explore personal names, toponyms, and subject headings according to main and subcategories. We intend to build a network of Hungarian and foreign researchers to extend the system both horizontally and vertically.

Keywords: models of knowledge circulation, transmission and reception of knowledge, the scientific paradigm of Göttingen, *respublica litteraria*, scientific agents, scientific scenes, scientific practices, scientific media, digital anthology of sources

Research purposes, problems, notions, and time span

In the past four decades, the multi-scope study of the internal relationship between the sciences and culture associated with different turns (cultural, practical, linguistic, and critical) has led to a fundamental change in the approach to understanding the spatial and temporal patterns of scientific knowledge production and circulation. In the new historiography of science that has emerged in the wake of these turns, which has increasingly mediated between the humanities and the natural sciences, the concepts employed to interpret goals, causes, intentions, and results—hitherto embedded in the dominant paradigm of development—have been replaced by models that interpret and relativize the complex processes of knowledge production, distribution, and authorization, as well as the phenomena of ruptures, disruptions, upswings, and reversals. Due to this shift in perspective regarding the early modern and modern periods, historians of science have focused on the spatial diffusion and reception of scientific knowledge, its associated social and cultural practices, and abstract content with the use of metaphorical concepts (diffusion, dissemination, transport, export, exchange, flow, circulation, translation, traveling knowledge, and knowledge in transit) when describing the structural characteristics of primarily the Western European region.¹

Our project, which was launched in October 2016 with the participation of five senior researchers, one research fellow, and a PhD student,² aimed to join this

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- 1 Models based on the dichotomy between the European center and the colonial periphery that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s interpreted the spread of scientific knowledge as a linear process; i.e., as a simple export of knowledge from Europe to the colonies; on this, see: Basalla, “The Spread of Western Science”; Said, *Orientalism*. In contrast to these linear models, from the 1980s onwards alternatives emerged that seemed to be well suited to explaining the concepts of knowledge production, diffusion, and acquisition as reciprocal processes, interactions running in parallel, or as dynamic, complex processes that also include local contexts: Werner and Zimmermann, “Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung”; Latour, “Visualisation and Cognition”; Latour, *Science in Action*; Ash, “Wissen- und Wissenschaftstransfer”; Espagne, *Les transferts culturels*; Withers, “The Geography of Scientific Knowledge”; Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*.
 - 2 The members of the project team: Piroska Balogh (literary historian/senior researcher, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Cultural Studies, Department of 18–19th Century Hungarian Literature, Eötvös Loránd University); Tibor Bodnár-Király (political scientist/research fellow, Institute of History, Department of Early Modern History, Eötvös Loránd University); Dezső Gurka (philosopher, historian of science/senior researcher, Faculty of Pedagogy, Gál Ferenc College, Szarvas); Ildikó Sz. Kristóf (anthropologist/senior researcher, Eötvös Loránd Research Network, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Ethnology); Lilla Krász (historian/principal investigator, Institute of History, Department of Early Modern History, Eötvös Loránd University); György Kurucz (historian/senior researcher, Institute of Historical Studies, Department of Early Modern Economic and Education History, Károli Gáspár University

European discourse. Within the framework of this project, we explored how and through which personal, institutional, and media channels individual scientific disciplines were formed from different fields of knowledge (history; classical philology/aesthetics; history of philosophy; political sciences/statistics; ethnology/anthropology; medicine; economics/agricultural sciences). At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the academic discipline emerged throughout Europe as a new scheme that presupposed common assumptions and ideological foundations, common (specialized) linguistic codes, independent publishing activity capable of representing disciplines within the well-definable network of literates known as the *respublica litteraria*, or in institutionalized form as independent professorships, methodologies, textbook programs, and specialized journals at universities. The general aim of the project was to identify where, what, and how knowledge was produced; by whom and for whom; by which means it was read, compiled, and collected; what this knowledge was used for, and to whom and by what means it was transmitted.

Our research was further enriched by a large number of studies that have appeared in the past two decades primarily in the fields of cultural studies and the history of knowledge and science that focus on the functioning of various early modern and modern European knowledge cultures and the systematization of knowledge, as well as the practices of knowledge production, acquisition, and distribution, the changing uses of its material instruments, the integration of new elements of knowledge and the conscious exclusion or submergence of old ones, and, in general, the different means of preserving traditional knowledge through creating myths.³

The fields of knowledge examined during the project were defined along the lines of the narrative of the *Wissenschaft vom Menschen*, derived from Göttingen.⁴ The narrative seemed to be suitable for capturing a tradition in the history of

of the Reformed Church in Hungary), and Janka Kovács (PhD student, Doctoral School of History, Eötvös Loránd University, who earned her PhD in 2022). Máté Szentkereszti (MA Student, Institute of History, Eötvös Loránd University) also joined the project in 2021, during the extension period.

3 See: Bödeker, Reill, and Schlumbohm, eds, *Wissenschaft als kulturelle Praxis*; Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge*; Frasca-Spada and Jardine, eds, *Books and the Sciences*; Becker and Clark, eds, *Little Tools of Knowledge*; Zedelmaier and Mulsow, eds, *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit*; Gierl, "Kompilation und die Produktion von Wissen"; Stagl, *Eine Geschichte der Neugier*; Heesen and Spary, eds, *Sammeln als Wissen*; Stammen and Weber, eds, *Wissenssicherung*; Collin and Horstmann, eds, *Das Wissen des Staates*; van Dülmen and Rauschenbach, eds, *Macht des Wissens*; Clark, *Academic Charisma*; Brendecke, Friedrich, and Friedrich, eds, *Information der Frühen Neuzeit*; Brockliss, "Science, the Universities"; Steiner, *Die Ordnung der Geschichte*; Holenstein, Steinke and Stuber, eds, *Scholars in Action*.

4 On the concept of "Wissenschaft vom Menschen" see: Bödeker, Büttgen, and Espagne, eds, *Die "Wissenschaft vom Menschen" in Göttingen*, 11–20.

science—, the ‘anthropological turn,’—which facilitated a remarkable change in which the fields of knowledge that display ‘secularized, naturalized, and historicized’ man, the latter’s life-worlds, spaces of action, and the structures thereof were gradually organized into a new system. As we assumed beforehand based on Hungarian secondary literature that deals with narrower segments of the topics,⁵ the Hungarian adaptation of the special educational, research, and methodological program of the University of Göttingen contributed significantly to the spectacular transformation of the system of knowledge: namely, to the division, the approach to science, the conceptual basis, the methodological guidelines, the discourses, and the self-reflection of the seven fields of knowledge studied by the project. The research team therefore identified as a priority the systematic examination of the transfers of varying intensity between the Göttingen ideals of knowledge and scientific practices in the context of the seven fields. What is more, the research also included reconstruction of the processes of the local adaptation, embedding, and appropriation of other influences from different European (Viennese, German, and English) educational centers and other discourse communities that existed either in parallel with or as alternatives to the influence of Göttingen. The mapping of these discursive contexts and the multidirectional and in many cases reciprocal processes of transfer of varying length and breadth—which we consistently refer to as the ‘circulation of knowledge’—helped the research team to describe the hitherto unexplored complexity of a tradition in the history of science that within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy served as a direct precursor to *and* laid the foundations of modern Hungarian science that was to operate independently and autonomously by the end of the nineteenth century.

The time span of our research was defined according to the goals outlined above, taking into consideration some significant (and symbolic) events: the University of Nagyszombat, which later moved to Buda and then Pest, was completed with the establishment of a medical faculty; the first scientific journals published in Hungary appeared in the first decades of the nineteenth century; and the scientific departments of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences were established by 1830. Although the period between the last third of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century is regarded by most historians as the late Enlightenment, associated with its closed system of philosophy and the beginning of modernity, it became clear during our

5 On the reception of the Göttingen ideal of knowledge that informed our research, see: Borzsák, *Budai Ézsaiás*; Dümmerth, “Göttinga és a magyar szellemi élet”; H. Balázs, *Berzeviczy Gergely*; Futaky, *Göttinga*. On the points of contact between the Neohumanism of Göttingen and Hungarian literature see: Csetri, *Egység vagy különbözőség?*; Fried, “Schedius Lajos”; Fórizs, “*Álpeseken Álpesek emelkednek.*” On the elaboration of the Göttingen paradigm, see: Békés, *A hiányzó paradigma*.

research that it is more appropriate to view the latter as a period of transition between paradigms, during which time new discourse communities, new identities, new ways of speaking, and new patterns of cognition driven by curiosity emerged.

The process of implementation: the dissemination of partial results

During the first four years of the project, the six senior researchers conducted extensive research in archives and manuscript archives in Hungarian (Budapest, Debrecen, Sárospatak), Slovakian (Bratislava, Késmárk/Kežmarok), Romanian (Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureș), Austrian (Vienna) and German (Göttingen, Jena, Weimar, Freiberg, Halle) collections in which a remarkably large corpus of sources had assembled—mainly manuscripts, and, to a lesser extent, rare printed sources and other contemporary publications previously unknown in Hungarian and international scholarship. The digitized, transcribed, and thoroughly analyzed sources were the basis for the published journal articles, book chapters, and edited volumes containing workshop proceedings, as well as a digital source anthology and the manuscripts of a comprehensive volume that summarize the results of the project both in Hungarian and English.

During the course of the project, from time to time it was considered important to present our collective results at both Hungarian and international scientific forums, in addition to the individual publications and conference presentations of the researchers. We succeeded in this endeavor by publishing thematic blocks in journals and edited volumes, organizing and co-organizing workshops, holding lectures at the invitation of various professional organizations and educational institutions, and operating a continuously updated bilingual (Hungarian and English) website.⁶

As for the dissemination of the partial results on a common platform, the project team's six researchers published the first results of the project findings in a thematic block in *Századok*. The articles zoomed in on six fields of knowledge (history, statistics, anthropology, economics/agronomics, medicine, and mineralogy), displaying the respective networks and disciplinary and methodological overlaps as well as the interrelationships that exist in relation to the pedagogical concepts connected with the transfers of knowledge, the patterns of the adaptation of abstract content and scientific cognitive practices, and the use of material- and media-related tools which kept early modern Hungarian scholarship in dynamic motion in response to political, social, economic, and cultural needs dictated by Habsburg imperial interests.⁷

6 <http://tudasaramlas.btk.elte.hu/en/>, accessed: 24 October 2022.

7 Krász, "Tudásképzés és tudásközzvetítés"; Balogh, "Koppi Károly"; Bodnár-Király, "Államleírás

The results of the project's second year were summarized in *Kaleidoscope Művelődés-, Tudomány- és Orvostörténeti Folyóirat* [Kaleidoscope Journal of the History of Culture, Science, and Medicine] in a thematic block entitled *The Patterns of the Circulation of Scientific Knowledge in Hungary, 1770–1830*. In this, using the praxeological approach prevalent in the international historiography of science, we focused on practices and methodological perspectives related to the production of knowledge which were decisive in the process of the development of the six fields of knowledge (aesthetics, statistics, history of philosophy, anthropology, medicine, and economics/agronomics) into independent scientific disciplines.⁸ A collection of studies edited by Dezső Gurka, a member of the research team, was published in 2019, the thematic blocks of which examine the transformation of the scientific conceptions of man, and, in this context, the fields of philosophy and anthropology during the eighteenth century. In this volume, each member of the research team published the results of their research.⁹

In 2020, György Kurucz's monograph was published based on the results of his research within the framework of the project. In the volume, he describes the technological journeys, methods of observation, and recording that served as a basis for the production of knowledge and the networks of contacts of Pál Gerics and József Lehrmann, two professors of the Georgikon, the first college of farming in Hungary, founded by Count György Festetics in 1797.¹⁰ Closely related to the monograph, a source anthology was also published in 2020, amounting to forty-two author's sheets, containing a critical edition of selected excerpts from the two travelers' diaries, reports, and letters recorded in real-time or edited and revised subsequently, as well as a selection of Count László Festetics' travel instructions.¹¹

és a » statisztika elmélete«; Sz. Kristóf, "Alexander von Humboldt"; Kurucz, "Peregrinatio oeconomica"; Krász, "Theoria medica és praxis medica"; Gurka, "A 18–19. századi magyar mineralógus peregrináció". See: https://tudasaramlas.btk.elte.hu/images/pdf/studies/szazadok_2017_05.pdf, accessed: 22 October 2022.

8 Balogh, "A magyarországi esztétikai irodalom"; Bodnár-Király, "Államleírás állam nélkül"; Gurka, "Az álom filozófiai értelmezésének"; Sz. Kristóf, "Emlékezet és kánonformálás"; Krász, "Megfigyelve leírni, leírva megfigyelni"; Kurucz, "A »technological journey«". See: <http://www.kaleidoscopehistory.hu/index.php?subpage=kotet&kotetid=56>, accessed: 22 October 2022.

9 Gurka, "The Role of Dream," 172–88; Sz. Kristóf, "The Emergence of World of Ethnography"; Balogh, "Anthropological aspects"; Bodnár-Király, "Anthropology and Human Progression"; Krász, "Casus historia and relatio morborum"; Kurucz, "Theory and Experience". See: https://tudasaramlas.btk.elte.hu/images/pdf/studies/gurka_chan.pdf, accessed: 22 October 2022.

10 Kurucz, "Kedves Hazámfiai".

11 Kurucz, *Technológiai utazás*. See: https://tudasaramlas.btk.elte.hu/images/pdf/sources/kur_tech.pdf, accessed: 22 October 2022.

On May 28–29, 2019, we organized a two-day workshop at the Faculty of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University entitled *Sciences between Tradition and Innovation – Historical Perspectives / Wissenschaften zwischen Tradition und Innovation – historische Perspektiven*, where, besides the members of the research team, other historians of science, medicine, and literature from Hungary, Göttingen, and Vienna presented their results. Focusing on different fields of knowledge, the participants discussed the patterns of the formation of traditions in the sciences in the *Sattelzeit* (1770–1830), along with the complex processes of—from the contemporary perspective—novel methods of cognition and observation, the introduction and adaptation of new scientific content, and their socialization (*Vergesellschaftung*) through various media.¹²

During the project, two PhD dissertations were defended. The project's research fellow, Tibor Bodnár-Király, defended his thesis on the process of the disciplinarization of statistics in 2018, under the supervision of Lilla Krász. The most important contribution of the thesis to meeting the common research objectives is the elaboration of a two-component concept of statistics that is open to the specificities of East-Central European (Hungarian) processes of development. According to this, statistics during the eighteenth century did not completely break away from the tradition of early modern state descriptions (*notitia rerum publicarum*). Its development was therefore influenced as much by the disciplines of history and geography (which served as the basis of early modern state descriptions) as by the processes of modernization, state building, centralization, and bureaucratization.¹³ In 2021, Janka Kovács, who participated in the project as a PhD student, defended her dissertation, also under the supervision of Lilla Krász, on the early Hungarian discourse on psychology, the multidirectional transfers of psychological knowledge (linguistic, academic, and cultural), and the first attempts at the institutionalization and socialization of the mentally ill between 1750 and 1830, based on a wide range of sources (curricula, lecture notes, textbooks, dissertations, medical case histories, hospital regulations, patient admission books, medical topographies, city and travel descriptions, descriptions of hospitals and asylums, herbals, and medical prescriptions).¹⁴

12 See the proceedings of the conference: *Science between Tradition and Innovation – Historical Perspectives / Wissenschaften zwischen Tradition und Innovation – historische Perspektiven*, edited by Lilla Krász. Vienna: Praesens, forthcoming.

13 Bodnár-Király, “Államleírás és statisztika.”

14 Kovács, “A lélek betegségeinek reprezentációi.”

Networks of Knowledge: The Circulation of Knowledge in Europe – Hungary’s Scientific Life, 1770–1830

The results of the project will be published in the form of a synthesis volume in Hungarian and English, as well as a digital source anthology closely related to the contributions. The volume, currently in manuscript form, ready for publication,¹⁵ explores the complex process of the development of the seven fields of knowledge into scientific disciplines within a unified conceptual framework and with a common methodological approach according to a four-tier model consisting of 1) the profiles of individual scientists as actors producing and mediating knowledge; 2) epistemic arenas; 3) the practices of ‘producing knowledge’ and ‘making science’; and, 4) the media of the circulation of knowledge. This model, as the backbone of the main chapters, on the one hand, seems to be suitable for capturing the concept of science, and on the other hand, the transition between old and new forms of knowledge, as well as the individual and communal epochal constructions of theory and practice.

In the first chapter, entitled *Respublica litteraria hungarica*, the social and cultural dimensions of Hungarian scholarship which are considered typical or atypical in the context of the individual disciplines explored by the research team are highlighted from the perspective of the actors. Intellectual and scholarly profiles specific to the given field; methods of training and acquiring knowledge; traveling; correspondence-based domestic, (Habsburg) imperial, and European networks of contacts; local and regional ties to different groups and social strata; and forms of practicing the profession are considered in the contributions. In the second part, the epistemic arenas of the seven fields of knowledge such as universities, learned societies, cultural associations, various collections, and manorial centers are the focus of the analyses. In the chapter entitled *Sciences in Action*—alluding to the title of the French social anthropologist Bruno Latour’s 1987 work,¹⁶ still considered paradigmatic in the history of science—the focus is on the practices of knowledge production. The chapter on *Mediality* focuses on the epistemological, structural, and formal features of the transmission and mediation of knowledge that played a decisive role in the process of the development of the individual fields into disciplines, highlighting the genres and methods of writing characteristic of each field.

In terms of its genre, the forthcoming volume can be considered either a monograph on the history of science or a handbook comprising studies organized

15 *A tudás hálózatai. Európai tudásáramlás – magyarországi tudományosság, 1770–1830*, edited by Lilla Krász. Budapest: Corvina, forthcoming; *The Networks of Knowledge: The Circulation of Knowledge in Europe – Hungary’s Scientific Life, 1770–1830*, edited by Lilla Krász. Vienna: Praesens, forthcoming.

16 Latour, *Science in Action*.

according to a coherent and rigorously applied structure. It can therefore be read in various ways: if read chapter by chapter, the parallels between the different fields of knowledge and the uses of space, methodologies, and manners of communication may be grasped, along with the lines of division that became increasingly clear during the period under study. Reading the subsections devoted to the various scientific discourses jointly, the histories of specific disciplines unfold. In the following, reinforcing the latter approach, the most important elements of the research project are presented through a discussion of each field we explored.

While the disciplines of history, classical philology, and aesthetics are, from today's perspective, distinct regarding their coverage of different fields of culture, in Hungarian scientific and cultural life between 1770 and 1830 they were much more intertwined in terms of their subjects, experts, and institutional background. Piroska Balogh examined the profiles of four representatives of the *respublica litteraria* of the above-mentioned disciplines in terms of their sociological and educational background, the context in which they produced knowledge, and their place within the world: Károly Koppi, remembered primarily as a historian, Ézsaiás Budai, a classical philologist, Lajos János Schedius, an aesthete, and Johann Christian Engel, known chiefly as a historian. The model developed in the study shows that an important element of the training that links the three disciplines is the so-called 'philological seminar', which uses specific methods. The main way of maintaining and developing the network of knowledge was using, alongside scientific correspondence and academic membership, the medial networks of the increasingly professionalized learned organizations.

As for the arenas of the circulation of knowledge in the humanities, it became clear that the disciplines of history, aesthetics, and classical philology were isolated even in the most professionalized institutions such as universities and academies: following the model of the University of Göttingen they formed part of philological studies and were strongly connected in terms of both university education and the academic production of knowledge. This interdisciplinarity also reflects an anthropological approach that was open to the natural sciences yet incorporated practical considerations (e.g., the organization of the institutions of rural education). In less professionalized societies, and especially in associations, the popularization of these auxiliary sciences also made it possible to convey a global vision of art and culture. This specific map of knowledge will be of great help in the future for making the contemporary social impact of the humanities more systematically visible.

In examining the practices of knowledge production, new contexts emerged in which the research methodology and the cultural-anthropological approach largely associated with the philological and historical school of Göttingen brought about a decisive, paradigmatic shift in the field of historical, classical-philological, and

aesthetic research at the end of the eighteenth century. This methodology favored a new type of exploration and treatment of source material (*fons*), and its approach reinforced a universal, anthropological vision of written culture (*litterae*), as well as the simultaneous application of ethnographic and synchronic principles. With regard to the medial aspects of the circulation of knowledge, Piroska Balogh has highlighted two genres, the *commentatio* and the *recensio*, which clearly appeared in Hungarian cultural life in this period and were undoubtedly influenced by the model of Göttingen. Third, they represented and conveyed not only information but also a specific approach, and, finally, regarding their impact history (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), they proved to be successful. The above-mentioned genres played a central role in all four authors' academic oeuvres and their strategies for conveying knowledge.

Dezső Gurka explored the activities of Hungarian peregrine students involved in the mediation of post-Kantian philosophies in Göttingen and Jena, and the philosophical and disciplinary overlaps in the circulation of mineralogical knowledge. With regard to the *respublica litteraria*, he discusses the conditions that enabled the peregrine students to partially bridge the cultural divide between German academic institutions and Hungarian ones. Dezső Gurka focused on the institutional characteristics of the three German centers of knowledge, the universities of Göttingen and Jena and the Mining Academy of Freiberg, which were the most decisive in terms of the circulation of knowledge in Hungary. In the case of Jena, special attention was paid to the special constellations that explain the intensity of the reception of knowledge.

The mapping of the characteristics of the circulation of mineralogical knowledge and the specificities of the three arenas show that Abraham Gottlob Werner, the main representative of Neptunism, played a decisive role in the development of mineralogy and geology as disciplines because of the system of mineralogy he developed. Johann Georg Lenz, the director of the Mineralogical Society founded in Jena in December 1797, which had several Hungarian members, was a follower of Werner's theories and, through his network of contacts with scholars from other disciplines and cultural fields, contributed significantly to the spread of Wernerism. The influence of Wernerism, also transmitted by the Mineralogical Society of Jena, was reflected not only in literary and philosophical work but also in the geological collections of the time. The techniques of the production of mineralogical knowledge, the representations of Wernerism, and the impact of post-Kantian philosophies in Hungary are also illustrated well by the collecting and scientific activities (lectures held at the meetings of the Society, and contributions to Society year-books) of the Hungarian members (Sámuel Bodó, János Asbóth, András Gábora, and Count Sámuel Teleki). Nevertheless, the impact of post-Kantian philosophy, despite the initially intensive activity of its representatives in Jena, was far from continuous. The Hungarian followers of these philosophies became isolated upon their

return home, and, lacking an institutional framework, could not exert influence on the development of philosophy in Hungary. However, the examination of the interrelationships between mineralogy and the Schellingian philosophy of nature reveals that the Hungarian peregrines also contributed to the specific patterns of the development of scientific and cultural life in Jena in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Tibor Bodnár-Király's important observation about the social basis of statistics in Hungary is that the process of reception reflected pan-European and imperial tendencies, thus synchronicity rather than backwardness prevailed. As part of the pan-European tendencies of the time, the late institutionalization of statistics in Hungary created greater scope for the pluralist cultivation of state description. Consequently, Catholic historiographers and Protestant geographers were often still considered statisticians at the end of the eighteenth century, although they were in fact writing state descriptions, viewed as a rival genre. Nevertheless, statistics reflected a new form of specialization. In the university lecture notes from the period between 1790 and 1820, the slow modernization of curricula can be traced: at the level of teaching materials, the Göttingen model was followed, while at the level of the organization, and often in contradiction to curricula, the state's efforts to centralize, monopolize, and uniformize—which were the essence of the Austrian model—are visible.

In examining the methodology of statistics, its scientific practice, and media through the examples of György Pray, András Vályi, and Márton Schwartzner, and focusing on the difficulty of gathering information, Bodnár-Király points out that the general lack of information and the valorization of methodologies can be interpreted as mutually reinforcing processes. Methodological awareness and the technique of compilation alone were insufficient to make published texts authentic and reliable. For this reason, depending on the chosen methodological approach, the authors of this period used a variety of complementary techniques (questionnaires, personal surveys, etc.) to generate more authentic and up-to-date data for their state descriptions. By studying the complex structure of the media of statistics (prints, textbooks, manuscripts), Bodnár-Király establishes a general model that is a guide to interpreting the interrelationships among university textbooks, manuscript learning materials, and the Enlightenment.

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf discusses in detail the slow process of change between the late scholastic and stadial representations of cultural otherness in the field of ethnology/anthropology. During this process, the emphasis shifted from an essentially *Wunderkammer*-like mode of description and representation to the model of 'savagery–barbarism–civilization' on which German, English, and French (Parisian) approaches, especially those of Georg Christian Raff, David Cranz, James Cook,

and Alexander von Humboldt, exerted significant influence. In this shift, the role of the Göttingen model conveyed by Hungarian peregrine translators such as Mihály Dobosy is particularly decisive. The adaptation of the view of global/universal history promoted by the school of Göttingen and the new discipline encountered there, the so-called *Allgemeine Völkerkunde* (universal ethnology), which combined geography and ethnography, formed a new type of academic discourse and canon. This discourse was comprised not only of texts and images, but also of the knowledge of the cabinet of the University of Göttingen and the memory of the objects seen there as a specific *lieu de mémoire*. It is important to note that the Protestant German models of science provided non-Austrian/non-Habsburg and non-Catholic alternatives for reformist scholars seeking to innovate in Hungary. But there were also other ways of doing science at the time, including ethnology/anthropology, not only according to the Göttingen model. Within the Protestant denomination, for example, there existed the Humboldtian way (influenced by Paris and then Berlin), while within Catholicism there was the Jesuit model. The Catholic/Jesuit model centered on Nagyszombat (Trnava, today located in Slovakia) also involved several foreign links (France, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, etc.). The four chapters, in addition to tracing the changes within the discourse, focus on seemingly constant structural elements (i.e., European vs. non-European, Christian vs. pagan, complex vs. simple).

The starting point of Lilla Krász's research in the field of medicine is that the Kingdom of Hungary in the eighteenth century occupied a special place on the European map of knowledge in terms of the acquisition of medical knowledge. As there was no medical faculty at which it would have been possible to receive the highest level of medical training until 1770, all medical doctors working in Hungary obtained their degrees from foreign educational centers. This situation resulted in significant disadvantages for the organization of knowledge in Hungary and the development of the organizational and medial background of the circulation of knowledge (for example, scholarly associations and journals were lacking). On the other hand, through the multi-directional *peregrinatio medica hungarica* doctors who had studied at foreign universities brought to Hungary from the most modern educational centers of contemporary Europe the most diverse theoretical and methodological concepts, practical medical knowledge, and literature, thereby promoting the simultaneous accumulation and adaptation of heterogeneous forms of knowledge and experiences, in this way facilitating the development of a medical tradition characteristic of the region.

The example of medical education at the medical faculty of the University of Nagyszombat (which later moved to Buda, and then to Pest), which followed the model of the University of Vienna (influenced by the University of Göttingen in its curriculum and textbooks) after the reforms of van Swieten, illustrates well how and

by what means medicine interpreted as the theory of practice was transformed into medicine defined as the practice of theory, which was also linked to the requirements of scientific research. Similarly, it is possible to trace the route which, starting from a model of medicine that focused on the individual within the framework of medical semiotics, led to the emergence of organized public health that increasingly built on the tools of diagnostic medicine. Throughout this process, the most significant shift was the introduction of wards in hospitals, viewed even by contemporary standards as proto-clinics, which were perceived as spaces of learning and where techniques of registration for recording the course and outcome of diseases according to uniform categories developed, along with the consistent use of collections of instruments and anatomical-pathological collections of specimens established for the purpose of demonstration, along with institutional (university) and private libraries at which scholarly literature could be consulted and excerpted in the spirit of the working methods of the humanists.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, in the context of the bureaucratic organization of the modern state, the medical reports compiled by municipal physicians (*physicus/Physiker*) as part of the (public) health administration of the Kingdom of Hungary emerged as a new epistemic genre that can be interpreted as part of an 'institution' for quality assurance, an empirical technique of cognition, and as a networking tool. With regard to the system of reporting, the intrinsic relationship between the practice of medical report writing, the use of the data and information in the reports, and the new media associated with the transmission of knowledge (scientific treatises written either in Latin or German, journal articles, popular medical literature written in Hungarian) that emerged during the period under study are discussed.

György Kurucz illustrates by presenting several examples the decisive role the Hungarian Protestant agricultural writers, part of the *respublica litteraria*, played in elevating the recognition of the agrarian sciences within the emerging system of disciplines. Examining the activities of Protestant (both Calvinist and Lutheran) students at the Protestant universities of the model countries (England, the Netherlands, and the German principalities), he shows that translations were primarily made by former students who had studied at Western European universities. The publication of the first comprehensive agricultural textbook and the first agricultural journal in Hungarian, and the publication of works such as Humphry Davy's (1778–1829) textbook on agrochemistry, revolutionary by the standards of the age, represented a higher level of transfer of knowledge. The research also shows that, from among the fields of the circulation of agricultural knowledge in Hungary, the Georgikon, the first college of farming in Hungary, founded by Count György Festetics in 1797, was of outstanding importance. The founder consciously developed a specialized library

that enabled the professors at the college to draw on work by the renowned Western European authors of the period. The Georgikon was also an important arena for the acquisition of specialized knowledge, but research has shown that Festetics also utilized the teachers' networks of contacts in Western Europe. What is more, students' and professors' study tours also served as a means of acquiring and transferring practical knowledge, and Festetics published detailed reports on the Georgikon in German journals and newspapers.

In terms of the practices of the production of knowledge, Kurucz's research clearly points out that the founder's son, Count László Festetics, was a worthy heir of his father's intellectual legacy and mode of pursuit of modern knowledge. After the Napoleonic Wars, he helped Pál Gerics, a physician and veterinarian, and József Lehrmann, a gardener and viticulturist, to obtain broader practical experience with agricultural technology by sending them on a five-year study tour around Western Europe in 1820. The German-language instructions, reports, and travel journals with regular entries, prove how the role of science in improving technological practice and quality of life was recognized. As for the medial specificities associated with the circulation of agricultural knowledge, Kurucz explored and analyzed the activities of Pál Gerics and József Lehrmann, who left behind an outstanding corpus of sources documenting their journey, among them partial reports, comprehensive accounts, and the revised travel journals of the two professors of the Georgikon. The practice of revision is noteworthy because it shows how the experiences of the two professors were interpreted later when moving away from the actual field of experience to incorporate newer technological procedures and knowledge. Also, the revised journals provide additional, exceptionally important socio-culturally relevant data about the places that were visited and people the professors became acquainted with.

DigiCirculation of knowledge: A digital anthology of sources

The four-tier model applied in the synthesis volume (actors–spaces–practices–media) was also used to compile a digital anthology of sources¹⁷ of nearly forty-five author's sheets, comprising a significant amount of hitherto unknown mainly manuscript sources, and to a lesser extent printed sources in Hungarian, Latin, and German from the period under study. The annotated critical edition of sources of various genres targeted different audiences, while the academic commentaries,

17 The English and the Hungarian versions of the digital anthology can be accessed through the following links: <https://eltdedata.elte-dh.hu/wiki/DigiTud%C3%A1s%C3%A1raml%C3%A1s>; https://eltdedata.elte-dh.hu/wiki/The_Circulation_of_Scientific_Knowledge, accessed: 24 October 2022.

university lecture notes, travel instructions, travel diaries, reports, and ego-documents (funeral orations and wills) reveal contemporary modes of speech and writing and specific language and concepts, but also capture the progress of the thought style (*Denkstil*) of the period, as well as the development of the practices of ‘making knowledge’ and ‘doing science’ and the changes in the focal points that determined the perception and observation of things and interactions.

The publication of the sources in digital format makes it easy to search for and read about—in addition to the personal and spatial networks that are customarily illustrated in similar projects—patterns, internal events, and interrelationships associated with the process of disciplinarization due to the identification of plausible conceptual networks, and, at a later stage, to display them in the form of data visualizations. The categories that make up the conceptual networks were developed by assigning subcategories to a total of nineteen period- and subject-specific main concepts mapped according to content and the use of language and concepts in the published excerpts.

Table 1 Main concepts and sub-concepts (in alphabetical order)

	Main concept	Sub-concept
1	body concept	disease explanations, disease symptoms, external traits and physical appearance, forms of therapy, general course of disease, healing, ingrained bad habits of self-healing, turning points of disease, variations of the same disease
2	cultural landscape	building with gardens, buildings, differences between the savages and the civilized, garden, habitat, harbor, hut, urbanization, urbanity
3	experiences of otherness	acceptance, assimilation, comparison, demonizing, images of the enemy, rejection, relationship with neighboring peoples
4	gender	external traits, female religiosity, gendered actions and prohibitions, ideas about gender, mutilation of male and female bodies, use of instruments, women’s rights
5	government and administration	assessorial council, authorities, authorities of the popular assembly, division of the New World, dysfunctions, economic and knowledge distribution system, establishment of administrative units, financial matters, general assembly, government officials, governorship, gubernatorial authorities, gubernatorial revenues, hereditary governor, limitation of power, magistrates, medical writing, military command, operation of administrative units, royal privileges, succession, state council
6	historicity	age specificities, auxiliary sciences, basic concepts of historicity, church history, formation of mankind, geographical discoveries, historical literature, historical monuments, historical periods, historical sources, history of Europe, methodology of historical research, methodology of historiography, role of the state, stadial view of society, uses of studying history

7	human resources	criteria of humanity, culture, demographic conditions, development of liberty, education, endemic diseases, epidemics, freedom of thought, healing with electricity, individual diseases, instincts, lifestyle, moral, moral perfection, mother tongue, population density, population movements, problem of the freedom of will, prominent legislators, religion, the purpose of man, trade, upbringing
8	instruments	capacitor, clothing, electric experimental device, electric pistol, electrophorus, electrostatic experimental device, experimental device for producing Lichtenberg figures, experimental device for producing oxyhydrogen, means of transport, measuring device, mill, threshing machine, triboelectric experimental device, utility instrument, weapons
9	natural resources	animal husbandry and crop farming, animals, arable land, climate theory, climatic conditions, commercial commodities, meadow and field, minerals, plants, resource management, rinderpest
10	perception of nature	cultural climate theory, cultural geography, nature and history
11	power	distribution of lands, division of power, forms of state, laws, leading elite, military state, persecution of Christians, politics, sovereign, state officials, state organization
12	public policy	medical statistics, use of health services
13	respublica litteraria	actors, anatomical theatre, botanical garden, clinical practice, collection of instruments, collection of specimens, economic collection, founding hospital, hospitals, institutions of social care, laboratory, library, medical habitus, mental asylum, museum, <i>Naturalienkabinet</i> , orphanage, peregrination, public museum, scholarly journals, schools, scientific patronage, scientific society, scientific travel, textbook, translation and adaptation, university collections, workhouse
14	rites	cannibalism, discipline of the secrecy of sacraments, exclusion, experience of emotions, mysteries, rituals, sacraments
15	scholarship	concept of statistics, curricula of political science, establishment of a department, ethnographic profile, integration of politics and statistics, overlap between law and politics, separation of politics and statistics, statistics and history, statistics and law, teaching of statistics, travel
16	society	affections, crime and punishment, education, endemic diseases, factors determining society, fundamental concepts describing society, historic changes, industry, morals, national character, national language, natural law, non-European peoples, organization of society, physiology, population, promotion of the common good, religion, serving the community, sociability, social layers, social orders, social relations, social stratification, types of community
17	state	forms of government, forms of state, geographical boundaries, industry, national coat of arms, political boundary, rivers and waters, sovereign, state description, taxation, title, trading colonies, types of estates

18	technology	animal husbandry, cattle farming, crop farming, food preparation, food processing, grazing, horse breeding, livestock farming, manufacturing, meadow cultivation, mineral processing, pasture farming, sheep farming, soil cultivation, toolmaking, viticulture, waste processing, wool
19	uses of the body	body decoration, grooming, head and hair styling, tattooing

The digital edition was created within the open-source Wikibase™ software, and the storage space was provided by the Digital Humanities Centre of Eötvös Loránd University.¹⁸ Sustainability was an important criterion in selecting the software: the system is operated and developed by the Wikimedia™ group and is used by international research groups for the online publication of the results of prosopographical research. The Wikibase™ software can support both text output and the background database needed for the management of data. It also has a user-friendly interface similar to that of Wikipedia™ and Wikidata™. The source publication was not produced in the markup language transcription recommended by the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), but in Wikimedia's own format, the so-called Wikitext format. This format can be easily archived and later converted to XML format if required. The format makes it possible to display the relationships between the seven fields of knowledge and the annotations of the texts. The database contains the data that was collected during the research using the most modern technology and practices associated with the semantic web. The system makes it possible to create data visualizations that can reveal previously unknown patterns, underpin research findings, and identify new research directions.

The first phase of the preparation of the digital source publication involved the tabulation, annotation, and uniformization of the data, followed by the creation of links according to the logic of the semantic web, and finally the automatic loading of the datasets. The methodology was developed based on initial experience to make the loading of additional texts and data significantly faster and easier. While developing the data structure we accounted for the fact that the database creates a research infrastructure and a publication platform for different research projects and that some of the research data might overlap (e.g., geographical names). Each project forms a sub-collection within the database, and each entity is assigned a statement through which it is possible to display which research project may lay claim to it.

18 <http://elte-dh.hu/>, accessed: 24 October 2022. Technical specification: Zsófia Fellegi (Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Literary Studies), Gábor Palkó (Head of the Department of Digital Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University). Data enrichment: Janka Kovács (2019, PhD student), Ádám Sebestyén (2020–2022, PhD student), Máté Szentkereszti (2021–2022, MA student).

This method allows the user to search the entire database and each sub-collection simultaneously. In the second phase, personal and geographical names were uploaded to ELTEdata. In the source texts, these personal and geographical entities were linked to the corresponding records in the database so that the data and its textual occurrences could be searched as part of a single system. Furthermore, the map of concepts prepared by the research team was mapped and tagged in the corresponding places in the texts. The system makes it possible to expand the map of concepts and the source texts with additional data from later research projects or to add further information to pre-existing entries.

As outlined above, we have tried to create an open system that allows for the multi-level reading of the sources by genre and content, involving networks of personal, spatial, and conceptual links, which can be extended both vertically and horizontally. We aim to continue this work by adding further texts to the genres already included in the system and by broadening the scope of genres. The DigiCirculation_of_Knowledge (DICIKO) platform is also suitable for hosting and displaying information from other fields of knowledge (e.g., psychology, botany, chemistry, physics, mathematics, etc.). We intend to disseminate these results on international forums, through social media platforms and in workshops to promote and introduce the platform to the Hungarian and international scientific community in the hope of expanding the network of colleagues open to publishing sources related to the history of sciences at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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Migration and Identity in Eurasia: From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages. Edited by Victor Cojocaru and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint.

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Tünde Vágási 

Semmelweis University, Department of Languages for Specific Purposes, H-1085 Budapest,
Üllői út 26; vagasitunde6@gmail.com

Thematic conferences very often give rise to interesting surprises and syntheses full of new perspectives. This is also the case with the volume we describe, which brings together the work of twelve scientists, preceded by an introduction by Annamária-Izabella Pázsint and Victor Cojocaru, who briefly follow the historical background of the research. At an international conference¹ entitled *Migrations and Identity in European History: Communities, Connections, Conflicts* held at the University of Iasi on September 26 and 28, 2019, the pieces of work appeared in a volume edited by Victor Cojocaru, David Braund, Alpár Dobos, Lavinia Grumeza, Annamária-Izabella Pázsint, and Ligia Ruscu. This was published in 2021 as part X of the *Pontica et Mediterranea* series. Although the title promises to discuss migration and identity, the real focus of the volume is concepts of mobility and migration.² Reviewing the conference program, we notice that not all of the work presented there has been included in this eloquent publication.³ The thematic panel brought together nineteen

1 The conference was supported by the Alexander Humboldt Foundation and the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.2-PCCDI-2017-0116.

2 Numerous studies have already been published on this popular topic, compare the bibliography in the preface (pp. 13–14).

3 I.e., F. Gogâltan et al., *The Late Bronze Age Mega-Fort in Sântana and the Mycenaean World*; D. Zhuravlev, *Greeks and Their Neighbours in the Asian Part of the Bosporean Kingdom: The Colonization Aspect*; D. Topal, *The Griffin Motif in the Scythian Weapons. Migration of an Idea*; V. Kashcheev, *Greek Intellectuals in Rome in the 2nd Century BC*; V. Iarmulschi, *Migration von West nach Ost. Die Archäologie der Mobilität in der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit: Beispiel Poienești-Lukaševka-Kultur*; A. Alemany Vilamajó, *A Prosopographical Approach to the Nomads of the West Eurasian Steppes*; G. Bilavschi, *Agriculture Between Crisis and Stability: The Reason of the Mobility in the East of the Carpathians Territories During the Early Middle Ages*.

scholars from all over Eurasia. Let us present a brief systematic overview of the content of the pages, which is structured mainly based on chronological criteria.

David Braund's paper "In what sense was the Black Sea Thracian?" uses mythical tales of migration not only as a source for the reconstruction of movements, but also as actors—for one of the great powers of Greek discovery was precisely the stories of the heroes and gods through which these foreign landscapes were explored.⁴ Based on Herodotus and Strabo, the author attempts to support his vision of the 'Thracian Black Sea' by combining various ideas and evidence (such as about the origins of people such as the Amazons through archaeological and historical inferences). One important aspect of ethnicity is awarded great importance. According to Braund, ethnicity need not be understood reductively—i.e., one ethnicity or identity need not exclude another, and ideas are diverse. One of his examples is the Colchians, who may have been Egyptians but who also remained Colchians⁵ and may also have had other ethnic or group identities (p. 36). The same can be said of the Thracians, whom he identifies with the Amazons, who lived in the same area. The Thracians had moved beyond the borders of Thracia to Asia and the Crimean Peninsula. The author explains and interprets this territorial expansion through the legends of the Amazons.⁶ In mythology, the common denominator between the two ethnic groups is the prominent role played by strong women (Medea, who was Colchian, and the Amazons, who conquered the southern shores of the Black Sea all the way to the Caucasus).

Marta Oller Guzmán's paper examines Greek colonization from a completely new and innovative perspective, asking the question how emotions affected the colonizers, and to what extent. However, it is difficult to examine these feelings, given that those who described these stories lived much later than the Greek colonizers. In the 'new worlds', away from home, fear and anxiety were the dominant feelings, according to literary evidence. Through an analysis of the stories of the founding of colonies, the author presents the change in these feelings: fear on arrival (fear of news: of terrains, climates and people, whose nature could be cruel or hospitable); the evolution of the relationship with the local population, who first generally regretted the misfortune of those who arrived, but then became increasingly angry at the occupation of their territories. It seemed better for the locals to accept and

4 Compare: The great campaign of Alexander the Great.

5 The name Colchians itself is an umbrella term; a summary name for smaller groups who also had different cultures such as the *Machlyes*, *Machelones*, *Phasiani*, and *Lazi*, who often lived at the opposite end of the *oikumene*, but at the same time had similar lifestyles and a similar appearance.

6 The founding of Sinope in the name of the Amazon Sanape; the founding of Amisus; and the Sauromatians, who were created through the marriage and mixing of the Amazons (Thracians) and Scythians.

interpret the newcomers than to become involved in conflict. The author shows how the relationship between the local population and the Greek settlers changed from the time of arrival from initial regret and acceptance to envy (rapid growth), fear (fear of the Greek colonists' abuse of local resources) and violence (war, which often ended in the defeat of the locals). Finally, there was also the constant fear of unsuccessful settlement, the dangers of the journey back home, and the welcome home.

Civic, regional, Greek, and non-Greek identities are examined by Victor Cojocaru in a paper that focuses on the Black Sea poleis. Identities which are displayed and how they are expressed depend on the context in which they occur. Focusing on festivals, commemorative anniversaries, meetings of the assembly or religious celebrations, and even internal conflicts and external threats, Cojocaru finds that different identities come to the fore in different situations. In Section One, "Development of identities within the proxeny institution" (pp. 57–61), the author focuses on how the civic community collectively expressed its relations with the outside world. Chaniotis⁷ expressed earlier that this area, the Black Sea region, has always been in a special position as it was located on the periphery of the Greek world; the kingdoms founded after Alexander the Great had indirect influence on this area, and were more exposed to intrusions by Barbarians. Therefore, in this area identity was linked to memories of Ionian or Dorian origins, but also permanently confronted by the barbarians in the hinterland. (A remark in relation to future complex overviews: it is not enough to study inscriptions but one needs to take into consideration the depictions on local coins, the representations on grave and honorary monuments, the various religious rites, local history, and the practice of collective memory.)

Mustafa H. Sayar concentrates on the practice of mass deportation in the Mediterranean world through legal and social aspects with a new perspective on population dislocation. There was no exchange of prisoners in the ancient world; prisoners of war were either executed or sold into slavery (men, women, and children), which practically amounted to relocation to a new place. Mass deportation had important, unexpected consequences: the spread of monotheistic religions in the Middle East and multilingualism. The author leads the reader through the story of ancient deportations from the Hittites in Egypt through the occupation of Persepolis by Alexandros to the enslavement of the Anatolians and Phocaeans by the Romans.

Through a detailed analysis of archaeological objects, Mikhail Treister argues against the previously held opinion that the Sarmatians came to the Eastern European region from the territory of Siberia (Transbaikal). Analyzing the burials and funeral rites of East-European Sarmatians, some burials of the Lower Volga

7 Chaniotis, "Political culture in the cities," 142.

region, and Southern Siberian burials dated to the second and first century BC, he comes to the conclusion that we are dealing here with individual items, usually prestige goods, which may have been carried by the nomads from East to West. He argues convincingly that the appearance of individual objects of Southern Siberian origin in the nomad burials of Asian Sarmatia is no proof of mass migration from Central Asia to the Lower Volga region. In contrast to previous claims based on the analysis of funeral rites, he demonstrates in his study that the number of migrants was not so significant. Treister's thesis is based on the fact that only a few objects (associated with some photos – pp. 108–14) can be identified that were taken from the West to the East; these goods do not necessarily reflect economic ties along the Silk Road.

A specific group of 'migrant workers', Roman craftsmen, are the focus of Rada Varga and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint's paper. In labor migration studies the attention of researchers has recently focused on wider issues of mobility and the workforce. Earlier, the research focus was on specific groups within cities or of specific professional classes (such as medical staff) who moved from one province to another, outside the Empire's borders, or within the provinces of residence. There are specific characteristics of this movement, such as seasonal and rural-urban migration, or the migration of specialized skilled workers (for instance, miners). The second most well-represented profession (with 690 people in the inscriptions on which their occupation is mentioned) were craftsmen—skilled workers who practiced a specific craft. Traders (who mainly sold over some distance) are excluded from the study. It can be seen that different groups considered it important to highlight different things in the inscriptions: the inscriptions of traders are usually found alongside commercial networks and emphasize official legitimacy. Medical staff usually highlighted their origin if they came from a city where a famous medical school operated (Antiochia Syriae, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Samosata); gladiators usually considered the *natio* important (*Germanus*, *Bassus*, *Syrus*, etc.), but artisans did not think it worth highlighting where they came from (of 690 artisans, only 32 specified their origin – pp. 119–20). The authors have examined the ethnicity, *origo*, *domus*, *natio*, local citizenship, or *tribus* of the craftsman. Most of the inscriptions on which the artisans mention their affiliation are known from Gaul, especially from Lugdunum.

A very specific aspect of migration is examined by Lucian Munteanu, Ștefan Honcu, and Dan Aparaschivei, involving *denarii* finds from the site of Schineni.⁸ During excavations between 2017 and 2020 in Schineni,⁹ which had several phases of habitation, five Roman imperial *denarii* were discovered, all exclusively originating

8 Compare the catalogue of the coins (pp. 151–52) and the plan of the excavation (p. 161).

9 The detailed results of the archaeological excavations of the second–fourth century AD settlement are the subject of a later study.

from the earliest habitation level of the site. Compared to the previously found coins, these *denarii*¹⁰ which originated from the ‘free Dacian’ site prove that imperial *denarii* had arrived in Barbaricum in treasures already established, probably from the first half of the second-century AD. In general, greater caution is required when using this specific category of sources in territories outside the Empire. The local population of ‘Geto-Dacian’ origin (*Costoboci*, *Carpi*) reworked and added to the Roman coins new features (*denarii* used as jewelry and/or amulets or ornaments) which were different to those used in the Empire.

Ten graves were discovered between 1957 and 1987 at the Mitoc-Malu Galben site on the left bank of the Prut River, which are attributed to the Sarmatian culture and date between the second and fourth century AD. Lavinia Grumeza provides an overview of the cemetery, the grave goods, and funerary rituals, and suggests a narrow dating of the finds and their cataloguing (pp. 178–83). These graves were published earlier,¹¹ but had to be revisited with photographs of the grave goods and with further information about the rituals. According to new information, the people buried in this field belonged to a nomadic Sarmatian group from the north-western Pontus: members of the *Roxolani* tribes.

Alpár Dobos explored an area that has been researched already—the local survival of the Roman population and culture in the early Middle Ages and the immigration of new populations, with the help of natural science. This used to be a sensitive topic in Romania. Based on archaeological data, Dobos has studied the relationship between immigrants and locals in post-Roman Transylvania. The study attempts to provide a brief overview of how migration and the image of the so-called migratory people developed in archaeology during the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages, with a brief overview of the theoretical and methodological debates in international research. There are parallel national narratives in the Romanian and Hungarian historiography about this period. One of the most problematic methodological issues is how can migration be identified in the archaeological material. The solution of the problem of migration is helped by the cooperation of archeology with scientific methods—for example, the use of archaeogenetics.

10 Very few contain a larger number of coins: Poiana-Dulceş–Varniță-point, Poiana-Dulcești–Siliște-point, Roșiori (Neamț County), Văleni, and Vlădiceni (Neamț County). On the site of Drăgești (Vaslui County), the latest *denarius* from the whole area was discovered in a clear archaeological context of the ‘Poienestî-Vârteșcoiu’ culture (Teodor, Coman, and Alaiba, “Săpăturile arheologice de la Drăgești-Vaslui,” 464; Teodor and Coman, “Săpăturile arheologice de la Drăgești-Vaslui,” 456, 458).

11 The site has not yet been fully excavated and the graves appear to be only a small part of a larger cemetery. The only graves published so far are those from the years 1957 (grave 1), 1978 (graves 2–3), 1980 and 1982 (graves 4–6). Unpublished graves (7–10) discovered in 1986 and 1987 were also included in Lavinia’s paper.

The origin of the European Avars has been the subject of scientific debate for more than 250 years: the work of Gleb V. Kubarev provides an interdisciplinary overview of this. The paper confirms the Rouran hypothesis of Avar origins. A comparison of the Rouran burials found in Mongolia and Northern China with the Carpathian Avar material (especially crescent pectorals and plate decoration belts) and a comparative anthropological and genetic study also confirm the Inner-Asian origin of the Avars. The research raises another important question: what caused the sixth-century migration? (p. 238) Scientific analysis of the finds suggests that the westward migration of the Avars and their subsequent settlement in the Carpathian Basin was the result of climate change and pandemic.

Trade and migration always went hand in hand, as demonstrated by Dilnoza Duturaeva's study of trade routes to China. The trade in luxury items (e.g., silk, amber and oils) was a driver of international migration from this era. In ancient times, amber was imported in the largest quantities from the Bronze Age to the fourteenth century AD (especially from the mid-first millennium BC to the fifth century AD), mostly from Europe to China along the Amber Road. From the Han to the Tang periods (tables pp. 265–66), amber was not an ordinary item of trade but a diplomatic gift. From the tenth–twelfth century, amber came to China in larger quantities and became fashionable material. Merchants changed from time to time, being Romans, Byzantines, Uyghurs, and later Qarakhanids. China is still considered the largest market for Baltic amber, and in China it is valued more than in its place of origin.

The population of the Crimean Peninsula and the cultural influences that affect it are the focus of Sergei G. Bocharov's paper. The Crimean Peninsula belonged to the Byzantine Empire, while after its dissolution it became part of the Trebizond Empire, and then came under the rule of the Golden Horde during the Mongol conquest. Between 1223 and 1320, two waves of Mongols arrived in the Crimean Peninsula. The eastern and western parts of the peninsula developed somewhat differently due to the earlier (Byzantine) administrative division. In the material culture of the Peninsula, identities and their manifestations were influenced by the 'Byzantine' as well as the 'Latin' (Genoese) and the Eastern (Golden Horde, Islamic). The Ottoman conquest of Genoese Gazaria and the Principality of Theodoro in 1475 marked the end of the Mongol era, and in the following centuries various cultural influences intensified and new ones emerged, two of which remained: the Ottoman Empire, and the Crimean Khanate. From the sixteenth–eighteenth century, Eastern (Islamic) objects of material culture developed further.

This volume examines the concepts of migration through narratives, experiences, and structures, migration and integration, networks, connectivity and cultural interactions, civic identity in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, and migration

(concepts, methods, results, scientific traditions, and political ideology, especially in areas of political debate among modern countries). However, additional migration perspectives and topics, such as the interpretation of religious issues and gods, could have received more attention. Nevertheless, with each study, this volume, which presents a multifaceted perspective, provides a comprehensive picture of the issues of migration (mobilities, diaspora, circulation) in the ancient and early Middle Ages.

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Rulership in Medieval East Central Europe: Power, Rituals and Legitimacy in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland.

Edited by Grischa Vercamer and Dušan Zupka.

East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450 78. Boston–Leiden: Brill, 2022. 534 pp.

Michal Machalski 

Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Quellenstraße 51, A-1100 Vienna, Austria; machalski_michal@phd.ceu.edu

The recent decade has seen an increasing number of works dedicated to Medieval East Central Europe published in English. The volume under review is another example of this trend, providing a broader academic audience with regional contributions on the popular historiographical topic of rulership. The publication has its roots in a series of conference sessions, the last three of which were organized at the *International Medieval Congress* at Leeds in 2019. The organizers of these sessions and editors of the volume, Dušan Zupka and Grischa Vercamer, aimed at providing an overview of the theory and practice of rulership in East-Central Europe, gathering contributions from well-established scholars from the region. With East-Central Europe being notorious for eluding straightforward geographical demarcation, the editors decided to focus on the three polities at its core—Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. Nevertheless, with studies covering late-eighth-century Pannonia and sixteenth-century Lithuania, ninth-century archaeological data and fourteenth-century manuscript illuminations, the reviewed volume can be called anything but narrow in scope. Following the recent trends in political and cultural history, and taking up questions of legitimacy, rituals, power, originality, and imitation in political culture, the volume focuses on the four corresponding main research issues.

The introductory part sees Dušan Zupka introducing the aims and scope of the volume, as well as sketching an outline of the evolution of the sovereign power in Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. Grischa Vercamer examines the approaches to the concept of ‘rule’ in sociological works and past historiography, also proposing his own methodological framework for the study of the ideas about rulership captured in the medieval narrative sources through the systematic analysis of rulers’ activities

divided into different fields. His contribution is worth highlighting here, as it is the one most concerned with the theoretical concepts at the core of the volume.

After the introduction, the second part of the volume is devoted to the origins and legitimization of the rulership of the oldest dynasties of East-Central Europe—the Přemyslids, Árpáds, and Piasts. While the authors—Martin Wihoda, Márta Font, and Zbigniew Dalewski—emphasize slightly different aspects of the problem, their analyses outline the similarities and differences between burgeoning Central European polities. The chapters presented in the third part of the volume focus on political communication. Dušan Zupka and Robert Antonín present contributions which center on rituals, with the latter describing rituals staged by the Luxembourg monarchs of Bohemia and the former analyzing the role of the religious rites and rhetoric of religious warfare in East-Central Europe. Marcin Pauk highlights the importance of understanding the political language used in the past by offering a reassessment of the guiding principles of the political culture of thirteenth-century Poland—although the praiseworthy boldness of this reevaluation might be lost on readers less familiar with the particularities of Polish historiography. The chapter by Julia Burkhardt offers a comparative overview of the role of late-medieval assemblies in the Holy Roman Empire and polities of East-Central Europe, importantly shifting the focus away from rulers towards the political communities they shared their power with.

The fourth part of the volume deals broadly with the institutions through which Central European rulers expressed and exercised their power. The contributions by Paul Knoll and Bożena Czwojdrak, when read together, provide plenty of insights into the role of tradition and innovation in political culture at a time when the local Piast dynasty had been replaced with the foreign ruling houses of Angevins and Jagiellons. With papers by Attila Bárány and Vinni Lucherini that focus on the early Angevin rule in Hungary, the issue of change and continuation in systems of legitimization and governance in East-Central Europe emerges as an important theme of the volume. While the question of outside influences on East-Central European rulership appears in many of the contributions, it is the last, fifth part of the volume that specifically broaches this subject. Grischa Vercamer and Stephan Flemmig provide a sketch of the interwoven network of personal ties, cultural transfers, and economic exchanges between East-Central Europe and the Holy Roman Empire in the High and Late Middle Ages, while Monika Saczyńska-Vercamer describes the relationship between the late-medieval papacy and the region. The contributions by Panos Sophoulis, Christian Raffensperger, and Felicitas Schmieder go beyond presenting the region as the periphery of Latin Europe, pointing out its role as a place of mutual contact with other political centers like Byzantium and steppe Empires. This outlook has interesting implications for any future reflections on the place of the region in the Global Middle Ages.

The papers collected in the volume offer a breadth of insights into the diverse aspects of rulership in East-Central Europe. While not all of them adopt a comparative framework, oft-drawn parallels between Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary and highlighted peculiarities can be found in all of the contributions. This outlook makes the volume particularly valuable for those interested in comparative approaches, be they inter- or cross-regional. Barring a few editorial mistakes scattered throughout the copy provided by the publisher, the only issue one may have with the presented volume is that some topics, while touched upon briefly here and there, would certainly benefit from further elaboration. Issues like the ‘composite monarchy’ and itinerant rulership bring up the question of absentee authority—a research problem vigorously discussed by historians of medieval political culture, and relevant to the Angevin and Jagiellon domains. The role gender played in rulership in East-Central Europe, despite the manifold interesting examples, is similarly overlooked, albeit not for the lack of interest of Central European historiography in the topic. In fact, Grzegorz Pac’s monograph on the issue entitled *Women in the Piast Dynasty: A Comparative Study of Piast Wives and Daughters (c. 965 – c. 1144)* was published in April in the very same Brill series. Nevertheless, these omissions speak not of the shortcomings of the volume but to the vast scope of research questions concerning East-Central European rulership that still await answers. It is my hope that this excellent contribution will further facilitate discussion about medieval rulership in East-Central Europe both in the region itself and in anglophone academic discourse.



Krakow: An Ecobiography. Edited by Adam Izdebski and Rafał Szmytka.

History of the Urban Environment. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021. 232 pp.

András Vadas 

Institute of Historical Studies, Department of Medieval History, Eötvös Loránd University, H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum körút 6–8; vadas.andras@btk.elte.hu

Writing urban environmental histories has become increasingly important in the past couple of decades. Since the publication of William Cronon's seminal *Nature's Metropolis* it became one of the primary foci of U.S. environmental historians to study the relationship of towns and their hinterlands, towns and their green areas, and the co-existence of people with their environment. Urban environmental histories were written of a series of towns, from Chicago, through Seattle to Houston. Many of these works have been published in a book series of the university press of a famous industrial city, Pittsburgh. It is not by chance that it was the University of Pittsburgh Press that initiated a History of the Urban Environment series, however until now Europe, and especially the Central and Eastern part of Europe has been heavily underrepresented in the volumes of the series. The book reviewed along these lines attempts to partially fill this gap in the scholarship.

The *Krakow: An Ecobiography* is rather curious way to do that as in many ways it represents completely different traditions of doing environmental history than the volumes on U.S. cities published in this and other book series. It is important to note right at the beginning that the book originally was intended for a Polish audience and has been published under the same title in Polish in 2018. The English version of course is not completely identical to this one, but to a large extent is a translation of the articles that were published in that volume. Both the English and the Polish version have different focus than many of the urban environmental histories published before, most importantly, in that they focus just as much—or even more—on the pre-modern times (that is the period before the industrialization) than on the past two centuries. This makes it peculiar in the sense, that the volumes comparable usually start their discussions in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless the present

volume also addresses some aspects to the modern development of the relationship of the Cracovians and the environment.

The introduction to the volume is a well-written methodological outline in which the editors, Adam Izdebski and Rafał Szmytka sketch out the main trends in American and European urban environmental history, as well as provide the English-speaking (this issue I will come back to) readers with some background on Poland in general and the importance of Krakow in the country. The second chapter by Adam Izdebski and Konrad Wnęk is devoted to the climate history of the city, which while is important for the broader environmental context of the city, could have been treated in a couple of pages, especially as in many cases the chapter is rather a climate history of Poland than of Krakow. The next chapter ("Krakow and Its Rivers") by Andrzej Chwalba however touches upon an issue crucial in the development of the city as well as was one of the most important influencing factors in the life of the townspeople, the town and its water resources. The constant fight of the Cracovians with the floods of the Vistula makes it evident why environment was a key factor in the town's development.

Chapter three by Aldona Mueller-Bieniek looks at the plants in the city using archaeobotany as the primary source. This was the chapter in which a non-Polish—or non-Krakow dweller—like the author of this review could feel slightly lost, as the locations, the relevance of the different plant finds are presented in large density. The chapter while is a valuable contribution to the field of archaeobotany may have originally been intended for an other audience than those who will use this book. The next chapter by Piotr Miodunka was dedicated to the resource-use of Krakow, which—without actually mentioning the concept—uses the urban footprint model as well as von Thünen's model to explain the town-hinterland connections. This is a very well thought out chapter which highlights the importance of Krakow in the land-use of large areas of southern Poland. Chapter five, written by Rafał Szmytka, looks at the history of pollution at Krakow. The author chose to focus on the early modern times which is supplemented by chapter seven on the problem of smog in the modern times.

The last three chapters (including the one on smog) are dedicated to the changing environmental conditions of the town in the age of industrialization and the formation of modern infrastructures, including sanitary measures. In chapter six, Ewelina Szpak shows the belated industrial development of the town and juxtaposes it with the Stalinist heavy industrialization, and the construction of the infamous Nowa Huta complex. The chapter points to the importance of the environmental concerns and the movements that arose in parallel and after the construction of the factories at Nowa Huta. Continuing along these lines the penultimate chapter, mentioned above, deals with the smog in the city and shows the impact of the industrial

activities on the air quality in the city and argues how sensitive the town's location is to air pollution in general. The last chapter written by Małgorzata Praczyk discusses how Cracovians attitudes to their green areas changed in the past two centuries, and contextualizes the development of the ideas of greening with special regard to parks and a rather unique urban meadow, Błonia.

The book certainly is a pioneering attempt. Very few monographs addressed the environmental history of European cities so far, and even less put emphasis on their pre-modern developments. The chapters are well argued, and most of them are enjoyable reads. While the book itself is nicely produced, the illustrations are often of poor quality that is a pity as they could have played a more important role considering the topics covered. It is also important that even the chapters that seemingly intended to reach a wider audience, the arguments are well supported by the endnotes, which make the book valuable to many scholars. The last and connected issue that is worth consideration with regard to the book is exactly this, the audience. For a reader like the author of the present review—a historian of the region, doing environmental history—it was an important book and a well-worthy read. This however is a rather narrow audience and it is rather questionable how much someone coming from Western Europe or the U.S. would take away from reading the book. The original, Polish version certainly intended to reach those who were interested in their own town. To them, specific street names, districts, etc., certainly says something, but not to others. In the English version the audience is certainly the latter group. Some of the chapters found a good balance in this respect, like the ones written by the editors, some however failed in that. Nonetheless for those who intend to gain some insight to the development of a Central European town in an environmental context the book is a must.



Theatrum machinarum. Automaták és mechanikus játékok a kora újkori gyűjteményekben [Automatons and Mechanical Clockworks in Early Modern Collections]. By Dalma Bódai.

Múltidéző zsebkönyvtár. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2021. 207 pp.

Anna Diána Mitropulos 

Independent researcher; mitropulos.anna@gmail.com

The world—as mechanical theatre. Dalma Bódai's book is an excellent synopsis of those most exceptional pieces found in the collections of early modernity concerning automata and other similar mechanical contraptions. The treatise follows a well-defined and well-constructed train of thought, from an introductory piece on collections and the history of mentalities to an introduction of the automata themselves. The method applied by the author, as known from the toolbox of cultural history, involves presenting prevalent philosophies and mentalities through objects from the Renaissance to the new 'scientific' approach brought forth by the Enlightenment.

The treatise consists of two well-identifiable parts which themselves are broken into smaller chapters (five and six of them, respectively). In the first part, we are given an overview of the novel collection structures that began to take form in the sixteenth century, illustrated by the introduction of several different collections. In the second part, the most curious clocks/clockwork items and automata are subjected to close examination.

The precursor to the various *Kunstkammers*, *Wunderkammers*, and *Raritäten-kabinets* was the medieval treasury, consisting of paintings, various items wrought of precious metals, natural curiosities, weapons, mechanical contraptions, numismatic collections and antiquities, which often included a library as well. From the fifteenth century onward, fundamental changes could be perceived in the structure of collections, mainly due to changes in thinking brought about by the Renaissance and the new schools of thought. Precious metal-based thesaurization gave way to the hoarding of natural curiosities and knowledge. New and hitherto unknown specimens of plants and animals found their way to Europe through increased trading activity and the efforts of explorers, and in Europe the collecting of rare, exotic curiosities

of nature became more and more widespread. Novel methods of taxidermy, moreover, led to an increase in the diversity of species found fit to prepare and present. Changed were ideas about the positioning and storing of collections, too: presentation overshadowed mere preservation inside locked treasuries, and objects of the same kind were displayed in separate rooms and bespoke cabinets. The new perspective about collections was reflected in the fact that specialists were employed to order, catalogue, and maintain these hoards, and to guide guests through them. The difference between the *Kunst-* and the *Wunderkammer* might best be explained by stating that the former consisted mostly of works of art, while the latter predominantly featured natural curiosities.

The sources through which we can acquaint ourselves with collections and treasuries are travelers' diaries, catalogues, inventaria, illustrated registers, and—in a broader sense—guidebooks written for the hoarders themselves. In the first chapter, as an introductory note, we are given some examples from the diaries of Hungarian noblemen and politicians (such as Gábor Haller, Kristóf Batthyány, and Mihály Bethlen), which present to us, in varying detail, descriptions of the *Kunstkammers* visited during their sojourns, such as those of the Bavarian and Saxon elector princes. Travelers' journals from the sixteenth century onward were so popular that itineraries were published, designed to aid travelers by counselling them on the sights most worth seeing, and providing guidelines for their own writing of journals.

In the next chapter we are acquainted with the most important royal collections in Europe. A straightforward overview is given, among others, of the Ambras collection of Ferdinand II (1529–1595), the imperial count of Tyrol, and of the Prague treasury of Rudolfs II (1552–1612) the Holy Roman Emperor, through which we are presented with a comprehensive picture of the history of collecting and collections in Europe. These royal collections might have served as models for the Hungarian aristocrats in ordering their own treasuries. It is evident from the journals and notebooks of aristocrats setting forth on a diplomatic mission, or young noblemen travelling abroad to see the wider world, that several famous *Kunstkammers* and *Wunderkammers* were frequented, contributing to the exchange of scientific knowledge between different countries and lands. In this process, collections featured not only as 'indicators' but also the other way around: they themselves were influenced by knowledge gathered elsewhere. The personality, influence, and family history of collectors were mirrored in collections themselves, thus conscious collectors selected the pieces of their hoards they desired to represent with self-representation in mind.

In the third chapter the author discusses the *Wissenschaftsmuseum*, a fascinating group of collections, through some well-chosen examples. Besides those of the alchemist-scholar Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) and polihistor Athanasius Kircher

(1602–1680), accounts are given of the collections of apothecaries and botanists as well. As is common in their case, the collections served the purpose of scientific exploration and presentation and were accompanied with catalogues to aid in their researchers' scholarly pursuits.

From the various collections to be found in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania, those of the time of Matthias I (1443–1490) went beyond the original purpose of hoarding for the first time. The treasury of Matthias I (which included collections of weapons, jewelry and cutlery, precious textiles and natural curiosities; it is also to be noted that he also maintained a menagerie, complete with a birdhouse, camels, and lions) was the archetype against which the aristocratic collections of early modernity measured themselves in spirit and in the types of objects to be collected. It is difficult to pin down the moment of change between the various roles—the exact turning point from tesauration to representation. Nevertheless, it is certain that, by the end of the era, treasuries, which started off as merely hoards of valuable objects, had become diverse collections that represented the widening worldview of their aristocratic owners. In this chapter we are introduced to the grandest of the Hungarian collections: that of the Thurzó family—with the more important pieces highlighted—, and also those of palatine Pál Esterházy (1635–1713) and Ferenc Nádasdy (1623–1671) in great detail. The author does not stop at illustrating these latter two with some memorable artefacts but explains their structure too through some inventaria. Justifiably more attention is given to these treasuries, their owners being the greatest individuals in the history of aristocratic collection in Hungary. The Western mentality of collecting (that of hoarding and cataloguing on a scientific basis), however, may only be traced from a century later (Samuel von Bruckenthal, Gedeon Ráday).

Following the spread of *Kunstkammers*, collectors' guidebooks appeared that specified the types of collectibles, provided instructions for their organization, storage, and presentation. Among them the work of Samuel Quiccheberg (1529?–1567), in the employ of Albert V prince of Bavaria (1528–1579), was perhaps of the highest impact. Collectors' guidebooks, besides being important sources of the history of collecting, also show that the (aspirant) collectors were familiar with these manuals, and that the manuals themselves were the cornerstones of their respective collections. With their aid, the aspirants hoped to rise to meet the 'expected' European requirements and raise the quality of their collections to European standards. It would go beyond the scope of this review to ascertain whether these manuals or the monographs on hydraulics discussed later in the treatise really featured in the libraries of Hungarian aristocrats. The work displays a confident grasp of the relevant literature in foreign tongues; here and in the chapter on *Wissenschaftsmuseums* the author finds her way easily among the diverse sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, amassing them systematically.

After the reader is presented, piece by piece—as in a puzzle—with a description of the mentalities and the significance of the *Kunstkammers* and *Wunderkammers* of early modernity, we reach the titular subject of the book. At this point it might seem that the author has approached the topic from a very distant vantage point; yet the indispensable background of the history of ideas aids significantly in the analysis of the role, place, and importance of automata in collections.

But what is an automaton? What does the term cover, and what did it symbolize to its collector? The first question might be approached from two different angles. The automaton is a mechanical clockwork device. ‘Self-reliant’ machines were a matter of miracle and magic in the time of the Renaissance. The prototypes of such objects were desktop timepieces decorated with moving figures. From the time of the Renaissance onward, the scholars of the *Kunstkammers* used clocks and various other mechanical contraptions to obtain insight into the inner workings of the world itself. Clockwork devices, moreover, granted their owners a certain sense of grand representation, being valuable and intricate beyond the usual standards of contemporary technology.

At the beginning of the second part of the book we are told that the first ‘automata’ of ancient antiquity were powered by water (*κλεψύδραι*); later, the same principle was used in the grottoes of late Renaissance and Baroque gardens. Following this illustration of the clockwork device, we are presented with the automaton itself—reasonable, the two being grounded in the same principle of construction. Examples are given of some of the tabletop astronomical and planetary timepieces, and also of figural ones representing lions, eagles, and camels. These animal motifs sometimes had a symbolic meaning: the lion referring to the Bavarian elector prince, the eagle to the House of Habsburg, etc. The author assigns to every artefact its maker (if known), its date, its physical details, and the description of its workings, its commissioner (if identifiable), its place in one or another collection in the early modern period, and its current location in a museum, be this located in Europe or America. The inventory number is usually given among the footnotes, but on more than one occasion this is missing, and the author gives only bibliographical references.¹ As for the tabletop Diana-automaton of the Metropolitan Museum, although the picture is presented, the description of the object is missing. There were numerous stages of transition between clocks and automata, therefore defining the types of objects is a hard and much-disputed task. There are instances of mechanical contraptions playing

1 Some examples: the planetary clock of Wien, the ship automaton of the Hans Schlottheim – Kunsthistorisches Museum; the ship automaton of the museum of Écouen; the Bacchus-automaton from the treasury of Fraknó; the ‘Triumph of Bacchus’ automaton in the Museum of Applied Arts; the Chariot of Diana – Yale; Diana Mounted Upon a Centaur—Grünes Gewölbe; automaton of a monk—Smithsonian.

music, clocks playing a note upon the striking of an hour, music-boxes adorned with moving figures, and moving automata that played music besides, thus we cannot define strict boundaries between the types. The composition and the iconography of given objects were decided upon by the artisan and the commissioner together. The intricacies of internal clockwork mechanics were influenced not only by continuous technical development, but also by the extent of the artificer's knowledge.

The centerpieces of the figural clocks presented as examples (such as those with the lion, eagle, or camel motif) are the figures themselves, while the purpose of the clocks is to function as timepieces. It is the opposite with automata: with these, movement becomes central, although clock faces still feature in some pieces. Within a *Kunstkammer*, the principal goal of the automaton is to assist with reflection upon a mechanical worldview—the imitation of life through movement.

The author dedicates a whole segment of the book to one of the most popular types of automaton—those shaped like ships or chariots/carriages. The figures in such pieces are capable of movement, as are sometimes the ships or the chariots. From the mass of objects within this category the author has chosen to represent the choicest presentable pieces: nine ships in total (three of them function as clocks as well), five contraptions featuring Bacchus and nine more showing Diana; automata wrought in the likeness of elephants were popular as well. Machines that model the movement of animals create the illusion of life: there are accounts of contraptions designed to move like tortoises, crabs, spiders, bears and swans. An account is given of the 'Peacock Clock', a design by the English inventor James Cox (1723–1800) depicting a forest scene, spanning three meters and also featuring figures of an owl and a rooster. The art of the automaton reached its zenith in the eighteenth century with the invention of machines capable of modelling the human body (to an extent) and of executing complicated movements, although simpler designs of the same kind are known from the sixteenth century. Between 1768 and 1774 the inventors Pierre Jaquet-Droz, his son Henri-Louis, and Jean Frédéric Leschot collaborated to design three anthropomorphic automatons. One of the child-shaped contraptions draws one of four pre-programmed drawings; the other is capable of writing different texts, while in the third a lady plays the harpsichord. The evolution of automata is thus completed in two centuries: from the clocks and music-boxes of the sixteenth century to moving, figural timepieces to devices capable of modelling the human form and activities in the eighteenth century. Artisans and tinkerers, according to the contemporary way of thinking, had—like God himself—created Man.

The author thus shows us a truly representative selection of the choicest objects, presenting artefacts ordered through themes and analogies, as in a catalogue. The physical restrictions of the volume itself prevent the publication of more color pictures, notwithstanding the imperative need imposed upon the author by the

source material to do so. Nonetheless, in the ‘age of the internet’ many such pictures might be found in the online catalogues and collections of different museums. Should the reader wish for a rich store of pictures and several interesting sidenotes to accompany this book, the author’s four-part series of lectures on the world of automata (based on the structure of the volume) is available for perusal on the Facebook page of *Pesti Bölcsész Akadémia* (April–May of 2021).

There are few misspellings in the book, mainly concentrated on a certain few pages, and only one major grammatical error in the whole volume. The picture of the bell automaton is clearly not of the author’s own making—this is confirmed by the online database of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. These observations, however, subtract little from the value of the grandiose work of the author, which shows great power of composition. The author’s knowledge and grasp of the literature outside of her own country is prodigious: more than half of the cited works and around 40 percent of the sources are written in a foreign language.

The work is not a catalogue in the strictest sense of the word, since its store of pictures is not large enough, yet it is somewhat of a catalogue, and more than that. Catalogue it is, since it presents the artefacts by following a given set of principles, yet it is more, since it also presents a historical and idea-historical background for the formation of the *Kunstkammern* and *Wunderkammern* and the collection of automata—scarcely possible within the limits of a catalogue. Rare is such a thematic description—and thus the bar for later work by the author is set high indeed.



Az udvar vonzásában – A magyar főnemesség bécsi
integrációjának színterei (1711–1765) [In The Pull of the Court:
The Scenes of the Viennese Integration of the Hungarian
Aristocracy]. By Zsolt Kökényesi.

Humaniorák. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2021. 536 pp.

Dóra Kalocsai 

PhD School of History, Faculty of Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University, H-1088 Budapest,
Múzeum krt. 6–8; kalocsai.dori@gmail.com

The heyday of the Hungarian nobility's integration into the Viennese Imperial Court of the Habsburgs is inspected from a novel perspective by Zsolt Kökényesi, a research fellow at the Department of Early Modern History at the Eötvös Loránd University. Having been doing archival studies for over a decade, he started his archival research in the field of the present monograph in his doctoral dissertation, which he defended in 2016. His recent book analyses the actors and scenes of integration under Charles VI and during the first half of Maria Theresa's reign, specifically between 1711 and 1765, two fundamental landmarks in Habsburg–Hungarian relations: 1711 marked the end of the Rákóczi War of Independence (the Hungarian estates' last revolutionary war against the dynasty) and the beginning of the close co-operation between the Court and the Hungarian political elite, whereas 1765 brought a disruption in their relations. After the bitter experiences of the 1764–1765 Diet, the Hungarian estates were not convened for a quarter-century.

Filling an important research gap in Hungarian court studies, Kökényesi gives a comprehensive analysis of this half-century of co-operation characterised by a growing presence of the Hungarian nobility (more precisely the members of the *natio Hungarica*) in the Court while strengthening their position in the government. From the beginnings of court studies in Hungary in the 1980s, either the princely court in Transylvania or the households of the Hungarian upper nobility stood in the focus of historical research. More recently, mainly Géza Pálffy's research has started to turn historians' attention towards the challenges of the Viennese court integration, although Pálffy's analysis is confined to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Aiming to encourage future investigations of the topic, the appendix gives a summary of Kökényesi's database.

Kökényesi offers a new perspective on eighteenth-century Habsburg–Hungarian relations, as the process and the significance of the Hungarian nobility's court integration is re-interpreted and freed from the negative value judgements of contemporaries and several nineteenth and twentieth century historians. The topic of representation is only briefly touched upon, as the author plans to dedicate a second volume to the symbolic aspects of the aristocrats' court presence.

In the first section of the book, Kökényesi gives an overview of Hungarian students at Viennese educational institutions. These early contacts to the imperial city are proven to be of great significance, as based on archival material, it is found that prior to their appointment almost all chief officeholders in the period had some relations (often regarding their education) to Vienna. Whereas the presence of nobles from Western and Lower Hungary was most prevalent in Vienna, the Hungarian Noble Guard and the *Theresianum* played an important role in strengthening the Transylvanian nobility's ties to the imperial residence as well.

The next section identifies the government institutions of outstanding importance for the Hungarian nobility's court integration, namely the Hungarian and Transylvanian Court Chancellery, the Hungarian Court Chamber, and even the Aulic War Council, and the Lower Austrian Government. The author does not follow an institutionalist approach, instead his focus is on the nobles themselves who held court or government offices, acting as the agents of integration. We learn about their family backgrounds, kinship ties, their marriage contacts, as well as their career trajectories and personal networks. Based on this prosopographical study, typical family strategies, places of origin and career prospects characterising this rather heterogenous group are revealed.

Kökényesi provides evidence to show that only aristocrats from families with prominent court positions and excellent contacts to the Viennese court society were appointed as chief officeholders. Members of such aristocratic families as the Esterházy, the Pálffy, the Batthyány, the Nádasdy, or the Erdődy managed to influence governance matters of the Habsburg Monarchy. Although these families continued to be predominant throughout the entire era, under Maria Theresa the Viennese presence of nobles from Eastern Hungary and Transylvania was strengthened. We also get a glimpse of the career prospects and strategies of lesser noblemen who appeared on lower levels of government offices as councillors or secretaries. Kökényesi convincingly shows that while family networks and patron-client relationships often played a decisive role in the nobles' successful application to government offices, they did not necessarily guarantee the success of their ambitions. He also emphasises that serving in Viennese government bodies did not always mean the height of a person's career. After serving for a few years, numerous Hungarian

councillors moved to the institutional systems of the Kingdom of Hungary or the Principality of Transylvania.

The third (and last) section underlines the importance of examining this integration process not only in the Monarchy's institutional system but also in the physical space of the city of Vienna. Court integration required the presence (for periodic visits or for permanent residence) of Hungarian nobles in the imperial city. Kökényesi thus gives a detailed portrayal of the different types of accommodation opportunities available for the nobles, as well as of the difficulties they encountered due to the shortage of housing and high property prices. The dynamic of the integration process appearing in the urban space and the urban space affecting this process is introduced.

As Kökényesi delineates the scenes of court integration, ranging from various educational institutions, through the Habsburg Court, and the central government bodies to urban dwellings, we see the very same areas on which the so-called 'absolutist compromise' was based.¹ According to Dewald, although the estates had lost their earlier political significance in the era of Absolutism, the nobility still benefited from serving the monarch at the royal court, in central bureaucracy or as high-ranking military officers. Depicting a detailed picture of the platforms and agents of the Viennese integration, Kökényesi's book gives the first comprehensive insight into this Europe-wide development from the perspective of the *natio Hungarica*.

Literature

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1 A model proposed by Jonathan Dewald: Dewald, *The European Nobility*.



‘Communicative’ Approaches to Women’s History in Hungary

Medien, Orte, Rituale. Zur Kulturgeschichte weiblicher Kommunikation im Königreich Ungarn. Edited by Lilla Krász, Brigitta Pesti, and Andrea Seidler. Vienna: Praesens, 2020. 367 pp.

Eszter Bartha 

Institute of Historical Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum krt. 6–8, Hungary; bartha.eszter@btk.elte.hu

In Hungary, both writing women’s history and the neglect of works thus produced has had a long history. In the state-socialist era, propaganda proudly proclaimed the solution of the ‘women’s question’ and the fulfillment of women’s emancipatory project. Thus, any discussion about existing inequalities immediately became political¹—all the more so because feminism was interpreted as a Western ‘bourgeois’ ideology that had no relevance for socialist societies. Women’s studies, therefore, could not be institutionalized and the discipline mostly remained on the margins of the academic world. There is no space to discuss the complex processes that have shaped women’s social and family roles since the change of regime, the reception—and mainstream rejection—of Western feminism, and the ideal(ized) gender and family models which are inseparably linked with the different political ideologies. Suffice it to say that in the Hungarian academic world institutionalization progressed slowly: the Research Center of Women’s History was, for instance, founded in 2015 at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE).

The collection of essays entitled *Medien, Orte, Rituale* is the result of a joint enterprise and extensive research project conducted by the Finno–Ugrian Institute of the University of Vienna, the Historical Institute of the Slovakian Academy, and the ELTE Research Center of Women’s History. It is to the merit of the three editors that they were able to implement this long-term collaboration among women’s historians and literary critics from the three countries by offering a unique opportunity both to established scholars and early-career researchers to “come together” and engage in fruitful dialogue, the result of which has materialized in the form of this impressive volume of collected papers.

1 See, e.g., Zimmermann, “In an Out of the Cage.”

In her introductory essay, Lilla Krász singles out two important objectives of the book. First, the editors seek to offer a truly transnational history of the ways, modes, possibilities, networks, and rituals of women's communication in early modern Hungary and the Hungarian Kingdom under the Habsburg Monarchy. Second, the collection demonstrates that, in spite of all the odds, women's studies constitute an integral part of Hungarian history-writing, and eminent scholars from their respective fields have been addressing 'entangled' subjects at the crossroads of women's history and communication studies. This presupposes an interdisciplinary approach, and a refreshingly novel relation to the study of sources and the choice of methodology. By bringing together eighteen authors from different academic and national backgrounds, *Medien, Orte, Rituale* shows that the region which is alternatively called Central or East-Central Europe (depending on the geographical and historical angle of the observer) constitutes an integral part of a shared European history. The book addresses a German-speaking audience, in relation to which a shared past cannot be disputed; I would, however, go one step further to argue that it is also true from a European perspective, which the book nicely demonstrates.

It cannot be the intention here to introduce all the papers from the collected volume, whose topics cover a wide range of historically as well as 'laically' exciting questions, from the communication strategies of the nuns of aristocratic origin to the public spheres of aristocratic marriages, the role of female patrons in the printed literature, the communication and defense strategies of accused women and women from the provinces, the networks that can be constructed from memory albums (*album amicorum*), women's roles in the writing of an 'enlightened' scholar of the monarchy, the journalistic writings of Júlia Jósika, the wife of an exiled writer after the defeat of the 1848–1849 revolution and War of Independence in Hungary, the letters of a deaconess who went on an 'exotic' mission from Pest in the second half of the nineteenth century, or the memories of a famous actress, Mari Jászai, in Hungary. If we take a look at the construction of social roles, we also get a very diverse picture of how some women succeeded in transgressing traditional gender roles in early modern Hungary (and how others failed to do so), how coercion and resistance strategies from below shaped the ways midwives became professionalized in Hungary, and how (some) women succeeded in conquering 'male' jobs such as those of journalist and doctor in the first half of the twentieth century in Hungary. The listing of the research questions itself reflects the thematic, methodological, and conceptual richness of the volume; thus, the reader always gets a historically constructed picture of women's changing social and gender roles in Hungary from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.

There are two further important aspects that I would like to stress. First, that development was not unidirectional. Different historical epochs were associated with markedly different social images which could be—and often were—sharply

contradicted by the social reality of people. During the time of the Ottoman conquest, Hungary was a military stronghold and it was customary for aristocratic (and non-aristocratic) men to spend years away from the family. In this situation, the role of the wife (or widow) automatically changed as she became responsible for running the 'extended' household and keeping together the family estate. The wars of religions caused further conflict within families; literary patronage was, for instance, as Brigitta Pesti observed, undoubtedly motivated by the *Kulturkampf* of the confessions. Aristocratic women's skills, education, and literary knowledge, of course, widely varied. Zsuzsanna Lorántffy was, for instance, not only a generous patron but also a cultivated and educated woman, while Erzsébet Czobor's letters suggest that she had problems expressing herself in writing.

The second aspect is the concept of intersectionality. Indeed, according to the normative narrative, the writing of women's history started in the 1970s—of course, in the Western world. This was followed by gender studies, which put the emphasis first and foremost on the sole category of sisterhood—that is to say, made the assumption that the category of gender essentially precedes all other social and political categories. The next invention was the recognition that fundamental social categories should be examined together. The task of the researcher is to find historical and social causality rather than stress a presupposed common identity for all women—which is a truism of all academics who have been adequately trained in historical methods. This new paradigm became well known as intersectionality, which refers to the simultaneous investigation of multiple social categories, thus the addition of categories such as social class, race, religion, citizenship, etc. into the study of gender. The authors of the book all work with the assumption that without the historical context one can but list commonplaces and reproduce existing stereotypes that in any case characterize the Western construction of gender roles in the region.

In his book *Inventing Eastern Europe*,² Larry Wolff argues that even at the time of the Enlightenment Western people viewed Eastern Europe as a region where, for example, women were treated as slaves who could even be offered to guests as sexual objects or be physically punished without any legal consequence. This 'exoticized' view of the Other received fresh impetus with the fall of the Iron Curtain, when any exchange between the two halves of Europe became difficult and dangerous—and thereby the latter's knowledge of each other again became highly politicized.

The change of regimes failed to deconstruct Cold War stereotypes—and in some cases, the post-1989 literature only reconstructs these culturalist-(covertly) racist discourses. *Medien, Orte, Rituale* is, from this perspective, a refreshingly new

2 Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*.

‘collective voice’ on the market which dares to transgress these mental boundaries. It does show that there were pre-given ‘scripts’ about women’s roles in the region; but it also shows that women’s social reality often differed from the world of the moralistic writings that the men of the era produced. Andrea Seidler, for instance, analyzes the writings of Joseph von Sonnenfels, an Austrian scholar from the eighteenth century, who compared the tasks of women to those of the absolute ruler in the sense that both should seek happiness in (different forms of) serving people (*glücklich sey, dadurch, dass man glücklich machet*). This perspective already forecast a different social milieu: the construction of the bourgeois family, wherein gender roles—according to the classic study of Jürgen Habermas—were strictly differentiated into the ‘public’ and the ‘private’. Of course, the theory can be debated; nonetheless, it had a very lasting impact on our understanding of these ‘prescribed’ gender roles.

Here I have to mention one criticism. While the early modern papers mostly succeed in being truly intersectional, in those about the nineteenth and twentieth century few tackle the problem of the specific nature of Eastern European development and the ‘incomplete’ (or mostly missing) processes of embourgeoisement. In a paper, Eleonóra Géra discusses the letters of a deaconess, Hermine Biberauer, in the second half of the nineteenth century, who was of German origin, and wrote her letters to her brother—not surprisingly—in German. As Géra notes, Hermine was very cautious in formulating political opinions, not only because her letters were read in the congregation, but also because her brother supported the Prussians against the Austrians, while she had a more Austrian identity. It would have been worth giving a deeper analysis of what German or Austrian identity really meant and how the change of ethnic identities impacted the social and political opinions—and social mobility!—of the *magyarized* bourgeoisie.

Apart from the above-mentioned credits, I would like to draw attention to some papers in which it is described how women succeeded in transgressing both gender boundaries and pre-existing ‘exoticized’ stereotypes. Ildikó Horn analyzes the everyday life and social-cultural network of a famous monastery in Bratislava (Pressburg/Pozsony, in today’s Slovakia), showing that women of aristocratic origins who became nuns also functioned as ‘information centers’ and continued to support their extended families in many ways (through providing a forum for the exchange of information, educating children, etc.) As the letters of Anna Franciska Csáky show, being a nun did not necessarily mean withdrawal from the outside world; quite the contrary, a nun could act as an organizer and a matchmaker, and she could also satisfy her interest in politics.

As Anna Fundárková notes, in the marriage of Maria Fugger and Nikolaus Pálffy a strong woman met a strong man, and their correspondence shows that not only did Maria, as the daughter of an influential family, support the career of her husband, but

they also had strong feelings for each other. This is shown by the mixed use of the language: e.g. Pálffy called Maria “mein aller Herz liebtest Baba,” while Maria wrote that even the “nénék és húgok” (aunts and sisters in Hungarian) missed Pálffy.

Erika Szívós makes use of memory studies, and from the example of the memoirs of Mari Jászai (a very famous Hungarian actress, 1850–1926) she analyzes the construction of her self and her self-therapy on the basis of ego documents. Judit Kerpics chooses another ‘extraordinary’ woman, Júlia Jósika, who gained popularity due to her multicultural approach associated with the duplex cultural transfer between Brussels and Pest. Lilla Krász studies the professionalization of midwives in eighteenth-century Hungary, showing that given the lack of experienced midwives, many women continued to practice the profession without official authorization because they could not pass the medical exam. She also analyzes desperate letters in which midwives complain of the difficulty of the exam and refer to their old age as an excuse.

The long *durée* perspective and the interdisciplinarity and intersectionality that *Medien, Orte, Rituale* applies expands the category of gender, thus endowing the writing of ‘old’ women’s history with a new dimension. At its dawn, women’s history focused on great historical female personalities in an attempt to show that ‘his’ story has always been complemented with ‘her’ story—no matter what the grand narrative of ‘sisterhood’ claimed about the inherent victimhood of women, which can never be adequately verified in our common story. The writing of new women’s history makes productive and multifaceted use of contemporary social theories and attempts to understand the widely debated and even more widely misunderstood category of gender in a social, cultural and political context, which has always been contingent upon a common history of women and men.

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Chapters from the History of the Persecution of the Churches in Central Europe

Hidden Galleries. Material Religion in the Secret Police Archives in Central and Eastern Europe. Edited by James A. Kapaló and Tatiana Vagramenko. Zurich: LIT, 2020. 104 pp.

The Secret Police and the Religious Underground in Communist and Post-Communist Eastern Europe. Edited by James A. Kapaló and Kinga Povedák. New York–Abingdon: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, 2022. 354 pp.

Áron Kovács 

Scholarly Collections of the Reformed Church College of Sárospatak, H-3950 Sárospatak, Rákóczi út 1; skovacsaron@gmail.com

Few situations in a person's life are more psychologically disturbing than when their daily practices become forbidden and persecuted overnight. A similar feeling must have been experienced by those whose religious practice was severely restricted after the communist takeovers in Central Europe: faith-based education, youth work, the distribution of religious literature and many other practices that had previously been part of everyday life were made impossible. Members of the various denominations were subjected to surveillance and harassment. In such situations, there was no need for defiant reactions or physical resistance: in standing up for their faith, ordinary people practicing their religion in everyday life could easily confront the oppressive regime without wishing to do so as a political act. From another angle, the churches in the countries of the Soviet bloc were forced to develop new ways of functioning; to find alternative ways of operating. These paradoxical situations—the methodology of repression and survival—are the subject of the book *The Secret Police and the Religious Underground in Communist and Post-Communist Eastern Europe* by James A. Kapaló and Kinga Povedák, and the closely related volume *Hidden Galleries. Material Religion in the Secret Police Archives in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by James A. Kapaló and Tatiana Vagramenko.

Among the many virtues of *The Secret Police and the Religious Underground in Communist and Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, one of the most important is its excellently written introduction, which helps the reader to clarify both the historical

context and the conceptual framework. It addresses vital issues such as the religious underground and the notion of resistance through religion as the basis of the volume's studies.

The book itself is divided into four major structural units: the development of the legal environment and the hostility to religious groups and to the practice of religion, the anti-religious operations of the secret police, the methodology of researching secret police files, and the aftermath of the secret police archives.

Two of the five studies in the first part focus on the legal context of churches and a life of faith. Szilvia Köbel provides a comprehensive, detailed summary of the legal framework within which churches operated in Hungary during the Communist era, while Éva Petrás examined their functioning through the example of the Jehovah's Witnesses' Community, which operated outside the formal framework. The other three studies analyze the workings of the Soviet and Romanian secret police, providing a shocking picture of data collection, the use of this data by the bureaucracy, and the construction of cases for political and propaganda purposes. The study by Tatiana Vagramenko stands out. The author examines the activities of the Soviet secret police in constructing model cases of anti-state political conspiracies out of the popular religiosity of the peasant masses and the apocalyptic and chiliastic movements that emerged during the Russian Revolution of 1917. Dumitru Lisnic's study explores the changing image of Inochentism in Soviet Ukraine in secret police circles, guiding the reader through the different levels of propaganda and repression. Corneliu Pintilescu's study describes the repression of Jehovah's Witnesses in communist Romania: the way the Securitate constructed the latter's meetings, fundraising efforts, and document distributions as part of an anti-state conspiracy, and then handed over the members to the military prosecutor's office for court martial.

The second part of the volume deals with the methodology of secret police operations. Igor Cașu's study examines the infiltration of Soviet state security into the Jehovah's Witnesses and the preparations for their mass deportation. Maciej Krzywosz looks at the work of the Polish secret police in relation to the Marian apparition in Zabłudów in 1965 and the way the event was handled, the process of information gathering, fake news dissemination, and intimidation. Rasa Pranskevičiūtė-Amoson examines the KGB's activities aimed at dismantling the Hare Krishna movement in 1979–1989 from a similar perspective. Using archival sources and oral history interviews, she shows how Soviet state security tried to prevent the organized activity of Hare Krishna believers and the spread of their doctrines in the Soviet Union. At the same time, she describes the means and methodology of intimidation: the operational use of demoralization, expulsion from schools and workplaces, criminal suspicion, and even forced psychiatric treatment. In the closing section of this part of the book, which analyses the work of the secret police, Ondřej Matějka

outlines the history of Czech Protestant theological movements after 1945 and the image of the secret police. Matějka shows that the StB was unable to find its way in the Czech Protestant milieu, which organized itself according to a presbyterial structure. Another important lesson of the study is how the secret police narrative of the New Orientation lived on in the church's own publications after 1989.

A prominent part of the volume is the studies on methodological approaches. They present the potential research methods and pitfalls of the intelligence files. In a detailed study, Ágnes Hesz examines the source value of the documents and the question of how reliable they are as sources of social history. Kinga Povedák discusses the methodology for analyzing photographs held in secret police archives. She describes in a practical way the process of photo elicitation, which is "in some ways similar to oral history, [which] places photographic images at the center of the research process." The last chapter in the third section is Kapaló's study on the use of secret police archives as anthropological sources. He uses an example from 1960s Romania to illustrate the way in which the agent reports were interpreted to examine the eating and fasting habits of the Inochentists.

The four papers that close the book offer a unique view of the fate of the politics of remembrance in Central Europe after the fall of communism. Through three examples from Romania and one from the post-Yugoslavian states the authors show how churches have confronted the legacy of the communist period, whether in the form of information gathered by the secret police, informers, the processing of the traumas associated with the dictatorship, or the desire to understand their past. Cristian Maria Vasile traces the history of the lobbying of the Romanian Orthodox Church connected to the Securitate archives in the 1990s and 2000s and the related debates about the politics of remembrance. He pays particular attention to the relations between the BOR and the Romanian state in the early 1990s, as well as to the functioning of the Comisia Prezidențială de Analiză a Dictaturii Comuniste, established in 2006, and the fate of its Final Report. A similar issue is addressed in the last essay of the volume. Iuliana Cindrea-Nagy explores the relationship of neo-Protestant churches to the communist past. Aleksandra Djurić Milovanović, who contributes the second paper in the final section, deals with the documents compiled by the former Yugoslav secret police and the obstacles to their research. Milovanović outlines the institutional system set up to monitor and control churches in the former Yugoslavia and describes the possibility of accessing the archives held by the successor states, and then makes a very useful bridging suggestion: the use of documents—court documents and court orders—preserved by members of religious communities for research purposes after fieldwork. The third study in part four is somewhat different to the others. Anca Șincan deals with the moral side of researching the Securitate archives. She examines the concept of morality used by

the Romanian secret police, the representation of morality, sexuality, and privacy in secret police files, and the biased nature of research in this area.

Although not part of the volume, the book *Hidden Galleries: Material Religion in the Secret Police Archives in Central Europe and Eastern Europe* is connected to it in many ways, both in its subject matter and through its authors and editors. This 104-page volume brings together sensational photographs and artefacts from the archives of the secret police in four structural units, bringing the themes of *The Secret Police and the Religious Underground in Communist and Post-Communist Eastern Europe* closer to the reader, adding nuances, illustrations, new details and stories.

The “Hidden Galleries” chapter takes us into a hidden world of underground churches, their users, secret monastic orders and youth circles, illegal religious education, and clandestine communications using location photos, group photographs, and secret correspondence. The chapter on Police aesthetics gives an insight into the methodology of secret police work through network schemes, crime-scene photos and photo albums, and the attitudes and methods applied to collecting used by the secret police to compile their own ‘collections.’ The third chapter of the volume presents photographs and writings confiscated by the police: photo icons, portraits of religious leaders, pilgrimages and festivals that present the religious life and rituals of the community that serve as components of communal memory. Complemented by mugshots, these objects and images also played a radically different role: they served as criminal evidence for the police. It is shocking to see a family album among the objects: the secret police saw in the expatriate relatives of the album’s owners an instrument for exploitation: a way to posit the existence of a cross-border network for a criminal. This chapter also contains confiscated religious documents and samizdat. A series of secretly reproduced manuscripts, pamphlets, and booklets show that, in addition to those officially recognized, there was also an underground public in the shadow of totalitarian state power. The chapter also draws our attention to the value of these documents—often the last surviving copies of a single work, and some of the few tangible memories of a community. The final chapter of the book gives a taste of the stories that emerged from the work and exhibitions that the collected objects and photographs revealed of the people who were involved, adding further nuance.

The two volumes have different virtues, but reading them together paints a relatively complete picture of religious life under a communist dictatorship. Even with the excellently written studies in *The Secret Police and the Religious Underground in Communist and Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, I missed the stories of illegal monastic orders, secret seminaries, and youth missionary work disguised as excursions. (However, I would not wish to present this as a critique to the editors of this

book, knowing how inexhaustible the subject of the religious underground is.) Many of these stories appear, albeit in short form, in the pages of *Hidden Galleries. Material Religion in the Secret Police Archives in Central and Eastern Europe*, in a lavishly illustrated way. All in all, the reader is presented with two very good volumes that provide an excellent overview of the activities of the secret police in Eastern Europe in relation to churches, their working methods, and the techniques developed by various religious groups to survive.



A View from Brussels: Secret NATO Reports about the East European Transition, 1988–1991. Edited by Gusztáv D. Kecskés.

Budapest: Research Centre for Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Cold War History Research Center, 2019. 250 pp.

Simon Miles 

Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University, 130 Rubenstein Hall, Box 90312, Durham, NC 27708-0312; simon.miles@duke.edu

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is back in the news. When Vladimir Putin renewed his invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, a chorus of voices blamed the violence being unleashed on Russia's western neighbor on the West, reprising an argument already made in early 2014 when Russia forcibly annexed Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula and started a war in the eastern Donbas. Claims of a direct, causal relationship between NATO expansion and contemporary Russian aggression must meet a high evidentiary standard. Now, the opening of archival materials on the late 1980s and early 1990s offers scholars insight into what actually happened at the end of the Cold War and the factors that shaped the transformation of Eastern Europe.

Gusztáv D. Kecskés's *A View from Brussels* presents a selection of important documents from NATO's archives which shed new light on the end of the Cold War. As editor, Kecskés has chosen documents that highlight just how contingent the events of 1989–1991 were. For example, while many in NATO may have welcomed the fall of the Berlin Wall in theory, in practice they worried what the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe would mean for European stability, hard-won over the past four decades. The (largely) peaceful revolutions of 1989 unleashed a powerful new force in international politics, and NATO would have to adapt to the new realities. First and foremost: did NATO itself have a future in a world without the Warsaw Pact and a significantly diminished—or possibly dissolved—Soviet Union?

Through eight judiciously selected documents from the NATO archives in Brussels, Kecskés paints a picture of an alliance racing to keep up with the scope and pace of changes within the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe. As Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost reforms remade politics and everyday life within the Soviet Union, Brussels watched the transformation and wondered how the Cold War would transform—and how long it could last. An April 1988 stock-taking exercise covers a dizzying range of issues, from nationalist unrest in the Soviet Union (particularly in the Baltics and the Caucasus) to new policy currents in

Eastern Europe. Then, nearly two years before the fall of the Berlin Wall, policy-makers remained unsure as to whether this marked a transformation in relations between Moscow and its Eastern European allies, which would enable them to exercise greater independence, eschewing the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine. Another analysis from May 1989 noted the divergence between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his senior military officers as the Kremlin cut the defense budget, and the rest of the Warsaw Pact (with the exception of Romania) followed suit. Fascinatingly, on 8 November 1989, the day before East Germans tore down the Berlin Wall, NATO analysts demonstrated a solid grasp of just how bad the situation in Eastern Europe had become (from the perspective of its communist leaders), and how precarious Gorbachev's position in the Soviet Union was. It was all downhill from there.

In many ways, the post-1989 documents selected by Kecskés are the more interesting ones. The reader has a window into a military alliance trying to grapple with its *raison d'être* if not disappearing, then certainly diminishing. While still a nuclear power with civilization-extinguishing capabilities, a Soviet Union without allies and bursting at the seams cast a much less fearsome shadow over Europe and the world. Here, the fact that the editor has chosen only documents reflecting a consensus of experts reporting on events east of the crumbling Iron Curtain to the North Atlantic Council, while understandable—and valuable, leaves readers wondering how national assessments differed from these international products. In other words, as the fault lines in the East grew into chasms, did any cleavages develop in the West as NATO and its members were faced with new events? Alliances, after all, are not just unitary actors: they are in many ways the result of compromise between the countries and policy-makers who comprise them. Similarly, all eight of the documents were for discussion at the North Atlantic Council, in order to understand how they were received (and the extent to which Council members even paid attention), readers will have to turn elsewhere. Advisory memoranda, such as those that Kecskés collects, are only one part—albeit an important one—of the policy-making process; but it is up to political officials to act upon them.

A View from Brussels helps us understand the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a new European security order. Kecskés has brought together documents which shed new light on how NATO understood that process and the conclusions which shaped the alliance's role during the pivotal years between 1988 and 1991. The eight reports in the volume illustrate how, gradually, NATO analysts looked past the Cold War, at the same time as they chronicle the convulsions of its denouement. *A View from Brussels* is an important contribution both as a teaching tool and an account of a critical phase in the history of international relations.



“Krisztus ajándéka van bennünk.” Pünkösdzizmus moldvai román, roma és csángó közösségekben [“The Gift of Christ is Inside Us” Pentecostalism in Romanian, Roma and Csángó Communities]. By Lehel Peti.

Vallásantropológiai tanulmányok Közép-Kelet-Európából [Religious Anthropological Studies from Central Eastern Europe] 9. Budapest–Kolozsvár: Balassi – Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2020. 163 pp.

Ágnes Hesz 

Department of European Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Pécs, 7624 Pécs, Rókus u. 2; hesz.agnes.marta@pte.hu

The chapters of Lehel Peti’s volume focus on the religious lives of three Pentecostal communities in the rural region of Moldavia, in the east of Romania, a country with one of the largest Pentecostal populations in Europe. Being part of a loose network linked by the figure of the central community’s religious leader, their groups differ in size and ethnic background: the central community is ethnically Romanian, with thirty or forty adult members in an Orthodox village of about 3,000 inhabitants, the second is a group of 400 Roma members in another Orthodox village where they make up a quarter of the local Roma population, and the third is a group of seven Csángó families living in a Catholic settlement of 4,600 inhabitants. Their integration to the national Pentecostal organisation also varies greatly: while the Csángó group is completely autonomous and independent of the national organisation, the Roma group is under the control of the regional branch of the Romanian Pentecostal Church, which even holds propriety rights over its church.

Peti’s papers are based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2013–2017 and funded by an ERC project led by Éva Pócs.¹ With the leader of the Csángó community as his key informant, Peti made several shorter and longer trips to the region where he participated in the groups’ ritual events and conducted semi-structured interviews with community members.

While this is an edited volume of Peti’s individual articles as its chapters (four of which have already been published elsewhere), reading it chapter by chapter

1 ERC Project No. 324214.

brings the reader to a better understanding of the communities and offers more nuanced answers to the questions raised. Naturally, this does not make it a monograph on local Pentecostalism, since Peti only focuses on three key problems related to Pentecostalism, namely conversion, migration, and ritual differences. He studies these issues embedded in their social contexts and in relation to processes of modernisation. While doing so, he is in constant conversation with the key literature on Pentecostalism and charismatic Christian movements,² using their models and comparing their findings to his own.

The central issue in the volume—one that all articles address to varying depths—is conversion. As it becomes clear by the end of the book, conversion is also key to understanding the other two issues studied, namely migration, and ritual differences. Peti investigates conversion from various angles. Apart from personal details, conversion stories from the region build on the narrative schemes and tropes known from the international literature on charismatic movements. One of these is that converts emphasise the contrast between their lifestyle before and after turning to God, stressing the moral superiority of the latter. Contrasting their new mentality to the old, narrators underline the positive consequences of their conversions and lend authenticity to their new identity. There are differences though between the groups. In Roma people's narratives, conversion is presented and understood as a successful life strategy to improve one's social status. On the one hand, when talking about their new lifestyle, they explicitly counter negative stereotypes attached to Roma people (for example, by repeatedly emphasising that the level of crime has significantly dropped in Pentecostal Roma communities). On the other hand, they attribute their post-conversion economic success to leaving their former, hedonistic way of life behind. This element is missing from the narratives of non-Roma converts, for whom taking on Pentecostalism has a marginalising effect in their original community and often leads to a drop in social prestige.

Conversion is most often triggered by a personal crisis. Apart from illness, family tragedies, or addiction, migration may also be experienced as such—as shown by many of the conversion narratives. When people live far away from their loved ones and need to cope under unfamiliar social circumstances, Pentecostal groups can offer a supporting environment and the warmth of a community. They may also offer asylum for those who, as relatives of migrant workers, are left at home and must deal with hardships alone. It is therefore not surprising that several members of the communities studied turned to Pentecostalism in a migration situation or were encouraged by a family member involved in migration—although we have no data of the members

2 E.g., McGuire, *Pentecostal Catholics*; Rambo and Farhadian, "Converting: Stages of Religious Change"; Stromberg, *Language and Self-Transformation*.

converted independent of migration. Migration also leads to a growth in the number of Pentecostal communities; it is not uncommon for Pentecostals living abroad to form a new community that stays in loose touch with their home network. As some of the Roma converts point out, a further link between migration and conversion is that it is conversion that renders migration a successful economic strategy precisely because money earned abroad is no longer spent on a hedonistic lifestyle.

Individual conversion processes are best shown in the fourth chapter, which, for me, is probably the most memorable text in the volume. It focuses on the conversions of the leaders of the central and the Csángó communities, which could not be more different. The main argument of this chapter—and probably of the entire volume—is that the circumstances of conversion fundamentally influence how converts see the significance of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the way they have developed ritual practices in the groups under their guidance. The central community's leader turned to religion following a series of mystical experiences and saw glossolalia as an organic part of church service, himself regularly exercising it and other charismas. In contrast, the leader of the Csángó group, who met with Christianity in free Christian groups that put less emphasis on charisma and converted to Pentecostalism after a long period marked by lonely meditations and reflections, considered glossolalia as a private religious experience and discouraged his followers from practicing it in public.

This argument is further supported in the last chapter focusing on the role of glossolalia. Here, it is shown that practicing the gifts of the Holy Spirit does not only vary with groups but also differs within them, and that these differences can always be traced back to the members' dissimilar experiences of conversion and exposure to charismatic experiences. This chapter paints a rather dynamic picture of local religious life, revealing the constant interplay between individual and group religiosity and the factors influencing them.

Research on complex social phenomena may never end: there will always be interesting aspects or issues left unexamined or unanswered. This is our case as well: I would be happy to see more publications on the role of women in the lives of these communities beyond the paradox that they have a subordinate role within the church, while often playing a pivotal role in the conversion of their family or immediate environment. It would be interesting to see if they have a say in the formation of the group's religious life, and if they do, what are the informal means at their hands. It would also be interesting to find out in more detail whether Pentecostalism really does overwrite ethnic boundaries. Having read this volume, I am not totally convinced that the Roma are considered fully equal with the other two communities and that they have managed to successfully shed all the negative ethnic stereotypes attached to them.

Overall, Lehel Peti's edited book makes exciting reading and is a valuable scientific contribution that reveals interconnections between conversion, migration, and ritual practice. Thus, it helps us better understand Pentecostalism as a social and religious phenomenon.

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EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Historical Studies on Central Europe

Postal address: H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum körút 4/A, Hungary

E-mail: hsce@btk.elte.hu

Homepage: hsce.elte.hu

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