ACTA INSTITUTI ROMANI FINLANDIAE VOL. 41

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL SOCIETIES

RITUALS, INTERACTION AND IDENTITY

editors

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Ville Vuolanto

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Cover illustration

A procession of children bearing offerings to Diana.
Ostia, early third century CE. BAV (Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini), inv. 79643.
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Bibliographical Abbreviations

For the ancient and early medieval Latin authors, the abbreviations of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae, Index*, Leipzig 1990, are used; for the Greek authors, see *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* Oxford 1996[3]. For the periodicals for the ancient and early medieval history, the abbreviations of *L'Année philologique* are used (see also e.g. *http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf*).

AA.SS.	*Acta Sanctorum*, Antwerp etc. 1643-.
AIRF	Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BL	British Library, London
BLK	Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863-.
CLE	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Leipzig 1895-1926.
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna 1866-.
FM	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
FMU	*Finlands medeltidsurkunder I-VIII*, ed. R. Hausen, Helsinki 1910-1935.
FrGH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Berlin 1923-.
ICUR	*Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Nova Series.* eds G. B. de Rossi*, et al.* Città del Vaticano – Roma, 1922-.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin 1873-.
KLMN	*Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid från vikingatid till reformationstid*. I-XXII. Helsingfors – København – Oslo – Stockholm, 1956-1978.
LECUB	*Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, eds F. G. v. Bunge, *et al*., Reval 1853-1910.
LP	Lambeth Palace, London

MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* 1819-	
	Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
	Capit. Ep.	Capitula episcoporum
	Conc. karol.	Concilia aevi karolini
	Ep.	Epistolae
	Libri mem. N.S.	Libri memorialies et necrologia, nova series
	Schriften	*Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
	SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
	SRL	Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum
	SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
	SS	Scriptores
MPH	*Monumenta Poloniae historica,* Lviv 1864-1893.	
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, rev. ed., ed. P.G.W. Glare, *et al.* Oxford 1996.	
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca,* ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1857-1866.	
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1844-1864.	
PM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York	
Rapp	Collections of Charters written on paper, National Archives, Stockholm	
RE	A. Pauly – G. Wissowa, *et. al.*, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung,* Stuttgart 1894-1980.	
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin	
SA	Syon Abbey, South Brent	
SCA	Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh	
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Amsterdam & Leiden 1923-	
SMYA	*Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja, Finlands Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*	
SSFS	*Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet*	
SSLF	*Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland*	
TLA	Talinn Linnaarhiiv/ Tallinn City Archives	
TT	*Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia, Konsthistoriska studier*	
UC	Ushaw College, Durham	
WM	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	
YMA	Minster Archives, York	

Preface

The current volume is the outcome of the fourth *Passages from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* conference *Religion, Society and Participation* held at the University of Tampere in 20.–23. August in 2009, where these essays, in their preliminary form, were presented. The aim of the conference was to cross the traditional boundaries of time periods and disciplines. We wish to express our gratitude to the participants of the conference for making it a lively and innovative scholarly venue. The process from the papers presented to the papers published has been longer than expected due to some unforeseen incidents; we thank the contributors for collaboration, patience and proficiency.

We are also grateful for various institutions and individuals who have made possible this collection of articles. For funding the Passages conference, we thank *The Society of Learned Societies of Finland*, the project of Academy of Finland *Religion and Childhood. Socialisation in Pre-Modern Europe from the Roman Empire to the Christian World* and the University of Tampere. *The Finnish Historical Society*, *The Classical Association of Finland* and *Glossa, The Society for Medieval Studies in Finland* have co-operated in organizing the conference. The work of Dr. Katariina Mustakallio and professor Christian Krötzl have made the Passages conference series as well as their proceedings possible. We thank Jenni Kuuliala and other members of *Trivium, Tampere Centre for Classical, Medieval and Early Modern Studies* for their contribution before, during and after the conference.

Finally we want to thank *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae* and professors Heikki Solin and Mika Kajava for accepting this volume for publication in the series of *Acta IRF* and for their insightful comments and collaboration.

Tampere February 2013

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Ville Vuolanto

Religious Practices and Social Interaction in the Ancient and Medieval World

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Ville Vuolanto

A certain Thomas Schonk testified in front of the papal commissioners on September 21, 1307 to a drowning and, after a collective invocation of help, the miraculous revival of a five-year-old girl. To a routine question at the end of his interrogation, 'after the miracle, did you and other people of the parish become more devout and firmer in faith?' he responded, 'Yes, since because of the miracle they cried out to God more often and frequented the church. Also, they made pilgrimages to the shrine of the said *dominus* Thomas [Cantilupe]'.[1] Thus, instead of referring directly to devotion and faith, the deponent mentioned prayer, attending services and pilgrimages, that is, to social practices that we might rather deem to be different aspects of religious participation.

The present book scrutinizes religion in Antiquity and the Middle Ages from viewpoints similar to that of Thomas Schonk. The focus is not on faith or belief systems, but on religious practices. We concentrate on the different ways in which ancient and medieval people lived religion, and how they conceptualized their lives and gave meaning to their experiences.[2] The main themes of the book are the various forms of agency and interaction of different actors in 'private' and 'public' expressions of religiosity, as well as long-term changes and continuities in religious participation. We approach religion from its changing socio-historical context, as uniting and defining communities, shaping the structures of daily life and forming collective identity. Obviously, religious beliefs, even dogmas, form a background for the analysis, but we concentrate on customs, traditions and rituals: the focus is neither on theorization and theology nor on individual faith and belief, but on social praxis.

The aim of this introductory article is threefold: firstly, we introduce some basic concepts for the study, especially 'religion' itself, and the consequences of approaching the religion from the point of view of social practices. Secondly, we present a model for studying religious practices centred on the idea of social interaction, based on the individual contributions of the present book. In this, religious practices are analysed from the viewpoints of participation and communication. Thirdly, we discuss the problems and advantages of dealing simultaneously with ancient and medieval history; this approach has been a guiding principle for the present book and the projects that led to its publishing.[3]

We would like to thank Katariina Mustakallio for her comments on a preliminary version of this paper, and 'Religion and Childhood. Socialisation in Pre-Modern Europe from the Roman Empire to the Christian World'-project of the Academy of Finland for its financial support in writing this chapter.

1 Thomas Schonk's deposition was recorded in the canonization process of Thomas Cantilupe. The depositions of this case are in BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 123^{r}-140^{r}; direct quotation in 133^{v}.

2 For a corresponding view (both for Schonk and for the themes of the present book) on ritual and religious agency in Ancient Greek world see also A. Chaniotis, 'Emotional community through ritual. Initiates, citizens, and pilgrims as emotional communities in the Greek world', in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean. Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation*, Stuttgart 2011, 263-90.

3 The conferences, organized in the University of Tampere, Finland (by the *Trivium* – Centre for Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies and Department of History and Philosophy, in cooperation with the Finnish Historical Society, the Classical Associa-

Religion – belief or practices?

Religion has proved a slippery soap in the hands of theorists from various fields. Sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and psychologists, to name but a few, have tried to grasp the concept, ending up with various, even contradictory notions of the essence of religion and religious phenomena. Some consensus has nevertheless been found: scholars of various fields agree that religion is not a given thing – rather, it is a conceptual construct that shapes our world view, identity and morality. Religion can be deemed a set of beliefs entailing faith in supernatural entities, incorporating moral codes, customs, rituals and collective identity.[4]

Religion as a word is an inheritance from Antiquity. However, the word *religio* held multiple connotations in the Roman world. According to Cicero, *religio* originally meant to gather up again, or to ponder, *re-legere*, things appropriate for worship.[5] On the other hand, most early Christian authors, like Lactantius and Augustine, preferred an etymological explanation, taking its origin from the word *re-ligare*, to unite again, although Isidore of Seville preferred the explanation given by Cicero. For the majority of Christian authors, religion was the uniting element between humankind and the transcendental.[6] However, neither in the Roman world nor in the Middle Ages was the term *religio* in constant use, nor, for that matter, was there a word in the Latin language for the set of beliefs and concepts we tend to group together as 'religion'. In the Roman world, for example, *cultus deorum*, the different acts of worship and religious practices, and preservation of *pietas*, the sense of duty towards other people and the city state, protected by gods, together constituted (what we call) religion. Proper religious behaviour implied reverence and awe for the divine, and a conscientious attitude towards both cult life and one's duties. In the Middle Ages, in turn, *fides*, faith, was the central defining concept. *Religio* occasionally meant rite or defined a certain sort of religious life, especially that of the monks and nuns, who were *religiosi*/*religiosae* leading a spiritual life.[7] Simultaneously, *religio* separated the proper rites from *superstitio*, that is, from excessive and inappropriate rites and practices, which would be detrimental to the relationships between the community and the transcendental. In antiquity, as proper religious behaviour was often tightly connected with acting 'in the ancestral way' *(kata ta patria; more maiorum*), religious practices of foreign groups were often branded as *superstitio*, while in the Middle Ages the term usually implied irrational and improper religious practice.[8]

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tion of Finland and Glossa, the Society for Medieval Studies in Finland as well as the projects of the Academy of Finland) started in 2003. The fourth conference, subtitled 'Religion, society and participation', took place in August 20-23, 2009; the studies of the present collection draw their origin from here. The fifth conference took place in 2012. The proceeding of the previous conferences are K. Mustakallio – J. Hanska – H.-L. Sainio – V. Vuolanto (eds), *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (AIRF 33), Rome 2005; K. Mustakallio – C. Krötzl (eds), De Amicitia. *Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (AIRF 36), Rome 2011, and C. Krötzl – K. Mustakallio (eds), *On Old Age. Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages,* Turnhoult 2011. See also K. Mustakallio – C. Laes (eds), *The Dark Side of Childhood in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2010.

4 On various approaches on religion and theories of religion, see S. Kunin, 'Introduction', in S. Kunin (ed.), *Theories of Religion: A Reader,* New Brunswick 2006, 1-21. On religion from a cultural perspective within modern society as well as traditions of exploring it, see M. Nye, *Religion: The Basics,* New York 2004; P. Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought,* New York 2001, and H. DeVries (ed.), *Religion. Beyond a Concept,* New York 2008.

5 Cic. *nat. deor*. 2.28.72.

6 Lact. *inst*. 4.28; Aug. *retract*. 1.13 and *vera relig*. 55.3 (even if earlier, in *civ.* 10.4 he had preferred the explanation of 're-electing God (*Deum re-eligere*)' as the etymological basis); Isid. Sev. *orig. 10 litt. R*. See also *Serv.* Aen. 8.349: '*religio, id est metus, ab eo quod mentem religet dicta religio*'.

7 B. Saler, *Conceptualizing Religion: Immanent Anthropologists, Transcendent Natives, and Unbounded Categories*, Leiden 1993, 64-8; W. C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion,* Minneapolis 1991 [1962], 23-50.

8 Thus, *superstitio* cannot be translated as 'superstition' with the meaning of 'false religion' before the changes in its meaning in Christian rhetoric. M. Beard – J. North – S. Price, *Religions of Rome, vol. 1. A History*. Cambridge 1998, 215-8, and R. Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *AHR* 99 (1994), 813-36.

Already, after this brief excursion into the relationship between *religio* and religion, it can be discerned that the conceptualization and the very understanding of what 'religion' is was not the same in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages as it is nowadays. In modern-day culture an inner conviction is often held to be an indispensable part of religion – at the centre of the discussion, there is an individual, who is 'existentially religious' (or not). What is important is that she or he holds a particular set of propositions to be true, that is, if she 'believes'.[9] However, in Antiquity, what we would call 'religion' was often intimately linked with the (semi-) public practices of the city state.[10] It was seen as consisting essentially of a tradition of rites and ceremonies, and the idea of religion as a belief system was of secondary importance, if not altogether irrelevant. Likewise, rites and practices were prominent in defining proper Christianity in the Middle Ages: in every day life, orthopraxy prevailed over orthodoxy.[11] These aspects were inseparable elements of religion in the pre-modern world, but very different to our understanding of religion, which often understands it as an autonomous and separate field of life and the result of autonomous choice. Moreover, during the Middle Ages, the institutional position of the Church, the administrative and educative privileges it enjoyed, and the political power it held, made the presence of 'religion' in contemporary society more ubiquitous than today.

Even if some agreement is achieved in conceptualizing the essential elements required to define religion, quite why religion exists remains an open and debated question. Sociologists that follow the seminal ideas of Emile Durkheim see religion mainly as a social construction, an occurrence of social cohesion, particularly a method of controlling people's activities and thoughts through the sense of the sacred. In addition to Durkheim, anthropologists like Rudolph Otto and Mircea Eliade considered the concept of the sacred as the essence of religion; without it one could not define a phenomenon as religion. The ideas of Durkheim have been taken in another direction by Erving Goffman, and later by Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann and Anthony Giddens, who view religion as a product of everyday social interaction, which strengthens the sense of community.[12] A more recent and rather different viewpoint is that put forward by the cognition scientists, who argue that religion is a by-product of evolutionary adaptations of cognitive mechanisms, arising from the predominant needs of human beings and especially from the desire to explain the inexplicable. If a religious notion is to spread in a culture it has to be easy to summon up and it has to carry social significance.[13]

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9 Religion essentially as a belief system, see e.g. I. Niiniluoto, *Critical Scientific Realism,* Oxford 1999, 4-8 and J. Fox, *Ethnoreligious Conflict in the Late Twentieth Century: A General Theory*, Lanham 2002, 12-3. This *a priori* idea is most clearly visible in the recent debates over religion: C. Hitchens, *God is not Great. How Religion Poisons Everything*, New York 2007; R. Dawkins, *The God Delusion,* Boston 2006; See also J. Bishop, *Believing by Faith: An Essay in the Epistemology and Ethics of Religious Belief,* Oxford 2007, esp. 33-4. For a recent refutation in seeing belief as the single most essential thing in religions, see Nye, *cit.* n. 4, esp. 116-7.

10 For the Roman side, see Beard – North – Price (eds), *cit*. n. 8, 216-7. For the Greek world and religion as 'the very centre of the Greek *polis*', see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'What is *Polis* religion', in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford 2000, 13-37. For the problematic public – private distinction, see the discussion below.

11 Cf. J.-C. Schmitt, *Le corps, les rites, les rêves, le temps. Essais d'anthropologie médiévale*, Paris 2001, esp. 31-41.

12 E. Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: le système totèmique en Austalie,* Paris 1968 [1912]; R. Otto, *Das Heilige: über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen un sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*. München 1963 [1917]; M. Éliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion,* Orlando 1987 [1957], and M. Éliade, *Le myth de l'eternel retour. Archétypes et répétition*, Paris 1949. On religious interaction and the ideas of Goffman, Berger, Luckmann and Giddens, see e.g. I. Furseth – P. Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*, Aldershot 2006, 55-9, 66-8, 72. On the sociology of religion further, see M. Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, London and New York 1995 with S. C. Monahan – W. Mirola – M.O. Emerson (eds), *Sociology* of *Religion*: A *Reader,* Boston 2010 [2001].

13 For example Pascal Boyer claims that humans have created religion and elements inherent for their own psychological needs: Boyer, *cit.* n. 4.

Whereas cognitive science has so far had relatively little effect on the study of ancient and medieval religion,[14] the structural-functionalist school of anthropologists of the 1960's and 1970's has been prominent in the study of history of religion, having acquired an enduring influence among ancient historians and medievalists. The main argument of the structural-functionalist school was that religion produced meaning through structural arrangements like ritual activity, and had a function, namely production of society.[15]

In the present volume, societal aspects of religion are the central focus. A firm definition of religion or an explanation of the reason for its existence are not essential as such, but they help to present what this book is about and what it is not. Since our aim is to enable cross-period cross-cultural comparisons, the time span ranges from Ancient Greece to the eve of the Reformation, and the religious practices scrutinized are many and varied: almost half of the book focuses on non-Christian religions. Religious practices encompass a huge variety of behavioural patterns as reactions to different and ever-changing cultural contexts, many of which, like pilgrimages, magic, sacrifice and asceticism, have recently become the focus of intense research.[16] Our aim is not, however, to scrutinise these practices one by one, but to enhance understanding of the social forces present both in the processes of social interaction and in changes and continuities during the discussed time period by focusing on these practices: how do the various religious practices function in society, how do they create group cohesion, communal hierarchies, and a sense of self and otherness for those acting and participating in them? Religious practices were at the centre of civic and communal everyday social interaction in the ancient and medieval world, which offers a privileged insight into the norms and mentalities of a community.

Participation, interaction and identity

In everyday life negotiations there is constant interaction between different actors, be they private individuals or religious authorities, families, or communities like towns or guilds. Moreover, in the pre-modern world it would be a mistake to exclude actors like god(s), saints or images from the list of possible interactive agents, as is shown in the contributions of the present book. These actors shape the religious practices

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14 See, however, H. Bowden, *Mystery Cults in the Ancient World*, London 2010; H. Whitehouse – L. Martin (eds), *Theorizing Religions Past*: *Archaeology*, *History, and Cognition*, Walnut Creek 2004; P. Luomanen – I. Pyysiäinen – R. Uro (eds), *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism: Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science* (Biblical Interpretation Series*,* 89), Leiden 2007.

15 The best known anthropologists of this field are undoubtedly Claude Lévi-Strauss, Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz, Turner and Geerzt having had more profound influence, especially on Anglo-Saxon scholars, in the study of ancient and medieval religion. Turner has applied the structure of symbolism and the concept of liminality in the study of holiness and pilgrimages. V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure,* London 1969, and V. Turner – E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives,* Oxford 1978. Clifford Geertz argues for the importance of symbols and rituals: symbols allow non-verbal interaction and communication, while rituals encapsulate the deepest meaning of the culture. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York 2000 [1973] and C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in the Interpretative Anthropology*, New York 1983. Lévi-Strauss argues for the primacy of the mind over the social: social systems are the realisation of the capacities of the human mind, dichotomous thinking being its major way to function. Rituals, on the other hand, are not merely symbols, but first and foremost involve doing things, like manipulating objects. C. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie Structural*, Paris 1958, 133 et passim. See also R. Deliège, *Lèvi-Strauss Today: An Introduction to Structural Anthropology*, Oxford 2004 [2001]. On the impact of anthropological theories on the study of medieval religion, see J. H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*, London 2005, 15-20.

16 See e.g. G. G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity,* Chicago 2009 [orig. in French 2005]; S. Stowers, 'Greeks who sacrifice and those who do not: Toward an anthropology of Greek religion', in M. L. White – L. O. Yarbrough (eds), *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne Meeks*, Minneapolis 1995, 293-333; M. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London 2001; R. Finn, *Asceticism in the Greco-Roman World,* Cambridge 2009; T. Frank – T. Matheus – S. Reichert (eds), *Wege zum Heil. Pilger und Heilige Orte an Mosel und Rhein,* Stuttgart 2009; C. Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages,* Oxford 2006, and C. Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits. Texts and Traductions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, Thrupp 1998.

they take part in. In this way they inform their social world, even if the relationship between an individual and a group, or between the local group and the dominant authority, can sometimes be antagonistic.

Our starting point is social interaction, the processes in which people act toward or respond to each other's behaviour. Interaction takes place in the local communities by participation and communication, and it is mediated by the use of different rituals, symbols and signs. Therefore, participation of various groups and individuals and their relationships with each other is a focal point in the articles: religious practice is a way of forming and maintaining social cohesion and hierarchies, a source of power and authority, as also a channel for individuals to participate and acquire status in the everyday life of the community.[17]

Religious practices function as social signs. By using convenient signs, members of communities were able to communicate their idea of their own place in the community, and negotiation over the status of the participants was a constant and continuous process. In fact, many of our sources on religious participation are a result of this kind of negotiation, their authors aiming to attach socially appreciated identities and values to themselves. In Outi Sihvonen's chapter, the third-century *fictores* aimed to associate their names with their influential patronesses, the vestals, whereas the virginal men of Late Antiquity aimed to associate themselves with the most highly appreciated religious status in the Christian culture, virginity, as Christian Laes shows in his paper. Likewise, elite women of the Early Middle Ages associated themselves with domestic virtues while simultaneously assuring their (names') visibility by their exquisite liturgical handicraft donations, as is seen in Valerie Garver's contribution. In the later medieval Baltic region, wealthy guild members and noblemen donated altars and their decorations to their patron saints, and through such communication with the saints not only showed their piety, but also their wealth and influence in the local community, as Maija Ojala's and Elina Räsänen's papers show.

Religious practices become a central factor in forming communal cohesion and collective identities, a source for both the continuity of the community and a singular way of empowerment and sense of belonging for an individual. Collective identity is strengthened through interaction with others. It is an indispensable part of identity creation; it is constructed, shaped and contested through interpersonal or intergroup interaction.[18] Our focus is on social processes that lead to a sense of coherence within a participating group

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17 The viewpoint that religious practices play a part in the forming of the communities is strong in many studies concerning popular religion (or 'lived religion'), as in the series *A People's History of Christianity*, vol. 1-4 (Gen. ed. D. R. Janz), Minneapolis 2005-2007. See also R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens,* Oxford 2005; R. Valantasis (ed.), *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice,* Princeton 2000; K. Bowes, *Private Worship*, *Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity,* Cambridge 2008; D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*, Princeton 1998; J. Bodel – S. M. Olyan (eds), *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity,* Oxford 2008; R. MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200-400,* Atlanta 2009; M. Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice,* Princeton 2009; D. Rivard, *Blessing the World. Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion,* Washington 2009; S. Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes,* Turnhoult 2009, and C. Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc*, Cambridge 2009.

18 S. Hall – P. Du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity,* London 2005 [1996], 79-80. For religious practices and the forging of communal identities in the ancient and medieval world, see e.g.: P. Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of the Self and Others,* Oxford 1993; Beard – North – Price (eds), *cit.* n. 8, 212-4; S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity*, Cambridge 2003; R. Miles, 'Introduction. Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity', in R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, London 1999, 1-15 and I. Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity. Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch*, Cambridge 2007, and S. W. Rasmussen, 'Priests, Politics, and Problems in Identity Construction in Ancient Rome', in A. H. Rasmussen – S. W. Rasmussen (eds), *Religion and Society: Rituals, Resources and Identity in the Ancient Graeco-Roman world* (ARID suppl. XL)*,* Rome 2008, 259-65. For the interplay of traditional virtues, domestic rituals and communal identity, see also Bowes, *cit.* n. 17. For the cult of saints in forging communal identities in the Middle Ages, see C. Krötzl, 'Urban Identities in the Middle Ages. The Changing Role of Saints', in M. Niemi – V. Vuolanto (eds), *Reclaiming the City. Innovation, Culture, Experience* (SF Historica 6), Helsinki 2003, 214-25. Examples of studies on the medieval religious collective and individual identities see S. Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings,* London 1993; G. Ashton, *The Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint,* London 2000; K. C. Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages,* London 2000; C. Cubitt, 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in W. Frazer – A. Tyrrell (eds), *Social Identity in Early*

and a sense of segregation from the rest of the society in a privileged subgroup. Therefore, the questions of individuality or individual identity are not touched upon here.[19]

As religion was a major component in forming a sense of self for social groups, it was a way to delineate boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Such a process can take place at many levels of society: in the present collection, Maurizio Bettini and Marja-Leena Hänninen show how the religious practices unite and help to identify the members of a household and *familiae* with a certain traditions and identity. In Maria Niku's, Celia Schultz's and James MacGregor's papers the religious practices in question strengthen and define patriotic identities. Niku's piece shows how the religious practices of Hellenistic Athens brought to the fore and strengthened a combination of citizenship and virtues held to be important for the survival and cohesion of the city state. In Schultz's case it is a question of Cicero negotiating the place of divination in the search for social cohesion and in defining Roman-ness. MacGregor, in turn, reflects how in late medieval England the Order of the Garter strengthened both private piety and patriotic zeal.

As religious participation affects social interaction across the limits of one's own social group, it can also lead to social exclusion, even alienation. Formation and contestation of identities is essentially a question of power – thus religious participation, intimately linked with questions of identity, is itself subjected to negotiations of power. Certain religious practices may be denied to the members of certain groups during the processes of negotiation and wielding of authority that renew and strengthen the (already existing) social hierarchies.[20] In the contribution of Maria Niku, it is foreigners in Athens who are distinguished from citizens. The strengthening of hierarchies of authority is also central to the article of Eva-Maria Butz and Alfons Zettler: the names of the lay people written in the monastic books of death identified the living as well. Those added to the lists were powerful supporters; not only were they commemorated and linked to the spiritual world, but their superiority was thus proclaimed. On the other hand, those in a special position to pray for the dead were themselves in a position of authority in medieval Christian Europe, given the context of beliefs about heaven and hell. In Gábor Klaniczay's piece, the way the miracle stories were retold by religious authorities leads to the gradual reshaping of the stories, so that the original protagonists and their aims eventually became nearly invisible. The result is the subtle strengthening of the religious hierarchies and a reinstating of the proper ways of religiosity. Similarly, crusading ideology was used to strengthen the existing social order and hierarchies: Miikka Tamminen's paper shows how women and children were rhetorically positioned in the margin of the crusading army.

Identity comes into sharp focus when something that is assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is replaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty. This occurred, for example, in Late Antiquity when Christian authors tried to separate and segregate the old customs from the proper (i.e. Christian) ones, as is seen from the contribution of Maijastina Kahlos; not only participation, but also seeing, hearing or breathing the smoke of sacrifices were potentially harmful to the Christian community.

In our book religious practices are viewed as interaction, producing and consuming collective identities of individuals who identified themselves with people forming a certain group. The function of religious practices in making visible the social bonds and informing about the proper order of things is especially strong in some of the chapters. Maurizio Bettini's paper shows how the Roman domestic cult functioned as a

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Medieval Britain, London 2000, and A. Marinković – T. Vedriš (eds), *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* (Biblioteca Hagiotheca 1), Zagreb 2010.

19 On individual identity and religion in ancient and medieval contexts see e.g. Beard – North – Price, *cit.* n. 8, 42-3 and 288-9 and B. M. Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval identity: a sign and a concept', *AHR* 5:105 (2000), 1488-533.

20 On sociological approaches to identity and power, see H. Johnston – B. Klandermans (eds), *Social Movements and Culture*, Abingdon 2003 [1995].

subtle way of negotiating between the different actors in the domestic field: the *paterfamilias* and his family members, the slaves and the neighbourhood. In the article of Rainer Opitz, on the other hand, the ritual of making oaths in late medieval German courts turns out to be important in maintaining social cohesion and public order. Religious practices are necessary for maintaining community peace.

Questions of religious identities and their intermingling with social ones are approached rather as constructs than fixed realities, as they are in constant state of flux and development.[21] Collective identity is not a set of essential characteristics, but the ascribed or recognized characteristics a group agrees to possess. Thus, collective identity is a socially produced and not a static process, characterized not only by coherence and boundary maintenance, but by its fluidity. This fluidity is clearly apparent in the articles of the present book, as the discourses of alterity are often linked with changing contexts and segmentation of the social field.[22] 'The Other' can be an ally in a different context, as is seen in the discourse of religious authorities in excluding women from participating in (actual) crusades while including them in taking the cross spiritually, as Miikka Tamminen explains in his paper. The support of women was needed, yet their actual physical presence was considered to be dangerous and polluting. On the other hand, susceptibility to pollution, may vary according to a person's standing in a community: a Christian could eat sacrificed meat if he/she was an 'experienced' Christian, but not otherwise, as Maijastina Kahlos's article shows. Similarly, foreigners could, in limited situations, take part in the religious life of Athens, as Maria Niku demonstrates. If, however, the action or participation takes place in the wrong context – that is, in a moment defined as wrong by the religious authorities of the community – it leads to the pollution of the community in question.

In these periods it would be misleading to make any clear differentiation between public and private religious practices. Indeed, it might be more useful here to make a conceptual division between official and non-official religiosity, the former consisting, for example, of the state cults of the Greco-Roman *poleis*, and, later, the forms of Christianities under the direct control of the Catholic Church. Even this segregation is not always easy to do. For example, divination could be practiced privately, but still became part of the politics of the state and political agenda, as Celia Schultz reflects in her article on Cicero's *De Divinatione*.

In antiquity, the interest of the religious authorities, that is, in the absence of separate priestly class, the governing aristocracy, was not interested in domestic religious practices as such. There was no distinction made, however, between public and private, as both domestic and 'individual' religious practices were quite visible and 'public' for the local community: the Roman *domus* with its central room, the atrium, with the house gods, *lares* and *penates*, was not a private place in the sense that we would understand it. However, as Kim Bowes has shown, this fluidity between private and public spaces does not make the division analytically void – in fact there was a discussion of public and private religious spheres and worship going on in Late Antiquity.[23]

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21 See esp. A. Melucci, 'The process of collective identity', in Johnston – Klandermans, *cit.* n. 20, 41-63. On sociological and sociopsychological theories on collective identity, see also D. Abrams – M. Hogg, 'Collective Identity: Group Membership and Self-conception, in M. Brewer – M. Hewstone, *Self and Social Identity,* Malden 2004, 147-81.

22 For the segmented theory of alterity, see G. Baumann, 'Grammars of identity/alterity: a structural approach', in G. Baumann – A. Gingrich (ed.), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach,* New York 2004, 18-50. He argues that there are three grammars to construct identity and alterity, which, in turn, are two faces of the same process. 'The orientalizing grammar' builds on binary oppositions, where 'we' are opposed to 'them'; 'segmentary grammar' where questions of alterity are linked with changing context: an enemy can be an ally in a different context, and encompassment model, where alterity is a fiction caused by one's own horizon, since that which is different may be deemed to be part of the universal: a woman is different from a man yet part of mankind. These 'grammars' are not exclusive, but may be used simultaneously.

23 Bowes, *cit.* n. 17, esp. 12, on the Roman house and the definition of 'private', 58-60 and 220-5 on the 'private revolution' taking place in early Christian religious practices and discourse. For the Greek *poleis*, and the sliding scale of 'publicness' and 'privateness', see esp. R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*: *A History.* Oxford 1996, 5-7, with a statement that 'there could not exist no authentical-

In the medieval world terms public and private were used to define a space. In the religious context the official public religion, like liturgy, communion and sacraments, was dominated by the clergy. At the same time religious practices required inner devotion and conviction. However, even the firmest faith was not enough in itself: it needed to be expressed outwardly. Thus, in the Greek and Roman thinking, religious behaviour *was* piety (*pietas* in Latin, *eusebeia* in Greek): it 'belonged to action, not to contemplation'.[24] Similarly, in the Middle Ages, internal piety required external devotional practices. Firm devotion demanded outer gestures and signs.[25]

An example of the interactive nature of even the simplest forms of religious practices can be found in the canonization process of Thomas Cantilupe. An eight-year old boy, Nicholas Piscatoris, drowned after falling overboard from his father's boat. Underneath the water, as he explained in front of papal commissioner interrogating the witnesses, he opened his mouth to say a prayer for his protection, and felt how the water flooded in. This little detail, given in validation of his experience of a miracle, testifies to more than this – it tells us about the habits of the laity: prayers were said out loud, undoubtedly in the company of others – not silently in one's mind.[26] Since the case was recorded in the canonization hearing, one can anticipate that the story had a happy ending. Indeed, Nicholas's parents with their neighbours invoked a local saint, Thomas Cantilupe, to revive the boy. After the resurrection the parents and a group of neighbours travelled to the shrine of Thomas Cantilupe to manifest their gratitude. This pilgrimage was made close to the Rogation Day processions,[27] since some of the witnesses seem to have mixed these two occasions up. Thus the depositions about an everyday incident, a father sending his son to get a stick from his boat, reveal a mixture of public and semi-public interactive religious practices: a prayer said aloud, a collective invocation, and pilgrimages and semi-official processions to secure the harvest.

Rituals and communication

Social interaction with acts of inclusion and exclusion, that is, with processes of collective identity, entails communication. As regards religion, this interaction includes not only interpersonal relations but also contacts between humans and the divine. Rituals, as formalised, often collective and repetitive symbolic action, were a central mode of this kind of communication, and thus essential in analysing social interaction.[28]

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ly private religious domain in Attica'. For Roman religion, see Beard – North – Price, *cit.* n. 8, 48-51, stressing the Greco-Roman religious field as essentially alien to us – that is, warning us [not] to make any wide generalisations based on categories drawn from our modern perceptions of 'religions'.

24 N. Belayche, 'Religious Actors in Daily Life: Practices and Beliefs', in J. Rüpke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion*. Oxford 2007, 275-91, esp. 279.

25 For example, lay penitent women were thought to live in a 'mental cell', but this inner spiritual solitude did not exclude the need for exterior religious practices. M. Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints*. *Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200-1500* (Bibliotheca Historica 35), Helsinki 1999, 77.

26 Depositions to this case are in BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 ff. 157^{v}-165^{v}.

27 The rituals of Rogation Day were to secure a good harvest – to gain a prosperous year. On these practices, see J. Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*. *Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages* (Studia Fennica Historica 2), Helsinki 2002, 33-41.

28 On recent contributions on religious practice, interaction and communication in ancient and medieval contexts, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*, Lanham 2003; O. Hekster – S. Schmidt-Hofner – C. Witschel (eds), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire*, Leiden 2009; Stavrianopoulou, E. (ed.), *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World,* Liège 2006; A. H. Rasmussen – S. W. Rasmussen, *cit.* n. 18; S. G. Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: the Ancient Greek Experience,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 2004; L. M. Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genofeva of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe,* Oxford 2009; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580,* New Haven 2005 [1992]; K. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds), *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of*

Simple direct speech could also be a form of ritualized religious interaction. Benedictions in the Christian liturgy offer an obvious example, but the laity was not excluded from these practices either, as Rainer Opitz clarifies in his analysis of oaths in courts. In the medieval context, words were deeds and the truth of an oath was guaranteed by God himself. Divine punishment on those committing perjury was harsh. These symbolic acts with direct speech, textual statements and symbols and signs made with bodily gestures, were required and enabled by religious participation, and they are elements that emerge in all the articles in our collection.[29] Concluding our collection, Katariina Mustakallio sums up the themes that arise from this volume, like identity, purity and gender, from the perspective of religion as communication.

Common religious rites enhanced communal cohesion and a sense of belonging for those participating. Rituals create social bonds in representing and commemorating the historical and mythic past of the community, forging group identities by evoking bodily social memory. In various papers of this collection the ritual element is, not surprisingly, connected with commemoration and the idea of continuity, both of the individual memory and of the community. It is no accident that many of our sources were originally produced to perpetuate the name and memory of the people involved. Eva-Maria Butz's and Alfons Zettler's contribution on the Early Medieval *libri memoriales* and necrologies deals with practices intended to perpetuate the names and memory of the deceased, simultaneously contributing to the sense of continuity for the organization in charge of the memorial book. More generally, all the papers dealing with epigraphic or inscribed material deal with texts written in response to the need to be memorized.[30]

While rituals help to secure communal cohesion and to integrate commonly held norms and values, it is also regularly claimed that rituals can cause the community to disintegrate, to split up into more and less privileged subgroups. With rituals, the segregation of a group could be maintained and manifested in a peaceful way. The clearest example of this can be found in the segregation of non-Christian cults and practitioners from Christians ones, as presented in the article of Kahlos. Similarly, the collective rituals defined the ancient *domus* and *familia* as distinct from the outside world, as shown by Hänninen and Bettini. The medieval guild was also a privileged subgroup, whose members were identified by collective ritual practices, examples of which can be found in the papers of MacGregor and Ojala.

Rituals are intimate bodily practices yet at the same social and interactive. Social practices require contact and relations with other persons; they can hardly be practiced alone. If they are, they at least aim to affect other people. Religious traditions of divination, magic, liturgical prayer, oaths and various forms

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Divine Power in the Life of the Church, Woodbridge 2005; D. Lett, *Un Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale*, Paris 2008.

29 The definition of ritual is very controversial. Rituals have attracted a lot of scholarly interest, to the point that they can even be seen to form their own branch of scholarship: since scholars in ritual studies have often worked within different traditions, disparate and even contradictory definitions of ritual have often been reached. On the discussion and formation of ritual theory, see J. P. Sørensen, 'A Theory of Ritual', in Rasmunssen – Rasmunssen, *cit*. n. 18, 13-22; C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* Oxford 1992, 13-66, and R. Collins, *Interaction Rituals Chains,* Princeton 2004, 9-46; C. Witthöft, *Ritual und Text. Formen symbolischer Kommunikation in der Historiographie und Literatur des Spätmittelalters,* Darmstadt 2004; J. Kreinath – J. Snoek – M. Stausberg (eds), *Theorizing Rituals*: *Issues*, *Topics*, *Approaches*, *Concepts,* Leiden 2006. On ritual commemoration, ritual performativeness and communal identity, see also P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember,* Cambridge 1989, 41-71. The performance theorists argue that communication is the essence of ritual, hence the outcome – the intercession, for example – is not secure, but by this function rituals indirectly affect social realities and perceptions of them. See also Bell, *cit.*, 40-4.

30 Maria Niku in the context of Ancient Athens; Outi Sihvonen on third-century non-Christian Rome; Christian Laes on fourth- and fifth-century Christian Rome; Valerie Garver on Early Medieval Gaul. On rituals forming emotional communities and collective identities, see A. Chaonitis, *cit.* n. 2; on the preservation of family and individual memory, see the contributions by C. Baroin, V. Dasen, A.-C. Harders and V. Vuolanto in V. Dasen – T. Späth (eds), in *Children, Memory, and Family Identity in Roman Culture*, Oxford 2010. See also P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium,* Princeton 1996, 48-80.

of mental support can be categorized as such religious practices, aiming at interaction and having societal influence. Rituals also helped to integrate commonly held norms and values, such as how to invoke a saint and manifest gratitude after a miracle. The analysis of Gábor Klaniczay reveals how the dynamic of faith-healing and inherent rituals were structured in medieval miracle accounts.

Rituals and symbols are inextricably linked: rituals are symbolic communication and the use of symbols requires repetitive formal activities, namely rituals. Thus, different symbols play an important part in the religious practices. They represent and concretize interaction in the religious field, between actors themselves but especially with the world of god(s). Often the use of symbols takes the form of gift-giving. The importance of reciprocity, the obligation to return the gift with a counter-gift, was initially stressed in Marcel Mauss's seminal study. Another important aspect in his thesis was the nature of the gifts: they are not free and disinterested but constrained and interested. Well-articulated social rules defined the reciprocal gift exchange. Thus the reciprocal obligations as well as self-interest led to a circling of goods as gifts.[31] As Maurizio Bettini's chapter shows, this reciprocity was expected to be extended also to the relationships between humans and gods.

The gift exchange can be seen as a transaction that created and maintained relationships. This feature was especially important in the ancient and medieval context: gift-giving was a social strategy, a mechanism of social bonding and alliance.[32] These gifts were sometimes concrete and rather simple objects given to divinities, like sacrifices of food, donated in order to achieve general propitious relationships with the god(s) in different phases of the life course and the annual cycle. Gifts could also have more particular aims, given to urge the otherworldly actors to intervene in the life of the petitioner or of the community she or he acted for. Gifts were often combined with promises, vows, to be accomplished after the desired outcome had been achieved. Vows themselves often took the form of gifts, for instance, valuable cloth, statues or furnishings for the god's or saint's shrine, as shown in the papers by Valerie Garver, Maija Ojala and Elina Räsänen. The gifts could also be intangible, for instance, a vow that one's child would serve the divinity, or to set off on a pilgrimage, or the act of commending oneself to the mercy of a saint, that is to publicly recognise his or her power to answer prayers, as shown in the piece of Gábor Klaniczay. In understanding the central place of gifts in religious practices, it is important to note that, for example, in Greek tradition, honour rendered to gods for their services was not unlike that given to men.[33] A man's honour was acknowledged by acts of remembrance in public, by supporting him in military campaigns and in city state politics, by donating

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31 M. Mauss, *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies,* London 1990 [1924]. On historiographical analysis of the use of Mauss's theories of gift exchange in historical and sociological studies, see A.-J. Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: a Comparative Approach', in E. Cohen – M. B. De Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context,* Leiden 2001, 123-56. The social control of the gift exchange is one of the features for which Mauss's theory has been criticized: the rules guiding reciprocity cannot be recognized as rules, otherwise the gift would merely become barter or a loan. See A. Schrift, 'Introduction: Why Gift?', in A. Schrift (ed.), *The Logic of the Gift. Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, New York 1997, 1-22. For further analysis of gift exchange and critiques of Mauss's theories, P. Geary, 'Gift Exchange and Social Science Modelling. The Limitations of a Construct', in G. Algazi – V. Groebner – B. Jussen (eds), *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange,* Göttingen 2003, 129-40 and B. Wagner-Hasel, 'Egoistic Exchange and Altruistic Gift. On the Roots of Marcel Mauss's Theory of the Gift', in Algazi – Groebner – Jussen, *cit.*, 141-71.

32 Bijsterveld, *cit.* n. 31, 143. On child oblation as a form of bonding and communicating with the deity, see M. De Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 12), Leiden 1996, 7 et passim. In the secular context, in situations of bonding and creating an alliance, as in marriage, the exchange of gifts also played an important part. C. Klapisch-Zuber, *La maison et le nom. Stratégies et rituels dans l'Italie de la Renaissance,* Paris 1990, 185-213, and A.-J. Bijsterveld, *Do ut Des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries,* Hilversum 2007.

33 J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1998, 301; more profoundly in J. D. Mikalson, *Honor Thy Gods: Popular Religion in Greek Tragedy,* Cape Hill 1991.

statues and buildings in his name, and by paying honorary visits to his house. Similarly, gods – and later, saints – were honoured by public prayers, vows, sacrifices and donations.

The symbolic power of sharing and giving concrete and as such quotidian items is clearly shown in the case of food and drink. Sharing food and drink was at the core of many religious rituals during the ancient and medieval periods – eating and drinking together combines neatly the basic constituents of a ritual, while simultaneously enforcing the interaction between the people present and the transcendental: it contributes to the social cohesion of a group, while symbolically offering a convenient and powerful way of thanksgiving and a petition to the god(s).[34] The common meal as a ceremony with religious-ritual functions appears in many of the contributions in our volume. Ritualised forms of eating and drinking were a natural way of showing and forming bonds of belonging in Roman domestic cult life, as well in the guild and confraternity associations in later medieval cities, as is shown in the chapters of Bettini, Hänninen and Ojala.

In some cases the gifts of symbolically powerful items became objects of divine powers in themselves. Belts, for example, seem to carry especially forceful connotations in pre-modern religious practices. As Maurizio Bettini shows, the Roman *Lares* were 'girded gods' (*incincti*, *succincti*), their 'girdedness' carried associations with simplicity and hard work, commitment to their work and community. On the other hand, in the Early Middle Ages, donations of belts were a means of show one's dedication and commitment to a particular saint and more generally to Christian piety, as is evident from Valerie Garver's contribution. A further example of the importance of belts in everyday Christian religiosity is given by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the mid-fifth century CE: he explains that as a boy he was given a belt by a famous local ascetic, Peter the Galatian, in an act of girding – thus making a direct reference to the words of Jesus, who indicated that Peter would become the leader of the apostles by girding him.[35] Later, Theodoret's mother used this gift of Peter to cure her husband, her son, and herself. She also lent this miraculous belt to friends of the family.[36] Even if the aim of Theodoret in his story is to present himself as a person capable of transmitting the legacy of the true ascetic Christianity, the story also informs us about the lived religion and the role played by certain symbolically loaded objects. Similarly, amulets and different kinds of memorabilia from the shrines carried with them not only a reminder of their specific origin, but actual power to be called upon in certain situations. Such secondary relics were typical in Christian culture all through the Middle Ages and beyond.[37]

Antiquity and the Middle Ages – A challenge and a possibility

This collection of papers combines articles stretching from the Hellenistic world to the Late Medieval period. Nowadays, scholars of both ancient and medieval cultures have become more and more aware of the varied pace of change depending on local circumstances. It is not possible to compare Antiquity and the Middle Ages with each other as if there were separate, static societies in each period; the guiding principle should be sensitivity toward historical change. To study 'Greece', 'Imperial Rome' 'the Early Middle Ages'

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34 See more generally M. Deflem, 'Ritual, anti-structure, and religion: A discussion of Victor Turner's processual symbolic analysis', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30:1 (1991), 1-25.

35 John 21:18 '… when you were younger you dressed [in original Greek: girded] yourself and went where you wanted; but when you are old you will stretch out your hands, and someone else will dress [in original Greek: gird] you and lead you where you do not want to go'.

36 Theod. Cyrr. *hist. relig*. 9.15; later, the girdle was stolen from the family.

37 R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England,* New York 1995 [1977]; K. Bowes, 'Personal devotions and private chapels', in V. Burrus (ed.), *Late Ancient Christianity: A People's History of Christianity, Vol. 2.* Philadelphia 2005, 188-210, esp. 196-9; B. Leyerle, 'Pilgrim eulogiae and domestic rituals', *ARG* 10 (2008), 223-38.

or 'The Latin West' as such is meaningless without a clear sense for variety and change within of these periods, themselves analytical categories to help the structuring of research work and different kinds of comparisons. Differences in time and place are considerable.

Thus, we have no pretension to claim that our collection gives an overall view of religious practices during the whole period and geographic area covered within this collection. However, the methodological basis and raison d'être for the whole *Passages from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* conference series – the present book being the offshoot of the fourth Passages conference – was to make it possible to compare variations in time and place. The aim of the collection is, therefore, to give birth to new ideas: the predominant questions in some fields can help us to see the phenomena of other fields in a different way, and, naturally, their very relevance might come into question. These kinds of comparisons also help to question presuppositions as to what is typical, or normal, for a certain time and place. For example, how did the gradual disappearance of children from officially sanctioned cult life, a process which began with Greek Hellenistic public festivals, continued into the Later Roman Empire, and then, more pronouncedly, into the liturgical life of High Medieval Christianity, affect their overall visibility and position in society?[38]

Similarly, Late Antiquity also witnessed the introduction of professional clergy as a dominant force in the religious field in the Western world. The laity as a social category emerged with the organization of Christian Church. This change did not only affect religious practices, but it shaped and shook the gender system. Gender, generally used as shorthand for the social and cultural construction of femininities and masculinities, can be regarded as an active ongoing process, during which various aspects of a person's social status are negotiated and re-negotiated when he or she reacts to the hopes, expectations and demands of the surrounding community. In the social sense, 'masculine' and 'feminine' are not universal characteristics or fixed, uncomplicated categories but created differently within each given cultural context.[39] Changes in gender construction are clearly seen when comparing male *fictores* in the cult of Vesta in the paper of Sihvonen with the noble ladies offering valuable gifts to churches in Garver's analysis. One can argue that both groups sought prestige by adopting the position of assistant in institutionalized religion, yet those in power in the cult of Vesta were the female priestesses, while all the priests were males in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, medieval religious discourse was male dominated; for lay women official positions of religious prestige were not available. However, spiritual perfection was possible for both men and women, and female saints reversed the gender hierarchy. Elite men could venerate female saints, such as Saint Anne, at the same time honouring the importance of family ties and lineage, as is manifest in Räsänen's chapter.

However, Christianity did not turn old customs upside down but loaned and remodelled earlier ones. A continuation of elements of perfection in gender construction can be seen in Christian Laes's paper: already in Antiquity, virginity and chastity were ideals for women and girls. Yet simultaneously a new perspective emerged: chastity could turn out to be a beneficial characteristic for men too. Withdrawal from sexual relations added a new element in both male and female spiritual perfection and gender construction;

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38 For children, see V. Vuolanto, 'Religion and faith', in M. Harlow – R. Laurence (eds), *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in Antiquity*. Oxford 2010, 133-51.

39 Recent scholarship has stressed the importance of incorporating other categories of difference into the analysis of gender construction. Jacqueline Murray sees gender more as a continuum than a binary system. J. Murray, 'One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?', in L. Bitel – F. Lifshitz (eds), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives,* Philadelphia 2008, 34-51. Carol Braun Pasternack and Sharon Farmer claim that gender can be seen as occupying multiple sites along a continuum or within a matrix. C. B. Pasternack, 'Negotiating Gender in Anglo-Saxon England', in C. B. Pasternack – S. Farmer (eds), *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis 2003, 107-42; S. Farmer, 'Introduction', in Pasternack – Farmer, *cit.*, ix-xxvii, and T. Tinkle, *Gender and Power Medieval Exegesis,* New York 2010.

some scholars suggest that we should actually speak about three genders in medieval culture – men, women and 'those who live in celibacy'.[40]

In order to fruitfully combine studies and make comparisons between phenomena widely separated by time and distance, there should be some overall unifying factors. Indeed, both the Ancient and Medieval worlds were pre-modern societies based on subsistence agricultural production and a household economy, with high birth rates combined with heavy childhood mortality. Strict hierarchies, understood as natural, were basic elements in all societies of this era, while the social status and gender of the individuals defined their space for action within the community. Moreover, the cultural base of the later Middle Ages was formed both by the remnants of Classical civilization and the ecclesiastical authors of (Late) Antiquity; the ideals of the good life, the definition of miracles and the elements of sainthood were all constructed during this earlier period. The study of different aspects of this continuity requires co-operation between the scholars of different fields. Not only it is necessary to be aware of the evolution of the textual patterns, the crystallization of the textual *topoi* and *exempla*, and the origins and development of different discourses, but more generally, it is useful to learn about the experiences and methodology of reading and interpreting source material which has many common characteristics throughout the period and geographical region in question.

In particular, both ancient and medieval scholars of cultural and social history, and especially of the study of the every day life and practices (what this compilation is all about), are inevitably dealing with material which in its original contexts was not primarily interested in or focused on those themes the modern scholar is interested in. The many problems, and some joys, of using hagiography, historical writing, commentaries, legal and juridical texts and letter material, are very similar. In cases, in which there does indeed seem to be differences, this should be given careful attention, as it is highly likely that this would reveal something substantial about the source material in question, and even about the society in which it was produced. For example, pollution is closely linked to the dead in Antiquity, while some special dead were venerated during the Middle Ages. On the other hand, in Roman culture the dead family members were made part of the community by annual banquets at the graves, *Parentalia*; similarly, the deceased were made present and commemorated in monastic communities by the medieval books of death. Similarities and differences bring up fresh questions and make it worth the effort to bring together scholars from different fields to acquire new insights for their research across the traditional border between ancient and medieval studies.

The most relevant reason for gathering ancient and medieval research together to make the present compilation is that in the pre-modern world, religion was tied to economic and political power and it had a pervasive influence on the everyday life of the people. As we have claimed elsewhere, to separate religion from the other spheres of social interaction is not only impossible but potentially misleading. Moreover, faith and religion were holistic mental models directing the course of individual lives, rather than constituting a separate sphere of life centred either on theological thinking or devotional life.[41] Thus religious practices, compared to many fields in ancient and medieval worlds, are quite visible to a modern scholar due to the variety of source materials available. Attentiveness to the particular historical context and close reading of the source material are the common tools for researchers of this volume, even though the writers of the

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40 Murray, *cit*. n. 39, 43-51; cf. R. M. Karras, 'Thomas Aquinas's Chastity Belt: Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe, in Bitel – Lifshitz, *cit.* n. 39, 52-67.

41 S. Katajala-Peltomaa – V. Vuolanto, 'Children and Religion. Approaching Socialisation in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', *Journal for the Childhood in the Past* 4:1 (2011), 79-99. See also J. Rüpke, 'Roman religion – religions of Rome', in Rüpke, *cit*. n. 24, 1-9, esp. 5 on Roman religion as 'embedded religion', religious practices forming part of the cultural practices of nearly every facet of cultural life.

compilation represent different scholarly traditions and fields: they are scholars of anthropology, art history, (different branches of) history and literature. On the other hand we, as editors, are looking at the field of religious practices and the ancient and medieval past as social historians, even if we are eager to acknowledge our dept to sociology, anthropology and gender studies.

Above, we have presented a frame within which to analyse ancient and medieval religions. The articles in the book are organized following their thematic focus: the collection starts with the pieces stressing identity and participation; in the rest of the papers, starting from Kahlos's paper, rituals and interaction are the main interest. In the present article we have put forward some new angles and analogies to compare various forms of religious practices within their social contexts. They are only a few among the many, of course, and as a suggestion to widen the discourse we would like to end by proposing that readers compose their own.

The *Lar Familiaris* of the Romans: A 'Simple' God

Maurizio Bettini

The amount of research devoted to the *Lares* in the last one hundred and fifty years is so vast that making any further contribution to the discussion is no mean feat. In particular, a recent issue of the Italian journal *Lares*, which bears the name of these Roman deities, has enriched the scholarly dossier on this topic with highly valuable, original insights.[1] Where does this all leave a scholar who wishes to add something to the conversation? But in the same way that psychological analysis can be 'interminable', as Freud put it, and in the same way that Peirce claimed semiosis can be 'boundless', so too the anthropology of the ancient world is based on a process that never reaches a proper end (or at least we like to think it doesn't). Speaking more prosaically, but also less ironically, the truth is that when we are dealing with a problem related to the religious or cultural 'fabric' of some ancient people, we can always find something more to say.

One of the Family

There is in fact one text that I believe holds still more surprises in store for us. I am talking about the prologue of Plautus' *Aulularia* (2nd century BCE), in which a *Lar familiaris* appears directly on stage not only to inform the audience about the play's *dramatis personae* – a truly miserable cast of characters, except for the young girl – and sketch out the plot, but also to tell them something about himself. Is it possible to glean any further autobiographical information about this figure – the *Lar familiaris* – by examining this scene more closely? I believe it is – and so let us begin by listening to what he has to say:[2]

> No need to stand there wondering who I am, I'll enlighten you in a few words. I am the *Lar familiaris* of the household [*ex hac familia*] from which you have just seen me come out. It is many years now that I occupy and take care of this home [*hanc domum… possideo et colo*] on behalf of the grandfather and father of the gentleman who now lives there. This man's grandfather, entreating my confidence [*obsecrans*], secretly entrusted to me a hoard of treasure: he buried it beneath the hearth (*in medio foco | defodit*) and begged me (*venerans*) keep it for him. Such was his avarice that even on his deathbed he refused to reveal the secret to his own son, preferring to leave him in misery than disclose the location of the trove of gold. Instead, he left him a meager plot of land… so that he, in turn, was able to eke out a living only with great labor and by enlisting the help of his own son. After this gentleman's death – I mean of the one who had entrusted the gold to me – I began to keep an eye out for his son's behavior, if perchance he esteemed me more greatly than his father. But he held me in even lesser regard, and paid me even lesser attention. So I reciprocated, and he died as poor as he ever was. This man too had a son who now inhabits this home, and he exhibits the same traits as his father and grandfather. He has an only child, a young daughter – but unlike her forbears she brings me every day some incense or wine or what-have-you, and gives me crowns. Therefore, in repayment of her devo-

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1 *Lares* 73:3 (2007). This issue contains a useful and rich bibliography on the Lar: see in particular G. De Sanctis, 'Lari', *Lares* 73:3 (2007), 477-527.

2 Plaut. *Aul*. 1-36: see the still very useful comments of W. Stockert, *Plautus. Aulularia,* Stuttgart 1983.

> tion to me (*eius honoris gratia*), I have brought it about that her father Euclio has discovered the treasure – so if he should give her away in marriage, he can do so more easily. In fact, it so happens that a young man, of a very important family, has had his way with the girl. The young man knows very well who it is he has violated, but she does not know that it was he – and the father knows nothing at all about this affair. So I am going to bring to pass the following: the old man who lives next door (*hic senex de proxumo*) will ask the girl to marry him. I'm going to do this so that a marriage between the two young people might be more easily arranged, since the old man is actually the maternal uncle (*avunculus*) of the young man who violated the girl during the nocturnal festival of Ceres.

The plot contains all the typical elements of New Comedy. A young girl of good reputation is raped in the night, during a religious ceremony (in the original, the *Cereris vigiliae* was probably some Greek festival like the Thesmophoria, the celebrated Greek festival in honor of Demeter and Persephone):[3] this already signals that after a prescribed series of incidents and misunderstandings, the play's denouement will produce a happy conclusion: the very rules of ancient comedy demand that the plot have this fixed structure.[4] As for the prologue's *persona loquens* – the *Lar familiaris* himself – it is futile to try to guess which Greek god stood in his place in the Attic original: Hestia? Pistis? A *heros*? Some *theos ephestios*?[5] More revelant is Plautus' introduction of the *Lar familiaris* into this scene as he reworked it for his Roman audience. Given that the theatergoers were likely to have worshipped this divinity themselves in their own homes – and therefore would have been very familiar with its characteristics and attributes, I believe we are justified in assuming the poet portrays an image of the god here that at least minimally corresponds to what his audience's shared expectations would have been: in other words, that he placed on stage a distinctly 'Roman' god. So let's try to approach the prologue from the perspective of what interests us here today – the nature and behavior of the *Lar familiaris.*

To begin with, the manner in which the god describes himself is very interesting. He characterizes himself as *Lar … familiaris ex hac familia.* The strict connection between the Lar and the *familia* – if we understand this as the group consisting of all the individuals, free and slave, even the animals, who come under the authority of a *paterfamilias* – is beyond question in Roman society. We only need to remember that when someone abandoned the *familia*, he also abandoned his Lar; and conversely that if the *familia* moved into a new *domus*, the Lar moved with it – and in fact was the first to be worshipped in the new home.[6] We could say, then, that the Lar <u>is</u> the *familia*, in the sense that it represents the household. But how exactly? I should point out that Plautus expresses the linkage between the Lar and the *familia* by a rather strange construction: *Lar … familiaris ex hac familia*. You'll have to pardon my philological pedantry, but shouldn't we expect something like *huius familiae* here – the genitive case indicating the sphere of action to which the god pertains? Why <u>*ex*</u> *hac familia?* It may be that the Lar wishes to portray himself as a god who "comes from" this *familia*; or better – given that elsewhere in Plautus *ex* plus the ablative covers for the partitive –that the Lar wishes to emphasize the fact that he is "part of" the *familia,* the social group that constitutes his proper sphere of action.[7] Whatever the case, through

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3 Cf. Stockert's note to Plaut. *Aul*. 36, Stockert, *cit.* n. 2, 43.

4 M. Bettini, *Verso un'antropologia dell'intreccio,* Urbino 1991, 11-76.

5 Stockert, *cit.* n. 2, 37.

6 Particularly clear are the opposing cases of Plaut. *Merc.* 842 (Charinus abandons his father's house: *ego mihi persequar… alium Larem*) and *trin.* 39ff. (Callicles orders crowns to be given to the Lar after relocating). Much further material in G. Wissowa '*Lares*', in W. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie,* Hildesheim 1978 [= 1886-1890], II:2, 1868-97; G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque,* Paris 1966, 347-8; D. G. Orr, *Roman Domestic Religion,* in *ANRW* 16:2, 1551-91; for further definitions of *familia*, cf. *infra.*

7 On *ex*, cf. J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München 1972, 265. That the usage of *ex* can be explained – 'sprachpsychologisch' – through the influence of the following *unde*, is Stockert's (Stockert, *cit.* n. 2, 38) suggestion, to which even the author himself does not seem to give much credence ('vielleicht').

this unique expression – *ex hac familia* - the Lar represents himself not as a divinity who is incontestably 'in charge of' the family, but rather as one who is 'part of' or 'comes from' it. This is very curious. We probably expect a god to make absolute, incontrovertible affirmations of his own power in – his own control over – his rightful sphere of action. Instead, the Lar prefers to represent himself as simply a part of it.

With this in mind, let's continue with what the god has to say. After these general declarations of identity, the Lar goes on to add something even more interesting than that he is 'part of' the *familia*: he acknowledges that his divinity is actually limited temporally. 'It is many years now (*iam multis annos est*)', he says, 'that I am the Lar of this house' (4). Thus, the Lar is a god who only from a certain point in time – probably the moment when the *avus* (the one who buried the treasure) established the *familia* that still occupies the *domus* – actually began to exist as such. This is probably why the Lar feels that he is 'part of' the *familia* he protects, the family he says he 'comes from': without the *familia*, he wouldn't exist; their existence emerges simultaneously. Should we imagine, then, that the Lar would also cease to exist, were the *familia* itself ever to be broken up or disappear? From this perspective, we might say that the Lar resembles the *genius*, the 'personal' divinity that accompanies every male Roman as a 'companion' (the Latin word used by Horace is *comes*) from birth to death: the *genius* is a god whose existence in fact begins when that person is born and ends when that person dies. It is rather tempting to think that the Genius stands to the individual as the Lar stands to an entire *familia*: the existence and function of both gods is subject to temporal limits, and both gods represent specific individuals or specific groups of individuals. In today's terms, we might say that these are gods with a first and last name – or at any rate a last name – and as such restricted necessarily both in their duration and in their sphere of influence.[8] But let's see what else this god tells us.

Speaking of the *domus* whose divine representative he is, the Lar employs a singular expression that might at first lead the modern reader (or hearer) astray: *hanc domum ... possideo*. Does the Lar mean by this expression that he 'owns' this *domus*, claiming in some way that he is its owner or proprietor? I do not believe so. In Plautus, the verb *possideo* does not refer to ownership of private property, but rather to 'eine tatsächliche Gewalt' on a piece of *ager publicus,* just as the jurist Gallus Aelius states that *possessio* refers to *usus quidam agri aut aedificii,* 'special use of a field or building.'[9] In other words, *possidere* and *possessio* do not designate private ownership over some a field or building, but instead to 'occupancy' or 'usufruct' of that property – property that does not properly belong to the occupant. The Lar then 'occupies' the *domus* in which he operates: he exercises his divine function there, but does not in any sense 'own' it.

If you will pardon my philological pedantry once more, I believe a consideration of the verb *colo* – parallel with *possideo* – and the two datives that follow it leads to an equally suggestive conclusion. The god states in full: *hanc domum… possideo et colo | patri avoque iam huius qui nunc hic habet*. So, for many years the god has 'occupied' this house and taken care of it – 'cultivated' it – *on behalf of* the father and grandfather of the gentleman presently living there, Euclio. This allows us to better understand the position that the *Lar familiaris* holds within the *familia* from which he 'comes' or of which he is 'part', as he says. Without a doubt, the Lar is unique among gods: he simply 'makes use of' the house in which his family of reference resides, overseeing it like a *colonus* who cultivates – on behalf of others – some plot of land that

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8 Hor. *epist.* 2.2.187; on *genius*, see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München 1971 [= 1912], 175-6; H. Kunckel, *Der Römische Genius*, Heidelberg 1974, 29-44; Orr, *cit*. n. 6; S. Mattero, 'Gluttonous genius', *Arctos* 26 (1992), 85-96. Naturally, I am not implying – as has occurred so often in the past – that *genius* and *Lar* were originally the same divinity (or a transformation one from the other: Wissowa, *cit.* n. 8, 175-6. As expected, in *domestica lararia,* representations of the divinity may be accompanied by that of the *genius paterfamilias* (or of the *iuno matrisfamilias*): see Tran Tam Tinh, '*Lares*', in *LIMC* 6:1 (1992), 205-12.

9 M. Kaser, *Eigentum und Besitz im älterem römischen Recht*, Köln 1956, 239-42 and 314-9; cited by Stockert, *cit*. n. 2, 38-9; Gallus Aelius in Fest. 260, 28-9 (ed. Lindsay = fr. 15 ed. Funaioli: H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* I, Leipzig 1907).

he does not himself own.[10] Elsewhere, the Lar is described as 'caring for' (*curat*) the house (*tectus*) in all its aspects (*funditus*). In this definition, as well, we find the Lar portrayed as a kind of administrator or caretaker. The Lar takes care of a house, just as one 'takes care of' (*curare*) dinner, shopping, wine, a vineyard, a well, and so on.[11]

The Plautine Lar is perhaps better described, therefore, as being responsible for the *familia* and the home than as its 'owner' or 'master'. Simply put, the *Lar familiaris* turns out to be a god whose divine province is fairly restricted, to say the least.[12] Exactly what kind of divinity are we dealing with, then? Let's continue our exploration and find out.

Succincti Lares

Let's turn now to another aspect of the Lar's representation, one that might be considered of little importance – but I believe wrongly so. I am talking about the Lar's clothing, and fortunately, we possess numerous figurines and statues depicting this divinity. Normally, the Lar is represented as a young man wearing a short tunic visibly tied at the waist and that falls just above the knee.[13] Why the tunic specifically? In other words, what meaning does the tunic have in the symbolic system of Roman clothing, and what does this tell us about the Lar? It may be useful to recall certain fundamental characteristics of this garment.

As we know, the *tunica* was the most widely worn piece of clothing in Roman society. It could be worn by anyone, independent of sex, age, citizenship, or social class. Rich or poor, man or woman, young or old, free or slave, citizen or foreigner, everyone wore or could wear the tunic – though certainly it was possible to wear the tunic in different ways. We might say, then, that from the point of view of the vestimentary code, the Roman *tunica* was, so to speak, a symbolically 'unmarked' garment – very different, that is, from other garments of more specific symbolic character, such as the citizen's *toga,* the traveller's *paenula*, the banquetor's *synthesis*, and so forth. So what were the main characteristics of the tunic? When worn by senators or knights, the tunic had *clavi*, or purple stripes: a narrow stripe for knights (*angustus clavus*), a wide stripe for senators (*latus clavus*).[14] As well, the *tunica* could be worn as an undergarment – for example un-

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10 Cf. the observations of Stockert, *cit*. n. 2, 39. It is difficult to evaluate Dumézil's (*cit*. n. 6, 604) assertion that by the expression *hanc domum … possideo et colo* 'the *Lar familiaris* summarizes in two verbs the theory of its own function.'

11 Enn. *ann.* 619 (ed. Skutsch): 'vosque *Lares* nostrum tectum qui funditus curant'; for the use of *curare*, cf. *OLD* s.v. Again in Plaut. *rud.* 1207, it is said of the *Lares* that 'they have guaranteed (*auxerunt*) the wellbeing' of the *familia* (I have discussed the meaning of *augeo* in M. Bettini, 'Alle soglie dell'autorità', introduction to B. Lincoln, *L'autorità*, Torino 2000, vii-xxxiv); while in *Merc.* 835 the Lar is said to 'protect' (*tutari)* the *res familiaris.*

12 In this respect, we can add that as has already been noted Plautus certainly does not give his Lar the virtue of omniscience: to discover if the son intends to honor him more than the father, in fact, the god has to 'wait and see' how he behaves himself, and does not already know how things will turn out (16); just as, in general, the Lar seems to have a modest range of power. Cf. K. Abel, *Die Plautusprologe* (PhD thesis), Mülheim – Saarn 1955, 42; Stockert, *cit*. n. 2, 37. Naturally, in judging this aspect of the Plautine Lar we must take account of the necessities imposed by comic plot on the character of the Lar.

13 Tran Tam Tinh, *cit.* n. 8, 6:1, 205-12; Orr, *cit.* n. 6, 1569; the reproductions of numerous images of the *Lares* in Tran Tam Tinh, *cit*. n. 8, 6:2, 97-102: in some cases, the Lar wears a kind of scarf, descending on both sides to cover the arms and sides: this garment is difficult to identify (Tran Tam Tinh, *cit*. n. 8, 6:1, 211; Orr, *cit*. n. 6, 1569).

14 On the use of the *tunica,* cf. J. Marquardt, *La vie privée des Romains*, Paris 1893, vol. 2, 192; useful comments in G. Blum, 'Tunica', in C. Daremberg – E. Saglio (eds), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. V, Graz 1969, 534-9, esp. 538; A. T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion,* Gloucestershire 2002, 32-3; M. Pausch, *Die römische Tunika: ein Beitrag zur Peregrinisierung der antiken Kleidung*, Augsburg 2003, 49-70 is particularly rich in materials, even if it is not always possible to agree with the author's interpretations of them; on *clavi*, Marquardt, *cit.*, 184-90; Pausch, *cit*., 104-36. In this respect, note that the presence of *clavi* on the *tunica* of numerous bronzes (including some statues of the Lar: Tran Tam Tinh, *cit.*, n. 8, 6:2, 15, 50, and 54; Pausch, *cit.*, 117-8 and fig. 88), cannot be interpreted as a sign of the social class to which the owner belongs: thus Pausch, *cit*., 104-36, against the wide-spread hypothesis, shared also by Tran Tam Tinh, *cit.* n. 8, 6:1, 211.

der the toga – or on its own. However, while the elite classes could wear the tunic in both manners, the lower classes could do so in only one fashion: slaves – who according to Cato the Elder's recommendation were supposed to wear tunics no more than three and a half feet long – as well as the populace at large wore the tunic as a garment in and of itself. This is why the lower classes were referred to as the *tunicatus popellus*, 'the tunic'd masses', as opposed to the *togati*, the citizens of Rome. In fact Vergil, in a verse as unambiguous as it is famous, defined the Roman citizenry explicitly as the *gens togata*.[15] But looking more closely at the opposition between the toga and the tunic and between the *tunicatus popellus* on one hand and the *gens togata* on the other, there were in fact certain occasions on which this difference could be effectively erased. We know that those who habitually wore the toga would normally exchange it for the tunic when alone at home or in the quiet of their countryside villas.[16] This practice is particularly interesting in view of what I said before about the tunic as an 'unmarked' garment: now we might say that the *tunica* tends to be viewed as 'unmarked' not only because it was common to all members of Roman society (even if it varied somewhat in form), but also because when it was worn in the domestic sphere – the territory of the Lar – it erased all distinctions between rich and poor, slave and master. The *Lar familiaris,* therefore, robed as he is in the tunic in most figural representations, is portrayed as a god who dresses in the same 'unmarked', 'domestic' way as his family of reference does. From this point of view, the *Lar familiaris* appears to occupy a position somewhat different from that of another divinity of the Roman house, the *Genius familiaris*. While the Lar wears the tunic, the Genius – at least in the representations that have come down to us – is instead portrayed as being *togatus*.[17] Roman culture thus seems to have taken advantage of the vestimentary code in order to define the reciprocal relationship between these two deities of domestic space. At this point, however, beyond just the images of the Lar that we possess, it will be useful to consider descriptions of this god provided to us by Latin literary writers, as well.

Literary representations of the Lar bring to light another aspect of this god's clothing that the Romans presumably thought significant. The poet Ovid (1st century BCE and CE) defines the *Lares* as *incincti*, or wearing the garment tied at the waist, and therefore lifted up: *nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares* ('that the *patella* nourish the *Lares* girded at the waist'). The poet Persius (1st century CE) calls them *succincti*, which means practically the same thing: *bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit* ('the *bulla* was hung as an offering to the *Lares* girded at the waist.')[18] As we have seen, in figural representations as well the *Lares* wear a garment tied at the waist. What is interesting, though, is that our ancient 'informants' seem to consider this garment, the *tunica succincta*, a determining feature of the Lar's identity. Ovid and Persius both evoke this characteristic in the manner of an epithet – *incincti Lares*, *succincti Lares* – capable of synthesizing the very essence of these gods, as if to say: a Lar is a Lar if and only if it wears a garment that is *succinctus*. But why all this emphasis on this garment's 'girdedness'? We must remember that in Roman society being *succinctus* carried specific cultural meaning: we know that wearing the tunic loose – that is, being *discinctus* – was considered a sign of neglect and even moral degeneracy.[19] At the same time, the act

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15 For the slave's tunic, Cato *agr.* 59, *vestimenta familiae: tunicam p. III S*; for the *tunica* as the garment of the poor classes, cf. e.g. Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.94 (*tunicatorum illorum*); Hor. *epist.* 1.7.64 (*tunicato… popello*); Tac. *dial*. 7.4 (*tunicatus populus*, opposed to the *togatorum comitatus* of 6.4, an expression used of the citizenry); Verg. *Aen.* 1.286 (*Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam*).

16 Marquardt, *cit*. n. 14, 192; Pausch, *cit*. n. 14, 24. It is worth mentioning the principle evidence, not all given in the studies cited: Liv. 3.26.9; Mart. *epigr.* 10.47.4f.; 10.51.6 (*o tunicata quies!*); 11.56.6; Plin. *epist.* 5.6.45 (on his Tuscan villa: '*altius ibi otium… nulla necessitas togae*'); 7.3.3; Amm. 26.6.15.

17 I. Romeo, 'Genius', *LIMC* (1997) 8:1, 599-601 with images, 372-3. On *genius*, cf. *supra* n. 8.

18 Ov. *fast.* 2.634; Pers. 5.31.

19 E.g. Sen. *epist.* 114.4; Pers. 3.31; 4.22; Hor. *sat.* 1.2.25; 2.1.73 with Marquardt, *cit.* n. 14, 191-2. Croom, *cit*. n. 14, 33 gives various images of *discincti* both *in situ* and not. Carthaginians too would dress that way: cf. Plaut, *Poen.*, 1089 f.

of 'girding up one's garments' (*succingere*), which rendered the garment-wearer somewhat freer in his or her movement, signified decorum, diligence, simplicitly and commitment to one's work. In Plautus' *Rudens*, for example, Ampelisca, one of the heroines of the play, describes the priestess of Venus who has given her and her sister refuge:

> I do not believe I have ever seen a more dignified (*digniorem*) old woman … With how much gentleness and generosity has she received us! Not even if we were her own daughters … But look how she has lifted up her garments (*succincta*) so she can warm up the water for our bath herself![20]

If, as I have suggested, the tunic worn at home is a symbolically 'unmarked' garment that erases social distinctions, we might say that the band or belt by which the tunic becomes *succincta* implies a very specific meaning: industriousness, simplicity and decorum. What then is the message that images and descriptions of the Lar communicate to us through the 'language' of clothing?

In substance, it is what Plautus has already expressed not through the vestimentary code, but in the form of words through his striking syntax: that the *Lar familiaris* is a god *ex hac familia* – that he is 'part of' his household. For this reason, he wears an unmarked garment, the tunic, which in domestic space pertains to the slave as well as the master, and whose 'girdedness' conveys notions of simplicity, decorum, and hard work. But let us now turn to other characteristics of the Lar that have been discussed in recent research and that seem to corroborate the image of the divinity that we have been slowly teasing out today.[21] In the first place, the Lar's privileged relationship with slaves.

'Servile' Love

We know that in Roman tradition the *Lares* were and indeed had to be ritually honored by slaves, and that during the *Compitalia*, a festival celebrating the *Lares compitales* or '*Lares* of the crossroads', a sort of 'Saturnalian' rule came into effect whereby the relationship between master and slave was inverted. Moreover, we know that during this festival any slave who had won his freedom made a ceremonial offering of his chains, and also that slaves were permitted to take part in the *collegia cultorum Larum.*[22] Particularly interesting is the fact that, according to Cato, the *vilicus* of a Roman farm was authorized to make sacrifices only in the *compitum* on occasion of the Compitalia, or at the *focus,* the 'home' of the *Lar familiaris*, so to speak: this means that in both cases the *vilicus* could only perform sacrifices addressed to the *Lares*. Even the wife of the *vilicus*, the *vilica*, though she was expressly forbidden to perform sacrifices on her own initiative, was able to do so in specific circumstances.[23] And finally, Roman tradition held that slaves, along with the *vilicus* or the master himself, should take their meals near the hearth, the domain of the *Lar familiaris.* In this context, the Lar was treated as a sort of dinner-companion and was 'nourished' by means of the *patella:* as Ovid says, *nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares,* 'that the *patella* nourish the *Lares* girded at the waist.'[24] The fact that slaves shared a table with the god of the hearth is particularly interesting from our perspective: the Lar appears to be a god who not only is 'close' to slaves, as I suggested before, but also more generally does not care about status distinctions. Just as the Lar dresses in a symbolically unmarked garment, so too he

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20 Plaut. *Rud.* 406ff. On the use of *succinctus,* cf. e.g. Iuv. 6.445; Verg. *Aen.* 7.187; 12.101.

21 De Sanctis, *cit*. n. 1.

22 For the participation of slaves in the cult of the *Lares compitales*, cf. in particular Dionys. *ant.* 4.14.3f.; De Sanctis, *cit*. n. 1.

23 Cato *agr.* 5.3 and 143.1-2: cf. W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations,* Oxford 1920, 56-72.

24 Ov. *fast.* 2.634. On meals taken in common at the focus, see in particular Wissowa, *cit*. n. 6, 1876-77, with the sources; for the patella that nourishes the *Lares*, cf. *infra*.

takes his meals with all the members of the family. But besides the Lar's eating habits, can we say anything about this god's sexuality, or, if you prefer, his marriage tendencies? Here, we have the opportunity to take a short detour into the world of Roman mythology.

The story goes that the Roman King Servius Tullius, like so many other mythological heroes, was conceived supernaturally. 'During the reign of Tarquinius Priscus,' Pliny the Elder (1st century CE) recounts, 'a male member suddenly emerged from the ashes on the king's hearth (*focus*) and a captive girl (*ancilla*) who was sitting there – Ocresia, a servant of Queen Tanaquil – rose up pregnant from her seat before the fire. This was how Servius Tullius, who succeeded to the throne, came to be born, and thus he was believed to be the son of the *Lar familiaris*. For this reason, he is supposed to have been the first to celebrate the *Compitalia*, games in honor of the *Lares*.' This is not the place to follow up all the intricate later elaborations of this mythological story, in which Servius Tullius may be substituted by Caeculus or even by Romulus and Remus.[25] I limit myself here to observing how the Lar mates with a slave, producing a son who carries the explicit name of *Servius,* 'slave-like' or 'descended from a slave' and who has a special relationship with the *Lares.* The hearth-god's preference for 'servile' romances is just as clear from other variants of the story in which a princess refuses to join with the miraculous male member that appears on the hearth and for this reason is replaced by a slave.[26] The fact that the *Lar familiaris* relies upon a slave woman in order to produce a son – and what a son, Servius Tullius! – is significant. This god not only receives worship from slaves, but eats with them, dresses in a way that does not distinguish him from them, and even seeks his 'matrimonial' alliances among them.[27]

To understand why the Lar is so intimately associated with the world of slaves there is no need to conjecture, as William Warde Fowler did, that the cult of the *Lar familiaris* had been introduced into the *domus* by slaves: Warde Fowler claimed, in fact, that slaves had in some sense 'transferred' the festival of the *Lares compitales* celebrated in the *compita* to the household in the form of the cult of the *Lar familiaris*, thus introducing a new set of divinities into a space – the hearth – originally occupied only by the goddess Vesta (*Penates*, meanwhile, were supposed to have originally inhabited the *penu*).[28] Cultural evolutionism is now quite out of date; today, we recognize that simply distributing the elements of a culture that seem contradictory to us along a vertical line – transforming apparent inconsistencies into discrete (and purely hypothetical) temporal phases – does not actually contribute to our understanding of anything. In fact, this process often ends up covering over differences and distinctions potentially quite valuable for understanding a culture.[29] In order to understand the 'proximity' that the *Lares* seem to enjoy with slaves I believe it is enough to simply invoke the constellation of traits that I have mentioned so far: namely, that the Lar is a god who is 'part of' the *familia* – a group in which slaves, too, claim membership – and also a god who does not hold any sort of right of 'ownership' over the *domus*, instead being its *possessor* or *colonus*; a god whose domestic clothing, the *tunica succincta*, is a garment fit for the slave as well as the freedman, signaling only that the wearer is someone who lives simply and is committed to hard work. So the Lar is not some 'imported' household god, transferred to the hearth by household slaves. Instead, the Lar represents, within the *familia* itself, all the characteristics and distinctive traits that unite, rather than divide, its various members.

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25 See e.g. Plin. *nat.* 36.204; Dionys. *ant.* 4.2; Plut. *fort. Rom.* 10.323a-c; Arnob. *nat.* 5.18.

26 Plut. *Rom*. 2 (the birth of Romulus and Remus according to the Greek historian Promathion).

27 Again in a mythological direction, the *historiola* that Ovid recounts about the birth of the *Lares* from *Lala* / *Lara* and *Mercurius* does not seem particularly relevant: cf. M. Bettini, 'Homéophonies magiques. Le rituel en l'honneur de Tacita dans Ovide, Fastes, 2, 569 sq.', *RHR* 223:2 (2006), 150-72.

28 Warde Fowler, *cit*. n. 23, 56-72.

29 On this, cf. in particular C. Viglietti, '*Lares* poco familiari', *Lares* 73:3 (2007), 553-70.

Toys and Dogs

This aspect of the Lar's nature emerges from other interesting 'contiguities' manifested within the family, as well. We know, for example, that gifts were offered to the *Lares*, such as the toys and other objects related to infancy that young girls dedicated to them when they were engaged to be married. Offerings of this kind again seem to suggest that the Lar enjoyed a relationship of intimacy and understanding even with the minor members of a *familia*.[30] But the same can be said if, turning from the domestic dimension, we begin to explore more 'public' aspects of the *Lares* as well. Doing so will in fact allow us to reconsider an interesting bit of evidence involving the relationship of the *Lares praestites* with, oddly enough, dogs.

Standing by the feet of many ancient statues of the Lar is the figure of a dog, and from literary sources we know that these statues were sometimes even draped with the pelts of this animal.[31] In passing on this curious information, the authors Ovid and Plutarch (2nd century CE) both accentuate the fact that, just like the dog itself, the Lar too guards and protects the house. Yet we cannot overlook the other cultural characteristics with which the *Lares praestites* came to be endowed through this association with the dog. In the ancient world, the dog is frequently represented as the animal that is 'closest' to man – thus simultaneously being part of man's 'group' and for this very reason being also its final and most marginal member.[32] Associated symbolically with the dog and indeed even assimilated in many respects to the dog through a kind of figural transvestism, the Lar ends up taking the same position of marginality occupied by this animal within the human group.

The implicit symbolic proximity of the Lar to the dog, in other words, confirms the image of this god that we have been sketching so far: namely, that the Lar is a god who is 'part' of a social group that includes not only the male *paterfamilias* and any other 'strong' members of the group, but also slaves, young girls, dogs, *et cetera*. In this respect, we should remember that, properly speaking, the *familia* – the social entity to which the *lar* belongs by virtue of being *familiaris* – includes not only humans, slave and free, but also extends more generally to the *patrimonium* of the *paterfamilias*, which includes animals.[33] In an interesting chapter of *De agricultura*, Cato insists: 'It is permissible to yoke bulls during *feriae,* "holidays"… For mules, horses, and donkeys there are no holidays, except those pertaining to the *familia* (*nisi si in familia sunt*)'. This means that animals belonging to the household were regarded as part of the *familia* from not only the point of view of inheritance, but also the religious perspective.[34]

'Close to the Experience of the Natives'

At this point, I believe we can suggest a definition of the *Lar familiaris*. This divine figure appears to be what we might call a 'simple' god: powerful, yet not too powerful; divine, yet not aloof; a god very much 'at

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30 De Sanctis, *cit*. n. 1; Wissowa, *cit*. n. 8, 167-8.

31 Ov. *fast.* 5.129ff.; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 51: De Sanctis, *cit.*; on the iconography of the *Lares praestites,* cf. G. Pucci, '*Lares* che giocano fuori casa', *Lares* 73:3 (2007), 529-32. See also the coin of L. Caesius, of 112 or 11 BCE depicting two *Lares*, seated, with a lance on the left, and a dog between them: Tran Tam Tinh, *cit*. n. 8, 6:2, 89.

32 Cf. C. Franco, *Senza ritegno. Il cane e la donna nell'immaginario della Grecia antica,* Bologna 2003.

33 For the definition of *familia*, including not only people (free or slave), under the authority of the *paterfamilias*, but also the furniture, real estate and animals that belong to him, the most interesting sources are Ter. *Haut.* 909: '*decem dierum mihi vix est familia* (I have resources for only ten days)'; *Lex XII Tab.* 5.4 = G. Bruns – O. Gradenwitz (eds), *Fontes Juris Romani Antiqui,* Tübingen 1909, 23; [Cic.] *Rhet. Her.* 1.23; Liv. 2.41.10 and 3.55.7 (with notes by R. Ogilvie, *A commentary on Livy. Books 1-5,* Oxford 1965, 343-4 and 502]); Gaius *inst.* 2.102: '*familiam suam, id est patrimonium suum* (his *familia*, that is, his inheritence)'. Cf. M. Finley, *The Ancient Economy,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1973, 18. On the 'familiar' nature of the Lar, cf. Wissowa, *cit*. n. 6, 1876; Dumézil, *cit*. n. 6, 604.

34 Cato *agr.* 138. If one understands *muli equi asini* – rather than, as normally, *feriae* – as the subject of *sunt*, the statement about animals belonging to the *familia* becomes even more explicit: 'unless (mules, horses and donkeys) are not a part of the *familia.*'

hand', you might say. As we have seen, in fact, the Lar is a domestic divinity restricted to being 'part' of its *familia*, 'making use' and 'taking care' of the space it occupies without actually owning it; quite limited in its temporal dimension; its 'unmarked' clothing erasing social distinctions, but at the same time bearing – and quite emphatically so – a 'mark' of decorum and activity. Close to slaves, young girls, and even dogs; not exclusive in its choice of dinner companions or its dalliances with *ancillae*. And, I will mention it now, often shown in figural representations in a joyous and youthful dance pose.[35] Thus a simple god, as the subtitle of this paper sounds. Yet, in all fairness, this definition of the *Lar familiaris* I have just offered presents a problem of a general sort – a problem I will try to address immediately.

Describing a portion of ancient culture in terms and categories that derive from our own cultural experience – in this case, calling the Lar a 'simple' god – is to some degree unavoidable: you've got to start somewhere. But in describing the features and characteristics of the *Lar familiaris*, I would much prefer to find a description that was in some sense 'native' to Roman culture itself and not wholly created – by us – through an image given by our culture. If anthropology (or at least the anthropology practiced in the last fifty years) has taught us anything, it is that it is incumbent upon us to interpret ancient culture as much as possible using concepts 'close to the experience' of the ancients themselves, as Clifford Geertz would put it. In this case, the 'natives' being obviously the Romans. Naturally, not even anthropologists of the ancient world can ever hope to produce interpretations constructed entirely on the basis of native categories, and probably they should not even try to do so: the result would likely be something like that 'ethnography of witchcraft written by a witch' so distrusted by Clifford Geertz (even while he was equally suspicious of an 'ethnography of witchcraft written by a geometer.') According to Geertz, the researcher's task is to take concepts close to the experience of the informants and 'place them in illuminating connection' with the 'concepts that theorists have fashioned to capture the general features of social life' in order 'to produce an interpretation of the way a people lives which is neither imprisoned within their mental horizons, an ethnography of witchcraft as written by a witch, nor systematically deaf to the distinctive tonalities of their existence, an ethnography of witchcraft as written by a geometer'. This is why I believe that also in the case of the *Lar familiaris* – as in many other cases when working on Roman subjects – we are faced with the necessity of maintaining a level of analysis as much as possible close to the experience of the Romans. In other words – and using perhaps a more technical terminology – we should never forget to keep close as much as possible to the 'emic' level of our analysis, even while using (as it is inevitable) 'etic' categories to draw our picture of ancient life and society.

This process would be easier, of course, if we were dealing with a living culture, a culture capable of producing new information about itself and not simply of reproducing what is already available. Not incidentally, some scholars have recently proposed further dividing 'etic' research into two different types: first, scholarly interpretations of the emic through the production of fieldwork data, and, second, anthropological reflections on the emic once that data has been collected.[36] In the case of Roman culture, however, the first situation – the production of fieldwork data – rarely, if ever, occurs: the corpus of information at our disposal is almost completely fixed, and consists of a couple of bookshelves full of literary and epigraphic texts, along with a series of *in situ* monuments analyzed and interpreted by scholars. Few and far between are any possibilities we might have of significantly expanding our inheritance of Roman texts, which in this case correspond in a very real sense – far beyond Geertz's metaphor – to the culture we

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35 See the images given by Tran Tam Tinh, *cit.* n. 8, 6:1, n. 16-88; 6:2, 211; Orr, *cit*. n. 6, 1568.

36 J.-P. Olivier De Sardan, 'Émique', *L'Homme* 147 (1998), 151-6; cf. C. Calame, 'L'histoire comparée des religions', in M. Burger – C. Calame (eds), *Comparer le comparatismes*, Paris & Milan 2006, 209-32.

are studying.[37] The search for a 'native' definition of some aspect of the Roman world, then, is in actual practice a hermeneutic process: it is only possible to conduct 'emic' anthropological studies of Rome in philological terms (and often also vice versa, even if many classicists would be reluctant to admit it).

This is perhaps not the occasion for delving deeper into a theoretical discussion. But at the very least we need to spell out that for an anthropologist of the ancient world the process of interpretation (if we understand this above all in philological terms) is not limited to negotiating 'local detail' with 'global structure' – producing the necessarily dialectic between the 'emic' and 'etic' levels – as seems to happen for the anthropologist *tout court*.[38] Philological analysis always already plays a part in producing evidence at the 'emic' level, and not merely in the more general act of analysis. This is why at some points our search for information about the Lar entailed a certain degree of philological pedantry, as you may well remember. Turning back to the specific problem we posed before, however: If we hope to find some 'emically' Roman formula capable of capturing all the characteristics of the *Lar familiaris*, we will need to rummage not only through the dusty shelves of the classical philologist's library, but also through those of our own memory. And our best hope of hitting upon some useful text, I believe, will be to try again with Plautus.

In Plautus' *Cistellaria,* the lovesick young Alcesimarchus falls into a kind of delirium of divine invocation. Addressing himself first to the *dei inferi* and *superi* – and even to the *medioxumi* for good measure, he then calls upon Jupiter, Juno, Ops, Saturnus, and Janus, in a somewhat disconnected (even if not wholly illogical) order. Then he ends with an exclamation: *di me omnes magni minutique immo etiam patellarii* ('that all the gods, great and small – nay, even those of the *patella*').[39] In a descending scale that begins with the *dei magni*, the *dei patellarii* are positioned at the lowest end, even below the *dei minuti*. We might say, then, that these were considered '*dei* less than *minuti*'. But what, or who, were these *patellarii*? The object that Alcesimarchus refers to – the *patella* – is the special plate used for offering leftovers of food to the gods of the hearth.[40] This reference again evokes the space occupied by the *Lares*. Ovid – remember – states explicitly that the *Lares* are nourished with the *patella* (*nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares,* 'that the *patella* nourish the *Lares* girded at the waist.')[41] Is this the way we should 'emically' imagine the *Lar familiaris* – as a god even less than *minutus,* with the meaning this adjective has in Latin, namely 'minor' or 'less important'?[42] What is defined as *minutus* is of course characterized by the feature of being *minus*, which expresses precisely the notion of something being 'less' in respect to something else that is necessarily 'more'.

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37 C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York 1973, 452-3, 'the culture of a people is an ensemble of texts … which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong.'

38 Cf. C. Geertz, 'Native's Point of View', in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, New York 1983, 56-8.

39 Plaut. *cist.* 522: on the problems posed by this unique text, cf. Bettini, *cit*. n. 4, 12-76.

40 On the *patella* cf. e.g. Pers. 3.26; Fest. 293.13 (ed. Lindsay) with Wissowa, *cit.* n. 8, 162.

41 Ov. *fast*. 2.634. In line with his thesis that the *Lares* were only secondarily 'located' at the hearth (cf. Orr, *cit.* n. 6, 1563-1564]; De Sanctis, *cit.* n. 1). Wissowa, *cit.* n. 8 (1971) largely tends to attribute to the Penates mentions of offerings to the gods of the hearth; and when texts say the contrary, as in the case of Ovid, he suggests that such evidence belongs to a 'later' phase of Roman religion.

42 E.g. Cic. *Brut.* 266 (*minuti oratores*); *div.* 162 (*minuti philosophi*). The same term, *dei minuti*, is used by Augustine whenever he inveighs against the minor Roman gods (such as those presiding over the individual phases or actions of existence); Arnob. *nat.*, 2.3, in a similar context contrasting these gods with the Christian deity, defines them as *dii minores*: cf. M. Perfigli, *Indigitamenta. Divinità funzionali e funzionalità divina nella religione romana*, Pisa 2004, 18-24. Even so, in the passage of Plautus under examination, it seems that the reference to the patella points specifically to the gods of the house and hearth – which were in fact particularly displeasing to the Christians because of the persistence of their cult. In 392 ce a resecript of Theodosius expressly forbade lighting lamps, burning insense and hanging crowns in honor of Genii, Penates and *Lares* (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.12: Tran Tam Tinh, *cit*. n. 8, 6:1, 212).

Alcesimarchus' words can serve, therefore, as a useful 'emic' starting point for giving a more properly Roman account of the *Lar familiaris.* As his characterization suggests, the characteristics that we have defined under the rubric of 'simpleness', a Roman would likely have placed under that of something like 'lesserness'. But perhaps the classical philologist's libbrary provides us with another opportunity to produce an 'emic' definition of the Lar. In describing the residence of the gods in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid employs typically Roman imagery: in fact, utilizing a very Roman political and social opposition, Ovid counterposes the 'atriums of the noble gods' (*deorum | atria nobilium*) to the *plebs* of divinities. While the 'noble gods' reside in a kind of 'Palatine of the sky' (*Palatia caeli*), this *plebs* instead lives here and there in different places, inhabiting the various locales that have been granted to them on the earth. In this case, rather than setting up a hierarchy between the gods using of the categories of large and small, greater and lesser – as Alcesimarchus did, Ovid employs the fundamental and very concrete model of social distinctions that existed at Rome: that contrasting the *nobiles* with the *plebs.*

Who precisely makes up this 'populace' of divinities, though? Ovid himself informs us in another of his works, explicitly equating the *plebs superum,* 'populace of the gods' with a series of minor divinities, primary among whom are the *Fauni, Satyri,* and *Lares*.[43] Needless to say, this presents noteworthy similarities to the characterization of the *Lar familiaris* that we have been outlining so far. Just think again of the Lar's clothing, the *tunica*, which as we know positions the Lar squarely within the *populus* or *popellus tunicatus* – the 'meager populace' proverbially clothed in that garment. From an emic perspective, then, we might say that the Lar is a god 'less than *minutus*' – or perhaps 'the least', and even *plebeius*, 'of the masses'. That said, we can now return to the Plautine prologue with which we opened our discussion, to begin drawing this analysis to a close.

Reciprocity and Memory

When the *avus* called upon the *Lar familiaris* to help take care of his treasure, he addressed the god in religiously correct fashion, through the act of *obsecrare* and *venerari*.[44] And in selecting a spot to hide his gold, the *avus* chose, very symbolically, the Lar's sacred space, the hearth (*in medio foco ... defodit*). The Lar heard his prayer, therefore, and kept guard over the hoard that had been entrusted to him. The Lar did not behave as graciously towards the next generation of the family, however. Because over time the *filius* of the old man (and *pater* of Euclio) paid the Lar increasingly scarce attention, the god decided to reciprocate (*item a me contra factum est*), and in fact allowed him to die a pauper. Conversely, the Lar demonstrated great benevolence towards Euclio's daughter, the young girl of the play who honors the god with wine, incense,

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43 Ov. *met.* 1.171ff: '*dextra laevaque deorum | atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis; | plebs habitat diversa locis …*'; *Id.* 79ff.: '*vos quoque, plebs superum, Fauni Satyrique Laresque | fluminaque et Nymphae semideumque genus*.' On the political meaning of the passage in Ov. *met*., cf. D. Müller, 'Ovid, Iuppiter und Augustus', *Philologus* 131 (1987), 270-88, esp. 276-80; A. Barchiesi, *Ovidio. Metamorfosi*, Milano 2005, vol. 1, 183. I do not believe that by his use of *plebs* in reference to the gods Ovid meant the *famuli*, or 'servants' who attended the major gods, and that such divinities ought to be understood, therefore, as the *familia* of the *dei nobiles*, as, e.g., J. Scheid, 'Hiérarchie et structure dans le polythéisme romain. Façons romaines de penser l'action', *ARG* 1 (1999), 184-203, esp. 197, suggests. The term *plebs*, in fact, cannot mean *famuli*, 'servants', but more generally the general populace of modest means, as opposed to the *nobiles*. Moreover, even without considering the explicit explanation of this formula contained in Ov. *Ib.*, the rest of the passage of Ov. *Met.* makes clear that the gods Ovid refers to as *plebs* are the usual complement of minor divinities: 192-3, '*semidei ... rustica numina Nymphae | Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani*'; 595, '*nec de plebe deo*'; elsewhere in the poem as well, similar epithets are used in an analogous fashion to refer to minor divinties: 13.586, *inferior ... diva* (Aurora); 15.545, '*de disque minoribus unus*' (Virbio). F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen*, *Buch I-III,* Heidelberg 1977, 79 note provides numerous points of comparison.

44 Paul. Fest. p. 207.7 (ed. Lindsay) '*obsecrare est opem a sacris petere*'; on the meaning of *venerari*, cf. in particular R. Schilling, *La réligion Romaine de Venus,* Paris 1954, 33-8.

and so on. In recompense for the honors given to him by Euclio's daughter (*eius honoris gratia*), the Lar brought it about that he should discover the treasure hidden beneath the hearth.

As should be clear, the relationship between the god and the family is characterized by a principle of reciprocity: a strict rule of exchange exists between the two parties. The Lar hears the prayers of those who address him correctly and rewards the 'honors' (*huius honoris gratia*) they bestow upon him, but repays (*contra facere*) those that neglect him by denying his support. Through the words of the *Lar familiaris*, Plautus gives us precious evidence of the way in which the Romans imagined their own relationships with this divinity and, in particular, of what they imagined the Lar's potential – indeed obligatory – reaction to their treatment of him would be.

The Lar appears to take part in the cycle of reciprocal exchange just as human beings do: if others give, he too gives; if they refuse to give, he impedes the flow of exchange. Nor, within the cycle of giving and receiving – prayers and honors on one hand, benefits and protection on the other – does the Lar behave as an unequal partner, making excessive demands. Quite the contrary: he tries to maintain the equilibrium of reciprocity at all times. We might say that the essence of the god's behavior is captured by the word *gratia,* which he uses to explain why he has decided to reveal the secret of the treasure to the girl's father: *eius honoris gratia*, 'in recompense for the honor (that she bestows upon me)'. In Cicero, first century BCE, we find the term *gratia* – a key concept in the language of reciprocity – defined as 'that feeling in which the recollection of friendship, and of the services which we have received from another, and the inclination to requite those services, is contained.'[45] That is to say, the memory (*memoria*) of what has and what has not been received plays a direct role in *gratia,* or the disposition to engage in reciprocal exchange. The mechanism of reciprocity functions by keeping count – by means of memory – of the behavior our exchange partners demonstrate toward us. And the Lar apparently has a very good memory.

Marriage, the Avunculate, and *Vicinitas*

Let us consider, finally, the objective that Plautus' *Lar familiaris* sets for himself: namely, to bring about the reconciliation – through marriage – of Euclio's daughter and the young man who has raped her. That a Lar should be concerned with such affairs is not at all strange, actually: and in fact in this respect Plautus's text is remarkably in line with what we can infer from other sources. According to the nuptial ritual described by Varro, in Roman antiquity brides were accustomed to carry with them three coins: one coin, held in the hand, was given to the husband-to-be; the second, carried on the foot, was placed on the hearth of the *Lares familiares*; and the third, kept in a small bag, was offered at the *compitum vicinale.*[46] The *Lares* thus played a very significant role in Roman matrimonial practice, both in the form of the divinity of the hearth and in the form of the divinity of the *compita*. Plautus' audience, therefore, hearing a Lar plotting to arrange a marriage, would not have been surprised: in fact, the Lar was only doing his job. But what strategem did the Lar of Plautus' play intend to set in motion to achieve this so to speak 'occupational' objective – that is, facilitating the girl's marriage to the young man?

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45 Cic. *inv.* 2.162, '*gratia, in qua amicitiarum et officiorum alterius memoria et remunerandi voluntas continetur*'; cf. also 2.66: '*gratiam, quae in memoria et remuneratione officiorum et honoris et amicitiarum observantiam teneat*'; cited by M. Lentano, 'La gratitudine e la memoria. Una lettura del «De beneficiis»', *Bollettino di studi latini*, 39:1 (2009), 1-28.

46 Non. Marcell. *De comp. doctr.* 852.8 Lindsay (= Varr. *De vit. pop. Rom.* fr. 304 ed. Salvadore: M. Salvadore, *M. Terenti Varronis fragmenta omnia quae extant,* Hildesheim 2004; cf. G. De Sanctis, *cit*. n. 1). On marriage through *coemptio*, cf. P. Corbett, *The Roman Law of Marriage,* Oxford 1969, 78-85.

As we learn, the god means to bring about this marriage by having the old man who lives next door (*hic senex de proxumo*) – in other words, Euclio's neighbor – advance a proposal for the girl's hand in marriage. This elderly gentleman, by the name of Megadorus, is the maternal uncle (*avunculus*) of the rapist and future groom, an aspect of his character that is brought into play explicitly by the Lar in the course of the plot. Although motivated (presumably) by the Greek original plot, the choice of a maternal uncle as a sort of middleman for the eventual engagement of the young girl to the *adulescens* would have struck the Roman public as a particularly appropriate one. Between the *avunculus* and the *sororis filius*, in fact, there was presumed to be a relationship marked by familiarity, benevolence, and tolerance – in short, the complete opposite of that presumed to exist between the *patruus*, the paternal uncle, and the *fratris filius*, which was instead marked by a degree of severity that had become almost proverbial. The audience of the play, in short, would reasonably have expected an *avunculus* – a figure Seneca defined as *indulgentissimus* – to be well disposed toward renouncing his claim upon the girl's hand for the sake of his nephew; and so in some way they would have approved of the *Lar*'s strategy.[47] But the fact that the old man lives next door (*de proxumo*) – that is he, in other words, Euclio's 'neighbor' – is no less relevant an aspect of his character. In fact, this detail is particularly interesting since it once again accords with other evidence about the *Lares* – evidence also analyzed by De Sanctis in the course of his study.[48]

Speaking of the festival in honor of the *Lares compitales* (or better, of the *heroes pronopioi*, as he defines them), the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century BCE and CE) mentions not only the 'servile' character of this cult, but also Servius Tullius' instructions that

> in every intersection there ought to be erected temples to the *heroes pronopioi* on behalf of the neighbors (*hupo ton geitonon*); he ordered then that each year there would be celebrated sacrifices in their honor and that each household (*oikia*) had to contribute honeybread; he also ordered that those who performed sacrifices in the intersections on behalf of their neighbbors (*ton geitonon*) should be helped not by freedmen, but by slaves.[49]

It is unmistakeable from this passage and from De Sanctis' discussion of the differing interpretations of Samter and Wissowa that the cult of the *Lares compitales* is a 'neighborhood' cult. It is the *geitones,* 'neighbors', and the neighboring *oikiai,* 'houses' that are supposed to participate in and benefit from the veneration of these gods. Those who share a common living space, such as develops around a *compitum*, also share a common religious practice, and this cult is devoted expressly to the *Lares*.

The fact is, though, that in the most archaic period of Roman society, *vicini* seem to have participated in a network of reciprocal relationships of which the religious was only one. To give a single example: Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that Romulus himself decreed that if the parents of a disabled or otherwise debilitated child wished to expose it, that was their legitimate right; but before doing so they should be required to show the child to five men of the neighborhood ('*pente andrasi tois eggista oikousi*') in order to get their opinion on the matter.[50] Of course we all know that a Roman *paterfamilias* exercised the power of life and death over his own children; and yet before undertaking an act of exposure – an act cruel in our eyes, but absolutely within his authority – nevertheless he had to consult his neighbors. Evidently, those who lived in the same neighborhood as a family represented a social entity in some way like a larger familial group, capable of exerting its influence over its smaller constituent members.

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47 M. Bettini, *Antropologia e cultura Romana*, Rome 1998, 50-62.

48 De Sanctis, *cit*. n. 1.

49 Dionys. *ant.* 4.14.3.

50 Dionys. *ant.* 2.15.2.

At the same time, it was also precisely a family's 'neighbors' who, in the most ancient phase of Roman social existence, served as its most frequent partners in matrimonial exchange: just as continues to be the case in many modern societies, in fact.[51] In Latin, relatives by marriage are also called by a name – *adfines* – that simultaneously evokes a relationship of 'kinship' and one of 'closeness', of sharing 'boundaries' (*fines*) in agriculture space: '*adfines in agris vicini sive consanguineitate coniuncti* (they are called *adfines* who are *vicini* in the fields or united by ties of kinship)'.[52] 'Neighbors' – those who live *in proxumo* or *proxumae viciniae*, as the Romans said – thus participate in a more general network of obligations, advantages and reciprocal relationships, including sharing the cult of the *Lares*. In this sense, a *Lar familiaris* who implicates a member of the neighborhood in his matrimonial schemes – as the Lar of *Aulularia* does – is only reflecting this invisible but exceedingly traditional tapestry of relationship.

51 Cf. e.g., L. Dumont, 'Les mariages Nayar comme Faits Indiens', *L'Homme* 1 (1961), 11-36: among the Nayar of India, the 'inangan' – the group with which a family has matrimonial relations – is the same as a group of 'neighbors', and as such offered 'neighborhood' services as well.

52 Paul. Fest. p. 10 (ed. Lindsay).

Domestic Cult and the Construction of an Ideal Roman Peasant Family

Marja-Leena Hänninen

> What is more sacred, what more inviolably hedged about by every kind of sanctity, than the home of every individual citizen? Within its circle are his altars, his hearths, his household gods, his religion, his observances, his ritual; it is a sanctuary so holy in the eyes of all, that it were sacrilege to tear an owner therefrom.[1]

This passage from Cicero's speech *De domo sua* illustrates well the religious value of the Roman family. Cicero lived in an era when the consciousness of the fact that Roman religion was a product of historical development was increasing and, during the same era, family and marriage were essential themes in the discussion on the decay of the morals of the Roman people. The family was a basic unit of the Roman society in a juridical and economic sense and also as a religious unit. Participation in religion and harmonious family life were civic duties in ancient Rome. In this paper, I am discussing the ideals of family life and the role of domestic religion in literary models. The focus is on a peasant family, the traditional and idealized nucleus of the Roman society.

First, a few basic concepts need to be defined. By *familia* I mean the Roman family entity consisting of father, mother, children and slaves. The Latin word *familia* also refers explicitly to a group of slaves belonging to the same owner. In an extended sense, it also includes the freedmen of the family.[2] By *domus* I refer to the concrete household and people living there under the *paterfamilias*. It must be noted, however, that all members of the family did not necessarily live under the same roof. Furthermore, the *domus* also had religious dimensions. It was the very place where a Roman man had his household deities, *Lares* and *Penates*.[3]

In a broad sense, domestic religion consisted of several elements in ancient Rome. First, family members had to take care of the cult of the household deities, such as *Penates* and *Lares*. In addition to the *Lares* and *Penate*s, Vesta and the *genius* of the *paterfamilias* were included in the household deities. Genius can be understood as the procreative force of the head of the family, and thus the guarantor of the preservation of the family.[4] Secondly, they also had to take care of the memory of the deceased family members, *maiores*. Furthermore, gods had to be observed in passages from one stage of life to another. In addition to such occasions as birth, puberty, marriage and death, gods were present when slaves of the family were liberated. Finally, the Roman family also appeared as a religious agent outside the *domus*. Public priesthoods held

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1 Cic. *dom*. 109.

2 For the problems concerning the definition of family in Roman and modern terms, see S. Dixon, *The Roman Family*, Baltimore and London 1992, 1-3; R. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge 1994, 83-5; D. P. Martin, 'The Construction of the Ancient Family: Methodological Considerations', *JRS* 86 (1996), 40-60.

3 Saller, *cit.* n. 2, 81; Martin, *cit.* n. 2, 51.

4 De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica. Vol. I La religione nella vita domestica. Iscrizioni e offerte votive*, Forli 2003 [Milano 1896], 57-61; D. G. Orr, 'Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines', *ANRW* 2. 16. 2, Berlin 1978, 1569-75; C. E. Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic*, Chapel Hill 2006, 124.

by the family members, as well as donations made by the family to the deities, were important in shaping the public image and fame of the family. It is also good to bear in mind that many public festivities were observed in the domestic circle, too.[5]

Roman domestic religion as a whole has rarely been studied. Scholarship on Roman domestic religion has mainly focused on the meaning of the major domestic deities, the *Lares* and *Penates*. The nature of the *Lares,* especially, continues to be an object of scholarly dispute. On the one hand, *Lares* have been interpreted as guardian deities of certain sites, places or fields and, on the other as spirits of the deceased members of the family. Penates were thought to protect the *penus*, the storeroom of the *domus,* and to ensure an abundance of food stores.[6] The works by Attilio De Marchi and Joachim Marquardt are still the most extensive studies on the subject. The articles by David Orr in *ANRW* and Maurizio Bettini in this volume give excellent points of departure, but do not concentrate on such themes as gender and status. Some modern studies on women's religious activity in ancient Rome take account of certain aspects of domestic religion. Archaeological evidence of domestic shrines at Pompeii has recently been discussed by Federica Giacobello, who also gives an extensive bibliography in the field of classical archaeology.[7]

Considering the self-evident existence of the domestic cult in ancient Rome it is surprisingly hard to construct a consistent picture of it. A lot of details are mentioned in different genres of ancient literature, but many more details remain obscure. The sources seldom specify who is doing what in the various rituals of the domestic cult. The supreme authority of the *paterfamilias* in the Roman family is a well-known fact. However, we can ask if the *paterfamilias* was the sole leader and actor in the domestic cult. Did children and slaves of the *paterfamilias* also have duties in the worship of the domestic deities? The role of the *materfamilias* seems to be the most enigmatic.[8] The status of wife was somewhat ambiguous in the household of her husband. In some ways the wife was a stranger in the family, even if she were married *cum manu*, meaning that she was under the legal power of her husband. One can ask if a matron married *sine manu* could participate at all in domestic rites in her husband's house.

The starting point of this article is the domestic religion as described by Cato the Elder (c. 234-149 BCE) in his *De agri cultura*. This oldest surviving Latin prose text is interesting because it focuses on the rustic household and also contains a wealth of information about actual rituals performed in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, Cato's world represents a life-style idealized by the later generations. The article continues with an analysis of the domestic rituals described by the poets of the Augustan era. References to domestic religion typically appear in poems focusing on the rural landscape and the peasant family. I am interested in how the organization and hierarchy of domestic religion is described in these texts. The essential question is the significance of gender and status of the family members for their participation in domestic rites.

Domestic cult in Cato's *latifundium*

De agri cultura contains a lot of information about religious customs observed in the countryside before the imperial era. It must be noted that Cato was not writing about the small farm so idealized by later gen-

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5 For the relationship between state cult and family cult, see M. Beard – J. North – S. Price, *Religions of Rome. Volume 1: a History*, Cambridge 1998, 47-51.

6 A. De Marchi, *cit.* n. 4, 37-56; Orr, *cit.* n. 4, 1557-91; D. P. Harmon, 'The Family Festivals of Rome', *ANRW* 2. 16. 2, Berlin 1978, 1592-603; F. Giacobello, *Larari pompeiani. Iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito domestico*, Milano 2008, 36-9, 50-3.

7 De Marchi, *cit.* n. 4; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer I*, Leipzig 1886; Orr, *cit.* n. 4; Bettini in this volume; N. Boëls-Janssen, *La vie religieuse des matrones dans la Rome archaïque*, Rome 1993; Schultz, *cit.* n. 4; Giacobello, *cit.* n. 6.

8 For the role of the matrons in domestic cult, see especially N. Boëls-Janssen, *cit.* n. 7, 253-71; Schultz, *cit.* n. 4, 121-37.

erations. He was giving advice to the owner of a *latifundium*, a landowner who did not necessarily reside regularly in his country house. This is not a question of a nuclear family consisting of father, mother and children, but of a large farm where slaves did the hardest work, and which was supposed to make the highest possible profit for the landowner. So, *familia* in Cato's text means primarily a group of slaves owned by the landowner and, secondarily, the whole estate business. The protagonists of the treatise are the landowner and the bailiff of his estate, the *vilicus*. The bailiff of an estate was usually a slave, which meant that his person and life was in the hands of his master. Despite his subordinate juridical status, the *vilicus* represented the landowner in his absence. His duty was to oversee the work done by the slaves on the farm. His duties included organizing the work, maintenance of the tools and buildings, and the selling of the surplus produced. He had a certain amount of independence, but above all, he was supposed to be loyal to his master and respect him as his superior.[9]

Here I am interested in the ways in which Cato describes the religious acts of the landowner in his role as *paterfamilias.* Many passages of *De agri cultura* reiterate that the *paterfamilias* performs the rites for the whole household, but was he the sole actor in the religious life of the family? How did a rural *familia* work as a cultic community in the *latifundium*? One illustrative example is the passage in which Cato gives instructions for a propitiatory sacrifice for the health of the cattle.[10] The *paterfamilias* can make the vow annually if he wishes. The actual offering to Mars and Silvanus contains meal, bacon, meat and wine. Cato advices that a free man or a slave should give the offering. Thus, the *paterfamilias* takes the initiative in the ceremony but does not necessarily perform the sacrifice himself. In this case the *servus* is probably the bailiff, *vilicus*, since the landowner was seldom present on a large estate.[11]

In another passage Cato gives a prayer formula to be uttered before the thinning of a grove. In this case, too, he suggests that someone other than the *paterfamilias* could perform the prayer and the sacrifice on his orders. The benevolence of the deity of the grove is asked for the *paterfamilias*, his *familia*, *domus* and children. The passage concerning a vow to the deities Mars and Silvanus goes on to explain that the food of the offering is consumed at the spot after the ceremony.[12] It may be assumed that several members of the *familia* were present at a kind of a sacrificial banquet. One group, however, was totally excluded from the ceremony: women. There are also references to women's exclusion from the rites performed to Mars and Silvanus in some other sources.[13]

One passage of Cato's *De agri cultura* contains instructions for offerings and prayers to Jupiter Dapalis before the planting of certain vegetables. *Dapalis* refers here to a sacrificial feast, *daps,* celebrated in honour of a deity. In this context, Jupiter specifically functions as a nourishing deity. The sacrificial feast is actually one of the most common rituals in Cato's treatise on agriculture.[14] Cato does not specify all the groups that could participate in the banquet, but he does mention the teamsters. The day should be a holiday for both the oxen and the teamsters. This is certainly a feast celebrated by the master and slaves together. The *paterfamilias* utters

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9 Cato agr. 5. For the role of *vilicus* in Roman farming, see also J. Carlsen, *Vilici and Roman estate management until A. D. 284*, Rome 1995 and J. Aubert, *Business managers in ancient Rome*, Leiden etc. 1994.

10 Cato agr. 83: '*Votum pro bubus, ut valeant, sic facito: Marti Silvano in silva interdius in capita singula boum votum facito; farris L. III et lardi p. IIII S et pulpae p. IIII S, vini S. III: id in unum vas liceto coirere et vinum item in unum vas liceto coicere. Eam rem divinam vel servus vel liber licebit faciat. Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito. Mulier ad eam rem divinam ne adsit neve videat quo modo fiat. Hoc votum in annos singulos, si voles, licebit vovere*'.

11 R. Goujard, *Caton de l'agriculture. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. Goujard*, Paris 1975, 252.

12 Cato agr. 83 and 139.

13 K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 83.

14 Cato agr. 132 with Goujard, *cit.* n. 11, 278; J. Rüpke, *Die Religion der Römer*, München 2001, 104.

the prayer before the actual offering. According to the prayer, the offering and the sacred meal are given '*in domo familia mea*', *familia* thus including the slaves of the *paterfamilias*.[15] Even if the *paterfamilias* was the leading figure in the ceremony, other members of the family could assist him, for example, by handing him the offerings.[16] Slaves apparently had more specified religious duties in large estates and households. There is, for example, evidence of the various religious duties of the slaves in the imperial household.[17]

Before the harvest the *paterfamilias* had to perform appropriate sacrifices to deities, such as Ceres, Jupiter and Janus. Ceres is the primary recipient of the sacrifice, but also Janus, Jupiter and Juno are venerated in this complex set of rituals. Janus, as the deity of beginnings, was always invoked first. Before each sacrifice the *paterfamilias* prayed to the gods and goddesses and asked them to be favourable to him, his children, *domus* and slaves.[18] Here Cato gives instructions directly to the landowner, without mentioning the possibility that somebody else could perform the rites.

There had to be sacrifices to deities before every major operation of the agricultural year, in addition to purificatory and expiatory rites. Cato gives instructions for the *suovetaurilia* sacrifice, which was used in order to purify ritually the farmland.[19] *Suovetaurilia* involved the sacrifice of a pig, a ram and a bull. This type of sacrifice, used specifically in purificatory ceremonies, is also known as a public ritual within the state cult. A *suovetaurilia* was carried out, for example, every fifth year at the shrine of Mars in Campus Martius, in order to purify the citizens of Rome in a solemn way. Fully grown animals were sacrificed in a public *suovetaurilia*, victims of a private sacrifice being sucklings.[20] In a private cult, described by Cato, the animals were led around the fields before the sacrifice. A wine offering was given to Jupiter and Janus. The prayer preceding the actual sacrifice was addressed to *Mars pater*, Mars being an agricultural deity in this context, rather than a god of war. The intent of the purification was to save the fields from diseases, barrenness and destruction, and to guarantee the flourishing of the farm. The *paterfamilias* hoped for his own health and wellbeing, as well as that of his *domus* and *familia*, as in all other prayers of *De agri cultura*.[21] Good health was requested for flocks and shepherds, and further instructions were given by Cato in case the god was not pleased with the victims.[22] Several persons were apparently needed to perform a *suovetaurilia*. According to Cato's instructions, the master ordered the victims of *suovetaurilia* to be led around the fields. Animal sacrifices were difficult to carry out without the co-operation of several persons, preferably including some specialists.[23]

Most of the instructions for religious duties in Cato's *De agri cultura* are given to the landowner. Women are mentioned only a couple of times. The most important passage in this respect is the one dealing

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15 Cato agr. 132.

16 Goujard, *cit.* n. 11, 279.

17 De Marchi, *cit.* n. 4, 97-8; Boëls-Janssen, *cit.* n. 7, 257.

18 Cato agr. 134. 2-3: '*uti sies volens propitius mihi liberisque meis domo familiaeque meae*' with Rüpke, *cit.* n. 14, 138-9.

19 Cato agr. 141.

20 D. Sabbatucci, *La religione di Roma antica dal calendario festivo all'ordine cosmico*, Milano 1988, 174-5; Beard – North – Price, *cit.* n. 5, 112-3, fig. 2.7.

21 Cato agr. 141. 2: '*Ianum Iovemque vino praefamino, sic dicito: "Mars pater, te precor quaesoque, uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae: quoius rei ergo, agrum terram fundumque meum suovitaurilia circumagi iussi; uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque; utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris*"'.

22 Cato agr. 141. 3-4: '*Pastores pecuaque salva servassis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae. Harunce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus esto*'.

23 De Marchi, *cit.* n. 4, 96; Goujard, *cit.* n. 11, 288.

with the duties of the *vilica*, the female housekeeper of the farm. Like the *vilicus,* she was a slave. According Cato, the *vilica* was not allowed to carry out any religious ritual or let others do them without the permission of her master (*dominus*) or mistress (*domina*). She should know that the *paterfamilias* took care of all religious duties on behalf of the whole household.[24] Despite this rule, the *vilica* was supposed to honour the household deities on certain days of the month. She had to hang up a garland above the hearth of the house and to sacrifice to the *Lares* according to her means. This custom reflects the centrality of the hearth in the domestic rituals of a Roman family.[25] It is notable that the *vilica* is told to sacrifice to *Lar familiaris,* which is to be understood as the guardian deity of the entire household including the slaves. The hearth and *Lares* seem to have been the specific religious concerns of the *vilica*.[26]

This passage seems contradictory: the *vilica* is not allowed to sacrifice on her own authority and the *paterfamilias* has the responsibility of maintaining the relations of the family with divine forces, but on the other hand, she has certain religious duties. How are we to understand this contradiction, if it is such? It is notable that the *vilica* is both a woman and a slave, which implies double subordination. Nevertheless, as a slave she is unquestionably the member of a *familia,* and thus shares the rites carried out for the welfare of the family. Schultz has pointed out that the duties attributed by Cato to a *vilica* seem to match those attributed to a *materfamilias* in other sources. So, on a farm described by Cato, the *vilica* is a surrogate for the mistress of the household and as such is responsible for two major centres of the domestic cult, the hearth and the storeroom of the house.[27] In an indirect way, the passage also suggests that husband and wife could share the religious authority in the domestic sphere.[28]

It seems obvious that since the *paterfamilias* was responsible for everybody under his power, he also had a religious responsibility of maintaining the proper relations between the family and the divine world. The ritual complex of birth is one example of the protecting role of the *pater familias* in the religion of a Roman household. It was the duty of the *paterfamilias* to perform certain rites in order to keep hostile spirits well away from the mother and new born child.[29] On Cato's ideal farm, the *paterfamilias* as the leader of the domestic cult took the initiative in performing all religious rituals. He could also order people in his power to perform rites on his instructions.[30]

What is striking in Cato's descriptions of religious rituals in the domestic circle is the absence of the children and wife in religious situations. Children of the *paterfamilias* are included in all prayers, but they are not depicted as assisting in rituals. In other sources especially daughters appear as assistants in domestic rituals. The *domina* is mentioned by Cato once: she can order the *vilica* to perform a religious

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24 Cato agr. 143.1: '*Vilicae quae sunt officia, curato faciat. Si eam tibi dederit dominus uxorem, ea esto contentus. Ea te metuat facito. Ne nimium luxuriosa siet. Vicinas aliasque mulieres guam minimum utatur neve domum neve ad sese recipiat: ad cenam ne quo eat neve ambulatrix siet. Rem divinam ni faciat neve mandet, qui pro ea faciat, iniussu domini aut dominae: scito dominum pro tota familia rem divinam facere*'.

25 Cato agr. 143. 2: '*Munda siet: villam conversam mundeque habeat; focum purum circumversum cotidie, prius quam cubitum eat, habeat. Kal., Idibus, Nonis, festus dies cum erit, coronam in focum indat, per eosdemque dies lari familiari pro copia supplicet. Cibum tibo et familiae curet uti coctum habeat*', with Orr, *cit.* n. 4, 1593.

26 G.. Wissowa, 'Religion und Kultus der Römer', in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 5.4*, *2. Aufl.,* München 1912, 168-9; Goujard, *cit.* n. 11, 291.

27 Schultz, *cit*. n. 4, 126-7.

28 Boëls-Janssen, *cit.* n. 7, 255.

29 For the role of the *paterfamilias* and other family members in the rituals of birth in ancient Rome, see M.-L. Hänninen, 'From Womb to Family. Rituals and Social Conventions Connected to Roman Birth', in K. Mustakallio – J. Hanska – H-L Sainio – V. Vuolanto (eds), *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Rome 2005, 49-59.

30 Schultz, *cit.* n. 4, 125-6.

duty.[31] However, there is no mention of the *domina* herself performing prayers or sacrifices. Interestingly, the religious duties of the *vilicus* are not specified. Cato only says that the *vilicus* had to observe feast days, but he must perform no religious rites, except on the *Compitalia* festival.[32] However, in most examples of religious rites given by Cato there is a mention of the possibility that a slave can also perform the rite. It was perhaps self-evident that the *vilicus* could perform rituals in the absence of the landowner. In any case, it appears that on Cato's large estate both *vilicus* and *vilica* can act as surrogates of *dominus* and *domina* in religious matters.[33]

In sum, Cato focuses on the *paterfamilias* and slaves in his *De agri cultura*. The role of the slaves as workers of the *latifundium* is, of course, pivotal, considering the functioning of a large estate. The practical nature of Cato's work is also reflected in passages dealing with religion. Thus, the religious duties are presented by Cato as integrated into the everyday life of the farm. Gods are worshipped and rituals performed in the best interests of the estate. The demand of productivity and high profit is reflected in all instructions of Cato, irrespective of whether they deal with the practices of farming or religious rituals. In *De agri cultura*, the *familia* expressly consists of slaves working on the estate and the *paterfamilias* as slave owner. Master and slaves also share the religious duties, the master always having the highest authority, possibly substituted by the *vilicus*. Nevertheless, slaves are not invisible in the religious life of a farm. They are indispensable.

Domestic cult in the rural idylls of the Augustan poets

We know much more about the public religion of the Romans than about the private religion. However, private religion may have been more important to an individual Roman. Much of the poetry of the Late Republican and Early Imperial era expressly idealizes the religion of home and family.[34] For the authors of the Late Republican era, Cato the Elder's writings represented an idealized way of the life of earlier generations. An ideal Roman would be a farmer leading a simple life on his small estate. Roman poets of the Late Republican and Augustan era praise the quiet life of the countryside and the simple manners of the peasants.[35] How do they describe the religious life of the peasants and their families?

Firstly, domestic rites of peasant families are part of a mental landscape created by the poets, not the focus of the poems. They constitute an important background for three kinds of contradictions presented in many poems: past and present, urban life and countryside, war and peace. It was typical of Roman writers to compare their present time with that of past generations and to give preference to the past. The traditions of the ancestors, *mos maiorum*, were the model to follow, and religion was an essential part of the *mos maiorum*. As the religious life of an ideal state is discussed in Cicero's philosophical treatise *De legibus*, the importance of respecting the deities of ancestors is emphasized. Anything foreign and new was suspect.[36]

Modesty and simplicity were held to be the primary qualities of the way of life of the ancestors. Deities were worshipped at open air altars and cult statues were made of clay.[37] Luxury was unknown to the

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31 Cato agr. 143.1.

32 Cato agr. 5.

33 Schultz, *cit.* n. 4, 126-7.

34 Beard – North – Price, *cit.* n. 5, 49.

35 See K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture, an Interpretive Introduction*, Princeton 1996, 270-9; K. Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus*, New York 2005, 121-2, 282-3.

36 Cic. *leg*. 2. 19, 25-6.

37 E.g., Prop. 4. 1. 5-6, 17-24.

ancestors and, thus, offerings to the gods were simple products of earth in former times. Horace advices a peasant woman to give the fruit of her own fields to her domestic deities, assuring her that herbs given with pure hands please the deities and guarantee the prosperity of her fields and cattle.[38] A good peasant did not seek wealth, but was satisfied with a modest living, like the one in a poem by Tibullus (c. 50-19 BCE).[39] The ancestor idealized by the Augustan poets is a peasant living in a small farm and working hard to make a living for his family. This setting is fully rustic: the urban milieu is the nest of luxury, corruption and vices. Earthen vessels symbolize the humble country life. The poverty underlined in many poems of the era is not scarcity of food and goods, but rather a moderate, unluxurious lifestyle.[40] *Paupertas* bears positive moral overtones in this context, where traditional virtues are contrasted with temporary vices.[41] The peasant represents the past world characterized by hard work and high morals.

The traditional Roman ideal of a family life with children is also reflected in Tibullus's poetry. The families in their country idylls described by the Augustan poets consist of father, mother and children. They work hard together for the family farm. Each member of the family has his or her duties. On the dream farm of Tibullus the father looks after the sheep, his son after the lambs. The mother prepares hot water for the tired men of the family.[42] Both sexes are complementary to one another and both are needed in the farmhouse. Agricultural work also has a moral and ethical value in literature dealing with countryside and agriculture.[43]

Furthermore, this poem by Tibullus illustrates well the longing for peace embedded in descriptions of a golden age. The poet rejects the military life, since it is based on violence and motivated by greed. Instead, he praises the peaceful rustic life.[44] In the poem, the reluctant poet is dragged off to war, and the terrors of the battlefields are contrasted with the view of the golden age of peace as well as the childhood of the poet. The unhappy poet prays to his domestic gods, who protected him when he was a boy.[45] The domestic deities are situated in the house of his grandfather, as if emphasizing their nature as ancestral gods. A familiar picture of the simple ways of the ancestors is given: the images of the domestic deities were wooden, the shrine was simple and the ceremonies inexpensive. Gods were pleased with offerings of the first fruits of the vineyards, wreaths of wheat, barley-cakes and honeycombs. This simplicity was associated with the piety and morality of the old times.[46]

Piety is a natural quality of this honest peasant, who gives deities such as Ceres, Priapus and *Lares* their due sacrifices.[47] One of the basic qualities of the rustic ancestor is the respect he shows to the divine forces. He keeps the equilibrium between the divine and human world, *pax deorum*. Vergil praises the country life in his *Georgics* by saying that industrious young people who are accustomed to a hard life live only in this ideal

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38 Hor. *Carm*. 3. 23. 1-4, 14-20.

39 Tib. 1. 1. 1-10.

40 Galinsky, *cit.* n. 35, 256, 270.

41 R. Maltby, *Tibullus: Elegies. Text, Introduction and Commentary,* Cambridge 2002, 120.

42 Tib. 1. 10. 41-2 with Maltby, *cit.* n. 41, 340.

43 See Milnor, *cit.* n. 35, 254-84.

44 Maltby, *cit.* n. 41, 340.

45 Tib. 1. 10. 15-6: '*Sed patrii servate Lares: aluistis et idem, cursarem vestros cum tener ante pedes*'.

46 Tib. 1. 10. 17-24; Maltby, *cit.* n. 41, 346.

47 Tib. 1.1. 11-24: '*Nam veneror seu stipes habet desertus in agris seu vetus in trivio florida serta lapis: et quodcumque mihi pomum novus educat annus, libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo. Flava Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona spicea, quae templi pendeat ante fores; pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis, terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves; vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares; tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuvencos, nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli: agna cadet vobis, quam circum rustica pubes clamet "io! Messes et bona vina date*"'.

world. They venerate gods and respect their ancestors. This is the last spot in the world where the goddess of justice left her traces before leaving the human world.[48] One should keep in mind the era Vergil had lived in when writing the *Georgics*. During the devastating civil wars, many Italian landholders had lost their estates. The yearning for peace and stability is strong among the generation of poets that lived through this turmoil.[49]

The pious and industrious life of the peasant family is also a symbol for the time of peace. In general, the new time of peace is interpreted as the return of the 'Golden Age' in several literary works of the Augustan era, Vergil being probably the most famous example. The fertility and abundance attached to the Golden Age was reflected in both visual arts and literature.[50] The idyllic country life described by such poets as Propertius (c. 47-15 BCE) and Tibullus is a contrast to the series of violent civil wars experienced by the poets and their contemporaries. They were enjoying the fruits of a peace created by Augustus. K. Galinsky argues that these poets created a world of their own, a fictive world which, however, reflected the conditions of the real world.[51] The anti-war sentiment is also expressed in an elegy by Propertius, which is the lament of a wife missing her husband, who is at war. The unhappy wife thinks that something must have gone wrong in her wedding, since her husband is away.[52] She gives herbs and flowers to *Lares* and *Penates*, making a vow for the safe return of her husband. However, as long as her husband is away from home, even the domestic deities are neglected.[53]

Horace praises the harmony of the life of a farmer's family in a manner resembling that of Tibullus. An epode by Horace favourably contrasts life in the countryside with the life in the city. A farmer delights in the products of his own farm: he works hard and his chaste wife shares the management of the farm. The wife has her specific duties and takes care of the 'sacred hearth' of the house.[54] Complementary roles of wife and husband, father and children are also reflected in the ways domestic rituals are described. Thus, the *paterfamilias* is aided by his daughters when sacrificing to the *Lares* of the family, and Horace describes a peasant woman giving offerings to the domestic deities for the prosperity of her family farm.[55] Augustan themes, such as the importance of family and contrasts between war and peace or old and new, were adapted by the poets of the era.[56]

As the poets describe hard work done on a small farm, the emphasis is on the nuclear family. Hired workers or slaves are hardly mentioned. However, when country festivals are depicted, there is a happy and harmonious community of masters and servants or slaves. As Vergil describes a steady and regular rhythm of the agricultural year in the *Georgics*, festivities interrupting the work are celebrated in an unhierarchical manner. The peasant (*agricola*) has a holiday among his *socii*.[57] It is not specified whether the *socii* are

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48 Verg. *georg.* 2. 471-4: '*illic saltus ac lustra ferarum et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus, sacra deum sanctique patres; extrema per illos Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit*'.

49 Galinsky, *cit.* n. 35, 226.

50 Galinsky, *cit.* n. 35, 90-100; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 171-84.

51 Galinsky, *cit.* n. 35, 270.

52 Prop. 4. 3. 13-6: '*Quae mihi deductae fax omen praetulit, illa traxit ab everso lumina nigra rogo, et Stygio sum sparsa lacu, nec recta capillis vitta data est: nupsi non comitante deo*'.

53 Prop. 4. 3. 53-4, 57-8, 70-2: '*Omnia surda tacent, rarisque adsueta kalendis vix aperit clausos una puella Lares*.'; '*Flore sacella tego, verbenis compita velo, et crepat ad veteres herba Sabina focos*'; '*Hac ego te sola lege redisse velim; armaque cum tulero portae votiva Capeane, subscribam: "salvo grata puella viro*"'.

54 Hor. *epod*. 2. 1-58.

55 Prop. 4. 3. 53-4; Tib. 1. 10. 23-4; Hor. *Carm*. 3.23.

56 Galinsky, *cit.* n. 35, 278.

57 Verg. *georg*. 2. 527-31: '*Ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam, ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant, te libans, Lenaee, vocat pecorisque magistris velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo, corporaque agresti nudant praedura palaestra*'.

his equals, workers or slaves. It must be noted, however, that the poem describes a life led by the ancients, such as Romulus and Remus. The landscape belongs to the golden age when wars were unknown.[58] It is not meant to be the real contemporary world, where social hierarchies and stratification were a reality.

The Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an outsider in Roman society, described the *Compitalia* festival sympathetically as a celebration uniting masters and slaves. In the countryside, *Compitalia* was celebrated at places where paths through fields belonging to different families met. In the urban space, *Compitalia* was celebrated at crossings in the neighbourhood.[59] There was always an altar or small shrine at the place. There are different accounts of the offerings given in *Compitalia*. Some sources report a custom of suspending woolen dolls and woolen balls at the crossroads shrines. The dolls represented each free man, woman and child of the family, the balls each slave of the family.[60] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, each family brought a honey cake to the shrine. Furthermore, he writes

> And they still observe the ancient custom in connection with those sacrifices, propitiating the heroes by the ministry of their servants, and during these days removing every badge of their servitude, in order that the slaves, being softened by this instance of humanity, which has something great and solemn about it, may make themselves more agreeable to their masters and be less sensible of the severity of their condition.[61]

All the free and unfree members of the family were meant to enjoy the benefits of the ritual. *Compitalia* was essentially a celebration that united slaves and their masters. In his *De legibus* Cicero emphasizes that veneration of the *Lares* was something transmitted by the ancestors of the family to both masters and slaves.[62]

Cicero points out that holy days give free men relief from legal controversies and litigation and slaves relief from hard work.[63] A sense of community that disguised social differences seems to have been essential in *Compitalia* and similar festivals celebrated by masters and slaves together.[64] Joyful country festivals celebrated by masters and slaves together are a common theme of Roman poetry too. For example, a master and his slaves celebrating a holy day together are described by Horace in an ode**,** where wine and a pig are sacrificed to the *genius* of the master on his birthday. The master celebrates his birthday and his slaves are freed from their labour for the occasion.[65] The birthday of a man was the major occasion when his *genius* was worshipped. However, a wedding was another important occasion for the veneration of the *genius* of the man in the domestic sphere.[66]

A happy community of master and slaves is also described by Tibullus, who apparently held traditional rustic deities and their rituals in high respect.[67] Tibullus has dramatised a rustic lustration ceremony, but is

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58 Verg. *georg*. 2. 532-40.

59 Varro *ling*. 6. 25.

60 Paul. Fest. p. 121, 239 M; Wissowa, *cit.* n. 26, 167-8; Orr, *cit.* n. 4, 1594-5; Schultz, *cit.* n. 4, 129.

61 Dionys. *ant.* 4. 14. 3.

62 Cic. *leg*. 2. 27: '*Eandemque rationem luci habent in agris, neque ea quae maioribus prodita est cum dominis tum famulis, posita in fundi villaeque conspectu, religio Larum repudianda est. Iam "ritus familiae patrumque servare", id est, quioniam antiquitas proxime accedit ad deos, a dis quasi traditam religionem tueri*'.

63 Cic. *leg*. 2. 29.

64 F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom. Erster Teil: Die wichtigsten Kulte und Religionen in Rom und im lateinischen Westen*, Wiesbaden 1981, 34.

65 Hor. *carm*. 3. 17. 13-6: '*dum potes aridum conpone lignum: cras genium mero curabis et porco bimenstri cum famulis operum solutis*'.

66 Orr, *cit.* n. 4, 1570-1.

67 Cf. '*Rura cano rurisque deos*', in Tib. 2.1. 37.

quite vague about its details, which makes it difficult to identify the festival.[68] A lustration festival celebrated in spring time dominates the first part of the poem. Fields are purified by rituals inherited from the ancestors. Bacchus and Ceres are invoked. Both animals and workers rest on a holy day, while the fields are left alone. All hard labor must stop, and women too must cease their wool work.[69] Deities of the ancestors are prayed to when performing the purificatory sacrifice, and both fields and the people who work in them are purified. The sacrifice is followed by a banquet given by the master and his *familia*. Home-bred slaves, *vernae*, are praised as a sign of prosperity. Horace describes the harmonious and pious peasant family in a similar way in his second epode, in which the family and its slaves gather around their smiling domestic gods.[70]

Country festivals described by Ovid in his epic poem of Roman calendar festivals are also celebrated by the whole family. Each member of the family has some duty to fulfill in such festivals as *Compitalia* and *Terminalia*, no-one being excluded.[71] Ovid's description of the festival *Terminalia* is an illustrative example. This festival was celebrated in February in honour of Terminus, the deity of borders. Ovid situates this festival in a rustic setting at the stone marking the boundary between two farms. According to him, the neighboring families celebrated the festival there together. The whole family gathers together for the *Terminalia*. Ovid does not indicate that slaves were present but it can be assumed that they too participated in the festivities. He clearly points out the duties of different family members. First, the head of each family garlands the boundary stone and gives sacrificial cakes to the god of the border. After this rite, a temporary altar is built at the spot. The wife of the farmer, called *rustica* by Ovid, brings coals from the hearth of the house to the altar of Terminus, whereupon the father of the family builds the altar and kindles the fire for the sacrifice. A boy stands at the father's side with a basket. Ovid does not specify if the boy (*puer*) is his son or a slave. The boy throws grain into the fire three times, after which the farmer's daughter gives him sliced honeycombs. It is typical of many domestic rites that children carry the vessels and utensils needed in the sacrifices.[72] Each of the other members of the family gives his or her portion of wine as a libation to the deity. The celebrating company stands still, dressed in white clothes. As a culmination of the ceremony, a pig is sacrificed, and at the end of the celebration the neighbors feast together. So, in this description the whole nuclear family is present, both men and women. The process of sacrifice is begun and finished by the *paterfamilias*, while other members of the family assist him in every phase of the ritual.

It is obvious that the Augustan poets romanticize country life and rural communities. They may partly depict a lifestyle that no longer existed in their day, if it ever had. However, they present an ideal that is discernible in arts of the era in many ways. The Augustan revival or attempts to revive the traditional Roman religion is reflected in the poetry. Family values are also strongly represented in the country idylls created by the poets. Descriptions of domestic rituals may not always be accurate, but they refer to a living cult tradition. References to domestic cult in Augustan poetry unite family values with the ideal of a chaste and assiduous country life.

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68 Maltby, *cit.* n. 41, 359.

69 Tib. 2.1. 1-10: '*Quisquis adest, faveat: fruges lustramus et agros, ritus ut a prisco traditus exstat avo*'; '*Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres. Luce sacra requiescat humus, requiescat arator, et grave suspenso vomere cesset opus. Solvite vincla iugis: nunc ad praesepia debent plena coronato stare boves capite. Omnia sint operata deo; non audeat ulla lanificam pensis imposuisse manum*'.

70 Tib. 2.1. 17, 21-4: '*Di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes*'; '*Tunc nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco, turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni, ludet et ex virgis exstruet ante casas*.'; Hor. *Epod*. 2. 64-6: '*collo trahentis languido positosque vernas, ditis examen domus, circum renidentis Lares*'.

71 Ov. *fast*. 2. 645-54; Schultz, *cit*. n. 4, 128-9.

72 De Marchi, *cit.* n. 4, 95-7.

Conclusion

The primary purpose of this article was to discuss references to domestic cult and especially to its participants in Latin literature of the Late Republican and Augustan eras. An idealized picture of life in the countryside and a pious peasant family had its roots in the chaotic times of the civil wars and the yearning for tranquility. The ideal of the country life on a small farm also seems to represent a lifestyle that was in danger of vanishing. Furthermore, increasing interest in old religious traditions and the history of the Roman religion emerged and found literary expressions in works of such authors as Varro. As Augustus was in power, the restoration and reform of the Roman religion was also in his agenda, as well as a revival of family values.[73] All these features are reflected in the manner in which domestic cult was described by the authors of the era.

In this article, references to the Roman domestic cult were made in two very different kinds of texts. Cato's work *De agri cultura* is a guide book to farming for a landowner or bailiff of a large estate. By its nature it is a very practical text. Country landscapes created by the Augustan poets, on the other hand, appear to be very far from the social reality of the era. They appear more like romantic pictures of a dreamland. Domestic cult was the focus of neither Cato nor the Augustan poets, but details of it were essential to their works. In Cato's *latifundium*, exact ritual protocols as well as prayer formulas inherited from the ancestors are natural elements of the rustic life. Furthermore, Cato seems to have taken religion seriously. The estate would not flourish without divine assistance. For the Augustan poets too, domestic cult and country festivals are natural elements of the rural life. The role of the domestic cult is, however, of a rather symbolic nature in their poetry. A pious peasant family and harmonious country community represent an idealized past.

As religious duties are mainly shared by a master and his slaves in Cato, a nuclear family of father, mother and children perform the rites for domestic deities in Augustan poetry. Cato's text is, however, perhaps not so much more realistic than the poems. Both Cato and the poets present an ideal, but a different kind of ideal. Cato's model *latifundium* was certainly not representative of the reality of all the Romans, while the small estates idealized by the poets had not totally vanished by the time of Augustus. As for the organization of the domestic cult, ritual duties were shared by both free and unfree members of the family. Nevertheless, the role of slaves was particularly strong in the domestic cult, although almost invisible in the public cult. Domestic religion is a part of estate management in Cato's text, while in Augustan poetry it has the role of underlining the significance of traditional family life. Even if the religious authority of the *paterfamilias* is not questioned, the need for the participation of all family members in domestic rituals is emphasized.

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73 For the background of the religious policy of Augustus, see Galinsky, *cit.* n. 35, 288-94.

Spheres of Interaction and Cooperation between Citizens and Foreigners in the Religious Life of Hellenistic Athens

Maria Niku

The Greeks shared a large number of deities, but all city-states had their own cults, distinct from those of others. Thus the public cults of the Athenian city-state were specifically Athenian and the privilege of its members, the citizens. From this followed restrictions of access for those who were not citizens. The state did not regulate or set restrictions on private cults, but here the same forces were at play in them in a different manner, and this is visible in the slowness of the Athenians to adopt foreign cults that were not part of their traditions.

Despite the restrictions, the surviving sources contain references to foreign participation in the religious life of Athens. This paper seeks to investigate these references with the specific aim of pinpointing spheres of religious life where the insider and the outsider came together; spheres which involved interaction and/or cooperation between Athenian citizens and foreigners. The word 'foreigner' is used in this paper in the general sense, to imply anyone who was not an Athenian citizen, whether a permanent or long-term resident in Attica, or a visitor to one of the festivals; Greek or barbarian; freeborn, freedman or slave.

The cases where there is evidence of foreign participation in cult activity have generally been noted in the research done on Athenian religion by Jon D. Mikalson and others.[1] However, not enough attention has been given to the ways in which the citizens and foreigners could come together and interact. As religion was present in every aspect of Greek city-state society, this is an essential question through which to address the inclusivity/exclusivity of Athenian religion and Athenian society in general.

The religious activities examined in this paper will be roughly divided into public and private, using state regulation or the lack thereof as a measure. The first section of the article examines foreigners as active participants, along with citizens, in the main elements of public cults: sacrifices, processions, festival competitions, cult offices and other public religious roles. The second section deals with foreigners as spectators and witnesses to public cults. The third and final section is dedicated to private religious life: the religious associations and other forms of religious activity of individuals for which there is evidence available. Local public cults of the various parts of Attica will be given attention only in passing for the simple reason that there are no references at all to foreign participation in the sources. What foreign participation there might

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[1] Athenian religion has long been one of the central subjects in modern research of antiquity, and religion has also frequently featured in broader studies on Hellenistic Athens. The essential work with regard to the interaction of public and private religious life in Athens in the Hellenistic period is J. D. Mikalson's *Religion in Hellenistic Athens,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1998. Of central importance also are R. Parker's *Athenian Religion. A History,* Oxford 1996 and *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford – New York 2005, which concentrate on Classical Athens but deals with the Hellenistic period as well. Plenty of research has been conducted on private cults. Particularly important here are W. S. Ferguson's 'The Attic Orgeones', *HThR* 37 (1944), 61-140; N. F. Jones' *The Associations of Classical Athens: the Response to Democracy,* New York 1999 and R. R. Simms' research on private associations, starting from her Ph.D. thesis *Foreign Religious Cults in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (University of Virginia 1985). I. Arnaoutoglou's *Thusias heneka kai sunousias: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens,* Athens 2003, a catalogue of sources on private cult associations, is essential as a reference guide.

have been at local level must have largely come to an end after the thorough destruction of the Attic countryside by Philip V in c. 200 BCE.[2]

The primary sources are epigraphic, that is, winner lists of festival competitions, assembly decrees referring to religious matters and decrees of private religious associations. Some Athenian authors provide useful references, like Aristophanes (fifth century BCE), Plato, Xenophon and Demosthenes (fourth century BCE). Lexicographers such as Valerius Harpocration of Alexandria and Julius Pollux, an Alexandrian who taught in Athens (second century CE), and the tenth century Byzantinian encyclopedia Suda are the only sources with regard to some details of the participation of foreigners in cults.

Foreigners as active participants in public cults along with citizens

Public cults, regulated by the state, constituted a sacred calendar for the entire year, and their priests and priestesses were appointed officials. The cults tended to follow ancient traditions, and in the Hellenistic period many continued to be practised more or less in the same ways as they always had been. Hellenistic epigraphic sources refer frequently to major festivals. The reason for this continuity is that traditional cults guaranteed the permanence of the polis and reinforced its members' sense of belonging. This was especially significant during the first hundred years of the Hellenistic period, a time of great uncertainty in Attica due to wars and varying levels of subjugation to or dependency on Macedonia.[3] Thus, for the religious life of Athens, the first hundred years of the Hellenistic period were primarily a time in which old traditions were preserved. Major changes did not occur until after the new independence of 229/8 BCE, with the creation of an all-new cult of the Demos and Charites.[4]

Ephebeia

There is no evidence that non-citizens were allowed to participate in the core activity of all the cults, namely sacrifice, until the 120s BCE, when foreign youths were accepted into the *ephebeia*, which was the training system for Athenian youths before they were accepted as full citizens.[5] From 122/1 BCE, foreign names are regularly found in honorary decrees for ephebes and their instructors. The year-long ephebic training involved an extensive programme of sacrifices in the sanctuaries of Attica. Mentioned in the decrees are, for instance, sacrifice at the public hearth of the Prytaneion in the event of the ephebes' registration and participation in the sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries.[6]

The foreign ephebes are not specifically mentioned in the context of the religious duties, but since foreigners were now allowed in the *ephebeia*, it can be concluded that they could participate in all parts of the training, including these duties. However, greater reflection is required. While the Athenian ephebes in the decrees are listed under their tribes, subsections of the citizen population of Attica, the foreign youths are grouped in one list after them, occasionally with the header *xenoi*, 'strangers'. This changes only in a

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2 Mikalson, *cit.* n. 1, 190-4.

3 On Macedonian control and influence in Athens, see e.g. C. Habicht, *Athen: die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit*, München 1995 and O. Palagia – S. V. Tracy (eds), *The Macedonians in Athens 322-229 B.C.,* Oxford 2003.

4 Mikalson, *cit.* n. 1, 172-8.

5 E.g. C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie Attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Travaux et Mémoires des Anciens Membres Étrangers de l'École et de Divers Savants 13), Paris 1962, 186-96; Habicht, *cit.* n. 3, 290. The foreign ephebes have been noted since the late nineteenth century. The most extensive generic treatment of the foreign ephebes to date is O. W. Reinmuth, *The Foreigners in the Athenian Ephebia,* Lincoln 1929.

6 E.g. *IG* II/III² 1006, 8-16 (cf. *IG* II/III² 1008 and 1011).

decree of the latter half of the first century BCE, where the foreigners appear under tribes together with the Athenian ephebes.[7] Is the separate listing of the foreign ephebes to be taken simply as a matter of book-keeping – since the access of foreigners was something new and, not being tribe members, they could not be listed under tribes – or as evidence of restrictions with regard to access to some parts of the training? If any restrictions existed, they would most likely have been targeted at the sacrificial duties.

The former alternative seems more likely. The ephebic decrees are highly detailed, and had any restrictions been in place one would expect them to have been mentioned. Moreover, we may ask with good cause whether there would have been any reason to restrict the foreign ephebes' access to the religious functions included in the training. By the second half of the second century BCE, Athenian citizenship was no longer awarded by decrees, but could be obtained by anyone with sufficient motivation and means.[8] The ephebes, foreign as well as Athenian, would usually have been from wealthy families and thus were very much in this category. Since any of the ephebes could obtain citizenship in Athens, it would have served no purpose to limit their access to the sacrificial duties included in the training. On the contrary, one of the purposes of the extensive programme of religious duties and functions was to familiarize the youth with the essential aspects of the life of citizens, in which participation in local cults had a central role.[9] Such socialization would have been especially important for the foreigners who were interested in obtaining citizenship, as they would have usually been unfamiliar with the local cults beyond the outer forms visible to all at the major public festivals.

Festivals

An excerpt by Harpocration, sourced from 'Against Agasikles' of Deinarch of Corinth, Demetrios' 'Legislation'[10] and Theophrastos' 'Laws', all late fourth century BCE and thus depicting an early Hellenistic reality, implies that resident foreigners acted as carriers of sacrificial trays in festival processions in Athens, and that their daughters carried water jars.[11] Only fragments have survived of any of the above sources. Harpocration's reference would imply that metics and their daughters took part in these roles in all festival processions that contained such elements. Additional references are found in the Suda, Pollux and the second century CE Zenobius.[12]

There is some doubt as to the validity of the lexicographers' information, as it does not seem likely that the sacrificial tray was present as a ritual object in a large number of cults. Its usage may indeed have been limited to the Panathenaia, celebrated in honour of Athene, although it is not entirely implausible that metics and their daughters had a similar role in the Dionysiac processions.[13] Whatever the case, we need not doubt that the roles mentioned by the lexicographers were indeed available only to metics, resident foreigners, rather than to all foreigners who happened to be in Athens at the time of the festival.

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7 *IG* II/III² 1043.

8 M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, III & IV (Verhandelingen van de Koninklikje Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België – Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang 45 nr. 109), Brussel 1983, 105-6, T120; 185. Osborne suggests request and subsequent service as ephebe as the requirements for citizenship.

9 The role of the *ephebeia* in integrating the ephebes in the society has most recently been discussed by L. A. Burckhardt, 'Die attische Ephebie in hellenistischer Zeit', in D. Kahn – P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* (Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8), Berlin 2004, 193-206.

10 *FrGH* 228 F 5.

11 Harp. s.v. σκαφήφοροι.

12 *Suda* s.v. σκαφηφόροι; cf. Ἀσκοφορεῖν in reference to Dionysiac processions. Pollux 3. 55; Zenobius 5. 95.

13 Parker, *cit*. n. 1 (2005), 170.

Harpocration's sources were late Classical or early Hellenistic. Although direct evidence is lacking, the longevity of the traditional cults supports the view that the roles of the resident foreigners in the processions continued in the Hellenistic period for as long as the *metoikia* system[14] survived. In contrast, we may only theorize on what happened after the specific metic status ceased to be in existence towards the late third century BCE.[15] The most likely explanation, however, is that the traditional roles survived but the place of metics was now more informally taken by 'locals' of non-Athenian origin. This would make sense especially with regard to the Panathenaia, which continued to be a festival of all Athens, representing all the different groups of people who lived in Attica, whether citizens or immigrants.[16]

Clearly, then, the immigrant population of Attica had a limited role in some of the large festival processions. Whether this role involved actual interaction and/or cooperation with the Athenian participants, is a different matter. It seems scarcely possible that the processions never involved any interaction at all between the different groups; they appear to have been festive, joyous occasions, which carries an implication of informality. Also, it is more than likely that on occasion there were persons, both Athenians and foreign residents, who were participating in the procession for the first time; they would have needed to be instructed in their roles by the officials – always Athenian – responsible for the organisation of the procession.

The *orgeones*[17] of the Thracian goddess Bendis, originally brought to Athens by the Thracians in the fifth century BCE, with a public festival founded towards the end of the century,[18] has been frequently discussed by researchers. The literary and epigraphic sources make it clear that both foreigners and Athenians were involved in the cult.[19] However, whether they were involved in the same or in a separate association, has been a subject of much debate.[20] The evidence at our disposal is not of sufficient clarity to enable us to solve the question conclusively. Plato's reference implies a division between citizens and foreigners, but this may have been only in the context of the procession and not in the daily functions of the cult. Further, even if such a division had existed in the fifth century BCE, the situation may have changed by the Hellenistic period. Whatever the case, the annual public procession at least must have required the active cooperation of all members of the cult so that it could be successfully organised. Epigraphic evidence of foreign attendance is found only towards the late second century BCE, again in the ephebic decrees: named are, for instance, processions for Artemis Agrotera and Athene Nike.[21]

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14 The system that regulated the formal status of immigrants who settled in Attica or stayed there for a specific minimum time. Such immigrants were required to register as metics and became liable for military service and taxation, with restrictions such as the prohibition on land ownership.

15 M. Niku, *The Official Status of the Foreign Residents in Athens, 322-120 B.C.* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 12), Helsinki 2007, 50-6.

16 Cf. Parker, *cit.* n. 1, 170.

17 Private groups dedicated to the worship of a specific deity, originally based on family and kinship ties and until the latter fourth century BCE almost always with an exclusive citizen-only membership.

18 R. R. Simms, 'The cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis in Athens and Attica', *AncW* 18 (1988), 59-76, esp. 60-1. Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 140-2.

19 Pl. *Resp.* 327A. Inscriptions found in Peiraieus: *IG* II/III² 1255 (337/6); 1256 (329/8); 1283, 4-16 (mentioning the procession); 1284A–B (242-39); 1324 (c. 190), 1361 (c. 330-324/3). Decrees of a separate cult association of Bendis, the members calling themselves *thiasotai*, discovered in Salamis: *IG* II/III² 1317 (272/1); 1317b (249/8); *SEG* II 9 (245/4); 10 (251/0); XLIV 60 (241/0). Cf. Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 145.

20 W.S. Ferguson envisioned a strict division, elaborating on Wilhelm's theory, according to which the decrees could be assigned either to the citizen or the Thracian group based on the day of the meeting (second or eight of the month) and the type of crown (olive leaves or oak leaves). A. Wilhelm, 'Inschrift aus dem Peiraieus', *JÖAI* 5 (1902), 127-39, esp. 132; Ferguson, *cit*. n. 1, 98-9. Subsequent scholars have either accepted or questioned Ferguson's proposition. Among the former are Simms, *cit*. n. 1, 39-40 and Jones, *cit*. n. 1, 257, who, however, notes that a few of the decrees fail to adhere to the division. Simms, in her later article (*cit.* n. 18, 69) had begun to question the proposition of Wilhelm/Ferguson. Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 140-1, note 20 also expressed doubts, as did Arnaoutoglou, *cit*. n. 1, 86.

21 E.g. *IG* II/III² 1006, 8-16 (cf. *IG* II/III² 1008 and 1011).

Festival competitions

Foreigners, whether immigrants in Attica or visitors, would have often competed against Athenians, as well as against other visitors to Attica, in events in festival competitions that allowed unrestricted participation. Thus some interaction between Athenians and foreigners would have been involved. One may of course question how much an individual competitor considered the religious meaning of the festival, especially a visitor unfamiliar with Athenian traditions. However, since all the festivals were organised for deities, their inclusion in the analysis is justified.

There is no direct evidence of Athenians and foreigners competing against each other, but epigraphic evidence of foreign competitors does exist for a handful of festivals. The Hellenistic winner lists of the Panathenaia contain plenty of foreign winners, most likely persons who visited Athens to take part in the competitions.[22]

The majority of the winners at the Theseia festival, involving athletic, equestrian and military events, were Athenian. However, a few foreign winners appear in the second century winner lists.[23] The scarcity of foreign winners was due in part to restrictions on foreign access in some events, but even more to the fact that this was a local, specifically Athenian festival, which did not attract many competitors from abroad.[24]

The surviving winner lists of the dramatic competitions of City Dionysia and Lenaia do not contain names with ethnics, but in her research on actors in ancient Greece, Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne was able to identify some known dramatic poets among the winners, four of these dating to the first half of the third century BCE: Philonides of Zakynthos, Autolochos of Aitolia, Kallikles of Boiotia and Lykiskos of Kephallenia.[25]

Foreign participation in the Dionysiac festivals is also seen in the choregic dedications and, from the late fourth century BCE, in dedications of *agonothetai* after the public *choregia* liturgies had been replaced by the office of a single *agonothetes* (plural *agonothetai*), who saw to the organisation of choruses for all the festivals.[26] All the *choregoi* and *agonothetai* were Athenian, but the victorious flute player and the trainer of the victorious chorus, also frequently mentioned in the dedications, were often foreigners. The foreign flute players would certainly have competed against Athenians in the festivals. The foreign chorus trainers were likely mostly hired professionals.[27] They must have cooperated with the Athenian *choregoi* or *agonothetai* in the preparations for the festival competitions, but additionally might well have participated in the competitions themselves. Classical literary sources provide information about the selection of the protagonists,[28] but detailed information on the preparation of the choruses for the competitions is regrettably not available from any period.

Furthermore, some scattered evidence exists of the participation of specific groups of foreigners in festival competitions: Three dedications of generals in Rhamnous in coastal northern Attica, from the late 220's to the early first century BCE, feature names of foreign winners at the Ptolemaia festival, which was

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22 *IG* II/III² 2313-7 (194/3-162/1 BCE).

23 *IG* II/III² 960 (c. 142/1 BCE), col. II, 13-6: Eumenes, son of Stratios, of Kyzikos, winner in all boys' boxing; Dionysios, son of Sosos, of Sidon, winner in men's boxing. *IG* II/III² 964 (c. 130 BCE), 29-30: a winner from Smyrna in all boys' wrestling whose first name and patronymic are unknown.

24 Theseus was of course a purely Athenian hero and exclusively limited to Athenian tradition.

25 P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique,* Paris 1976, 176-7.

26 E.g. *IG* II/III² 3052 (choregic dedication, 328/7 BCE), 3081 (agonothetic dedication, 280-70 BCE). In the *choregia* duties, wealthier individuals acted as *choregoi* and paid for choruses for the festival competitions. The costs incurred by the office of the *agonothetes* were paid by the state.

27 Cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals at Athens* (rev. by J. Gould – D. M. Lewis), Oxford 1968 [1953], 91.

28 For example Dem. 21. 13, referring to the assignment by lot of flute players to different choruses.

founded in 224 BCE.[29] These foreigners are called *xenoi* and it is clear that they were hired soldiers stationed at the fortress of Rhamnous: the word had the general sense of 'stranger', but in a military context had already in the Classical period come to mean a mercenary soldier.[30] Festivals could have separate torch races for civilians and soldiers, as is shown by the two Athenian winners entitled *politai,* citizens, at the Diogeneia torch races in the second and third dedication.

The torch race of the Ptolemaia displayed here was most likely a military event, but whether Athenian soldiers competed along with foreign mercenaries and whether there was thus interaction between Athenians and foreigners involved is not known. It is also unknown whether civilian foreigners could compete at the Ptolemaia. The Ptolemaia seems to have become a new showcase festival for Athens, to which participants were invited from all over the Hellenistic world. The decision to publish the awarded honours in Ptolemaia along with the Panathenaia, the Eleusinia and the City Dionysia forms a fixed part of honorary decrees in the late third and second centuries.[31] Thus, while the competition programme of the Ptolemaia is not known in detail, it is very possible that it was arranged in much the same way as that of the Panathenaia and that it therefore involved several events in which participation was unrestricted.

Religious officials and public religious roles

Priests and most other religious officials of the public cults were elected and were thus all Athenian. This did not change in the Hellenistic period. Priests are regularly encountered in inscriptions, and not a single foreigner is seen among them. However, some examples of foreigners in a public religious role *are* found in inscriptions of the second century.

The most important is a list of *hieropoioi* at the Romaia and Ptolemaia festivals, dated to c. 150 BCE. The list of names for the Ptolemaia has a few foreign names among the Athenians.[32] The *hieropoioi* were cult personnel who took care of the offerings to the deity and the practical organisation of the festivals, either as elected officials or as individuals selected for specific festivals.[33] The persons here are *hieropoioi* of the latter sort. The inscription thus displays a rare example of foreigners cooperating with Athenians in the running of two state festivals. Considering the international character the Ptolemaia attained, it is very likely that the constitution of the group of *hieropoioi* at the festival reflected this character. It may also be the case that there were fewer restrictions on nationality in the case of such personnel than with the actual religious offices, at least in newer festivals like the Ptolemaia, which had weaker ties to Athenian religious traditions.

Foreigners as spectators and witnesses in public cults

While the barring of foreigners from public cult sacrifices prior to the late second century is a fairly clear matter, it is less clear whether foreigners were allowed to witness sacrifices as spectators. According to Apollodoros, in the Demosthenic speech *Against Neaira* (mid-fourth century BCE), foreign women and

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29 B. C. Petrakos, *Ο δήμος του Ραμνούντος. Σύνοψη των ανασκαφών και και των ερευνών (1813-1998), II. Οι επιγραφές*, Αθήναι 1999, 144 (after 224/3), 148 (117/6), 151 (c. 100/early 1st); all BCE.

30 E.g. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1.3, 4. 3. 18; Aeschin. 2. 131; 3. 87, 147.

31 Parker, *cit.* n. 1 (1996), 274-5. Cf. C. Habicht, 'Athens and the Ptolemies', *ClAnt* 11 (1992), 68-90, esp. 83-5. The formula survives in 20 decrees: *IG* II/III² 891, 900, 956-58, 963, 983, 1028-30, 1938; *Agora* I, 7529; *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 422 no. 15; 13 (1944), 251; 24 (1955), 288 ff.; 47 (1978), 50; 51 (1982), 59 no. 2; *MDAI(A)* 76 (1961), 128 no. 1; *IDélos* 1497 *bis*; *IG* VII 2411.

32 *IG* II/III² 1938. The foreign *hieropoioi* were Mnasagoras of Alexandreia (col. I. 8), Glaukias of Thessaly (I. 22), Panaitios of Rhodos (I. 25), Memnon of Sardis (I. 35) and Spurius of Rome (II. 40).

33 *RE,* s.v. *hieropoioi.*

slaves could be present and say prayers at all public sacrifices, and only the women who had been taken in adultery were barred.[34] However, this may not be reliable evidence, since the speech was motivated by the orator's personal enmity towards his fellow Athenian, Stephanos. Apollodoros accused the Corinthian Neaira of living with Stephanos as if in legal Athenian marriage and of marrying off her daughter Phano to an Athenian man. After the latter was elected King Archon, Phano had supposedly conducted sacrifices unlawfully – unlawfully because her marriage was adulterous.

References to foreigners as spectators at Athenian festivals are preserved here and there in the works of the ancient authors. These are usually generic or anecdotal references to particular situations which took place in the context of a festival and happened to involve a foreigner. The anecdote told by Athenaios (second and third century CE) about Gnathaenion, a courtesan active in Athens in the early Hellenistic period, is a good example: an old Persian man emigrates to Athens and at the festival of Kronos observes Gnathaenion with her mother coming out of a sanctuary and enquires her price for a night.[35]

It does not seem likely that foreigners were ever formally, by way of a law or an assembly decision, barred from attending festivals as spectators, at least not the major ones. In larger festivals like the Panathenaia and City Dionysia foreigners could in fact compete, so they would surely have been allowed to view the competitions as well. In the Hellenistic period there may have been even less reason to bar non-citizens from being spectators, at least in the Dionysiac festivals. The formation of clubs of Dionysiac actors replaced amateurs with professional performers, for whom the Athenian festivals were mere stopping points in a regular circuit around the Greek world. These developments must have reduced the civic content of the festivals and their role in bringing together and uniting the citizens. Increasingly, then, the Athenian Dionysiac festivals changed from events involving citizens performing for fellow citizens, to professional performances carried out in front of passive audiences.[36]

It is theoretically possible that some kind of restrictions existed with regard to seating in theatrical performances and that foreign spectators could sit only in certain sections of the theatre. However, with the exception of the front-row seats reserved for officials and priests, research into Attic and Greek theatres has revealed no examples of permanent sectioning of the seats. Yet an arrangement like this would have restricted interaction between citizens and foreigners in the audiences if it existed. This is, however, yet another matter that the sources are silent about. If the members of the audiences could freely mingle with each other, the level of interaction would have depended on individual attitudes.

One may assume that foreign visitors who were clearly different from locals in speech and appearance might occasionally have met with prejudice, whereas members of the immigrant groups established in Attica would not often have been much different from Athenians in their accent or dress.[37] Certainly, plenty of examples of prejudicial attitudes towards foreigners can be found in the work of the Athenian authors. However, these are mostly confined to non-Greeks; further, the authors were almost without exception from the higher social classes, and it is difficult to know to what extent their views reflected those of the average Athenian in the Classical or Hellenistic periods.

Not all the Attic festivals were public celebrations attended by large sections of the population, however. We may ask, in particular, whether the festivals that concerned the different stages of the citi-

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34 [Dem.] 59. 85-6.

35 Ath. 13. 581a.

36 Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 117-9.

37 Cf. the complaints of Old Oligarch 1. 10 on the impossibility of identifying a metic or a slave from a citizen from their appearance.

zen's life might have had more formal restrictions with regard to who were allowed to be present as spectators. For instance, the Apatouria centred on the admission of new members into the phratries, so in practice at least, members of the immigrant population of Attica would not have had much cause to be present there. On the other hand, it is very probable that the immigrants, having no connection to citizen life and coming from different religious traditions, would not have been particularly interested in attending events like the Apatouria celebrations, even if they had been formally allowed to.[38] This would definitely have been another factor affecting the extent to which there were interactions between citizens and foreigners in the Attic festival audiences in general. The Panathenaia and other festivals that involved competitions and public performances offered much to see to those not very familiar with Athenian cult traditions. At the other end of the spectrum were festivals like the Adonia, celebrated in private homes and thus involving no public spectacle.

Private religious associations

The extent of interaction and cooperation between citizens and foreigners in private religious life is in many ways difficult to ascertain, not least because private religious activities often leave no trace in historical sources. Nonetheless, several forms of private religious activity can be assumed to have occurred.

Athens remained highly cosmopolitan in the Hellenistic period: over two hundred different ethnics are preserved in personal names found in the epigraphic sources – albeit nearly half of these are attested only once or twice, and only a small fraction occurs commonly. It is more than likely, at least among the higher social classes, that there were many circles of friends containing both Athenians and foreigners, and some references to such friendships are indeed preserved in literary sources. For example, Demosthenes mentions a Carystian friend in a speech,[39] and the friends mentioned in the wills of the Peripatetic philosophers and of Epicurus, preserved in the third-century CE Diogenes Laertius, included both Athenians and foreigners. These cosmopolitan circles of friends probably occasionally participated in some religious activities together. The schools of philosophy are surely an example of this. At least the Platonic Academy and the Peripatetics had a cult of the Muses and gave religious veneration to their founders.[40]

At the simplest level of private, shared religious activities there would have been private dedications. While examples of private dedications by both Athenians and foreigners are plentiful,[41] as far as I am aware, no inscribed dedications made jointly by Athenian and foreign persons survive. The three Rhamnousian dedications discussed earlier are more comfortably placed in a public, (semi-?)official sphere, since they were made by generals after their election to office, with other persons participating after victories at public festivals. The lack of examples of joint dedications by Athenians and foreigners does not prove that they were not made. However, even if such dedications were rare, some interaction would necessarily have resulted from Athenians and foreigners happening to go to sanctuaries at the same time to make their own, individual dedications.

The only aspect of private religion which provides direct evidence of the interaction or cooperation between Athenians and foreigners is the private religious associations. The associations have received much

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38 On Apatouria, see for instance, L. Deubner, *Attische Feste,* Berlin 1932, 232-4.

39 Dem. 35. 8.

40 Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 64-8.

41 Examples of the latter, e.g. dedications of foreigners at the Athenian Asklepieion, are contained in S. B. Aleshire, *Athenian Asklepieion. The People, Their Dedications, and the Inventories,* Amsterdam 1989, 66.

attention from researchers over the last hundred years,[42] but the subject of Athenians and foreigners as members of the same associations deserves more consideration.

The available epigraphic evidence for the private associations was compiled by I. Arnaoutoglou in 2003. Apart from the already discussed case of the *orgeones* of Bendis, the presence of both demotics and ethnics[43] allow the identification of an association involving mixed membership in only three cases.

Firstly, there is an association of Herakles. An inscription of 159/8 BCE lists several persons, both Athenians and foreigners, admitted to the association. The priest was Athenian, and two of the members are identified as ethnics: Soterichos and Glaukias, both Antiocheians. In addition, two names, with neither ethnic nor demotic supplied, sound non-Greek: Sindes and Attas.[44]

Secondly, the case of the Sabaziastai. In a list dated to 101/0 BCE, the devotees of the Thraco-Phrygian deity Sabazios are entitled *eranistai*.[45] The inscription features the names of the priest, secretary, treasurer, superintendent and a large list of other members. The priest was a foreigner, Zenon from Antiocheia; the other officials were Athenians. Among the listed members, a dozen were foreigners, with ethnics recorded. Another inscription, possibly referring to the worshippers of Sabazios, exists from several centuries earlier, 342/1 BCE: here, the *hieropoioi* of an unnamed deity, commonly identified as Sabazios due to the discovery of the stele beside that of the inscription above, are featured erecting a monument in Peiraieus.[46] It is not possible to determine what kind of membership these *hieropoioi* had; the inscription features four names along with that of the archon in the dating, and none carry either demotic or ethnic.[47] References to the worship of Sabazios in the Attic context go back to the fifth century, but none allow the determination of whether Athenians in addition to foreigners were involved.[48]

Thirdly, there are the *orgeones* of Syrian Aphrodite. In a decree found in Peiraieus and dated to 97/6 BCE, the *orgeones* honour Nikasis, daughter of Philiskos, of Corinth. The proposer is Athenian.[49]

Beyond these three cases, interpretation of the epigraphic evidence gets more complicated. The fact that usually only one to three personal names are mentioned in the documents, and that ethnics or demotics are lacking in very many cases, do not help in determining the membership base of the associations.

In the fourth and third centuries BCE we can easily identify several citizen-only *orgeones* associations.[50] In contrast, it is usually more difficult to judge from the surviving evidence for the associations in which only foreign members are attested, whether these might have had at least some Athenian members as well. For instance, all the names in two decrees of *thiasoi*, one of an unknown deity, the other of Zeus Labraundos, are foreign; in the former, they are the proposer and the recipient of honours, in the latter the

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42 For examples, see above note 1.

43 A demotic was attached as appellation to the names of all Athenian citizens. It revealed the person's membership in one of the demes, local administrative units into which Attica was divided. An ethnic expressed a foreigner's home town or region in Athenian context.

44 *SEG* XXXVI 228, ll. 7, 9-11.

45 *IG* II/III² 1335. *Eranos* was a club or a society, which could be religious but could also be secular in character. *Eranistai* refers to the members of such clubs.

46 *IG* II/III² 2932. Regarding the identification, see Simms, *cit.* n. 1, 139 (questioning the validity of the identification merely on this basis).

47 Cf. Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 146.

48 Ar. *Lys.* 387-9; *Vesp.* 9; *Av.* 863-76; Dem. 18.259-60; Theophr. *Char*. 27. 8. E. Cf. Lane, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii*, II: *The Other monuments and literary evidence,* Leiden 1985, 46-51; Parker, *cit.* n. 1 (1996), 194.

49 *IG* II/III² 1337.

50 E.g. the *orgeones* of Amynos, Asklepios and Dexion: *IG* II/III² 1252 + 999, 1253, 1259, 4385-7, 4424, 4435 (all fourth century BCE). Cf. Mikalson, *cit.* n. 1, 145-6; Arnaoutoglou, *cit.* n. 1, 174 no. 37, 38, 42.

recipient.[51] The fact that the decrees were found in Peiraieus and at such an early date, and that the associations are called *thiasoi* rather than *orgeones*, makes it likely that their membership consisted mostly of foreigners. Nevertheless, only three persons are named in the two inscriptions put together, which is insufficient evidence to draw any certain conclusions.

Apart from the worshippers of Bendis, the chronologically longest span of evidence is available for the devotees of the Mother of the Gods. Six decrees have been preserved, spanning from the early third century to the 170s BCE, all found in Peiraieus.[52] The inscriptions show that there definitely were both Athenians and foreigners involved in the cult. The earliest of the inscriptions, dated to 281/0 BCE, comprises two decrees of the *thiasos* of the Mother of the Gods, in honour of two foreigners, a Troizenian and a Herakleot.[53] The association in the other inscriptions is called *orgeones*, with the named members all Athenians. We appear to be dealing here with two separate associations, one wholly or mostly foreign, the other wholly or mostly Athenian.[54]

Even though there is no sign of the foreign *thiasos* after 281/0 BCE, it is not necessary to suppose an actual, active citizen take-over of an originally foreign cult, as was suggested for example by W.S. Ferguson.[55] This is equally likely to have been a case of a short-lived foreign association and a citizen association with a longer history: a considerable proportion of the foreign population in Peiraieus was involved in trade, and thus many would have spent long periods abroad, in the meantime being unable to participate in the Peiraic cult activities. Thus, it is not surprising to find that none of the religious associations that had only foreigners attested as members seem to have had a long, stable existence, at least to judge from the surviving evidence.

An interesting detail is found in one of the inscriptions: two of the three superintendents mentioned, Neon of Cholargos and Simon of Poros, have demotics, but only the first name is recorded for the third, Ergasion.[56] Since the three names appear in the same context, the lack of a demotic in the third would suggest difference of status, that is, a person of non-Athenian origin.[57] Provided that this was not accidental, for example, the letter-cutter forgetting to inscribe Ergasion's demotic, the implication is that foreigners could be, and were, members of the *orgeones* association of the Mother of the Gods, at least in the second century BCE; and that they were not only ordinary members, but also participating with the citizen members in the role of officials of the association.

A comparable situation is found in a third-century BCE honorary dedication of an unidentified *thiasos* with a list of names. It features six names, one of these with ethnic: Ergasion from Samareia, in ll. 7-8. The other names have a patronymic in addition to a first name.[58] The implication is of a sole foreigner among citizen members.

Yet another interesting case is the cult association or associations of Herakles Pankrates, known from a few inscriptions of the third century BCE. The earliest of these, dated to 300/299 BCE, shows that six of-

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51 *IG* II/III² 1263 (300/299 BCE) and 1271 (299/8 BCE). *Thiasos* means a company or procession of worshippers of a deity, the corresponding word for the members being *thiasotai*.

52 *IG* II/III² 1273A–B (281/80), 1316 (272/1), 1314 (213/2), 1315 (211/10), 1327 (178/7), 1328A–B (183/2 and 175/4), 1329 (175/4) (all dates BCE). Jones, *cit.* n. 1, 263 identified also *IG* II/III² 1329 as belonging to the *orgeones* of the Mother of the Gods, though the decree itself does not refer to the deity or the cult in any way.

53 *IG* II/III² 1273A–B.

54 Cf. Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 152; Jones, *cit.* n. 1, 263. Note, again, Mikalson's dating of the decree to 263/2 BCE. The date 281/0 BCE has been established in more recent studies.

55 Ferguson, *cit.* n. 1, 110.

56 *IG* II/III² 1327.

57 Ferguson, *cit.* n. 1, 111; Jones, *cit.* n. 1, 263-4.

58 *IG* II/III² 2943.

ficials of an *eranos* dedicated a stele to Herakles Pankrates.[59] Four of the officials featured in the inscription have ethnics – those of Miletos, Herakleia and Thebai – while the other two are recorded by first name only. Of these two names, Mys is a typical slave name. We are most likely dealing here with a predominantly foreign association including both freeborn foreigners and freedmen and/or slaves.

Another three hitherto unpublished inscriptions connected to private associations of Herakles Pankrates are known.[60] All three were discovered at the sanctuary of Pankrates, Herakles and Palaimon in Athens. A fragment of a decree tentatively dated to 300-280 BCE records honours voted by *eranistai* to five *hieropoioi* for their successful conduct of sacrifices to Herakles Pankrates. An approximately contemporary decree refers to a group of *thiasotai* of Herakles Pankrates, which had a secretary and a treasurer. A third fragment, undated, contains a catalogue of the *orgeones* of Herakles Pankratis, nine citizens from Phlya and Probalinthos. These pieces of evidence imply a division similar to that seen in the case of the associations of the Mother of the Gods: a predominantly citizen association of *orgeones* and another association which was mostly foreign. Is what we are seeing here a simple terminological variation, or were there two other private associations of Herakles Pankrates in addition to the *orgeones*? And furthermore, is it possible that these associations had both Athenian and foreign members? Publication of the texts, with careful examination, is required before any conclusions can be made.

Jon D. Mikalson concluded that in the third century BCE the private associations were mostly divided into citizen and foreign associations, the latter usually based in the Peiraieus and dedicated to non-Athenian or non-Greek deities. These cults did not gain significant Athenian following until the second century, largely because Macedonian control of Peiraieus for much of the third century isolated the port from the city.[61]

The limited and often uninformative prosopographic data of the members of the cult associations prevents the making of any definite conclusions. It is certainly true that there are very few names identifiable as Athenian on the basis of demotics to be found in the third-century BCE inscriptions connected to the cult associations of foreign/non-Greek deities.[62] Nevertheless, it is likely that in the third century BCE many of the largely foreign associations had individual Athenian members from time to time and that there was therefore more interaction between Athenians and foreigners in the associations than direct evidence indicates. Curiosity, or other personal reasons, might sometimes have attracted Athenians into these associations, but more importantly, the associations would often actually have needed an Athenian among their ranks. After all, if an association wanted to found a sanctuary, it usually needed some land. If a special award of the right to acquire landed property was not forthcoming – as mostly seems to have been the case[63] – the association presumably needed a citizen to be the formal owner of the landed property.[64]

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59 *SEG* XLI 171.

60 *SEG* XLI 82-4; Arnaoutoglou, *cit.* n. 1, 185 no. 169-71.

61 Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 152-5.

62 Like the *orgeones* of Bendis, the *orgeones* of the Mother of the Gods was an exceptional case: the deity had been known for a long time in Athens, in the form of the citizen cult in the Agora, whose connection the Peiraic counterpart is, however, uncertain. R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the Fifth to the First Century B.C.,* London 1987, 129-31. S. G. Miller, 'Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens', in M. H. Hansen – K. A. Raaflaub (eds), *Studies in Ancient Greek Polis* (Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2), Stuttgart 1995, 133-56; T. L. Shear, 'Bouleuterion, Metroon and the Archives at Athens', in Hansen – Raaflaub, *cit*., 157-90; Mikalson, *cit*. n. 1, 152. The evidence for the worship of the Mother of the Gods in Athens, Peiraieus and elsewhere in Attica is availabe in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, II: *Graecia atque insulae,* Leiden 1982, no. 3-120.

63 Evidence of *enktesis* grants (grants of ownership of land and/or houses) to foreign religious associations is scarce. One of the rare examples are the *orgeones* of Bendis, see *IG* II/III² 1283.

64 Cf. e.g. M. Leiwo, 'Religion, or Other Reasons? Private Associations in Athens', J. Frösén (ed.), *Early Hellenistic Athens – Symptoms of a Change* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 6), Helsinki 1997, 103-17, esp. 109-11.

It is equally clear that in the course of the second century Athenians begin to appear more in the inscriptions of cult associations of foreign deities. Additionally, as seen earlier, all the direct evidence of interaction between Athenians and foreigners in the private associations dates from the second century. It is notable that in both the list of the Sabaziastai from 101/0 BCE and the decree of the *orgeones* of the Syrian Aphrodite from 96/5 BCE, Athenians and foreigners appear on a fairly equal footing: in the former, the priest is an Antiocheian, while the other officials are Athenians, and foreigners are clearly visible among the membership; in the latter, an Athenian and a foreigner appear in prominent roles, the former as proposer, the latter as recipient of the honours. From this, then, we may conclude that in the second century the Athenians not only became somewhat more willing to be involved in religious associations of foreign deities, and in this context associate with foreigners, but they and the foreigners also interacted on a more equal footing in the associations.

One may argue that few pieces of direct evidence of the interaction of Athenians and foreigners in cult associations exist. This is of course correct. Thus the best conclusion to make from the evidence is perhaps that while the private religious associations certainly were *a* venue for interaction and cooperation between Athenians and foreigners in the religious life of Athens, and while this increased to some extent in the second century, it was not a venue concerned with the entire population of Attica or even significant parts of it. Some of this may be explained by Athenian attitudes to foreign cults and possibly, in some cases, towards foreigners; but most of all the reason is that the associations of foreign deities were often small in membership and short-lived, and therefore would not have been a significant presence and influence in Athenian religious life as far as the citizens were concerned.

Conclusion

This paper seeks to draw a comprehensive and detailed picture of foreigners' participation in the religious life of Hellenistic Athens, carefully examining all the instances found in the surviving sources. The subject is deserving of concentrated attention on its own, in its various forms and separated from more generic studies on Athenian religion. Athens was a cosmopolitan city-state, and its large foreign population played an important role in Athenian society. Foreigners' participation in Athens' religious life, although in many ways restricted, is one aspect in this.

We cannot completely ignore the influence of foreigners' own motivations – curiosity, familiarity with cults and so on – on the extent of interaction between Athenian citizens and foreigners in public cult activities. However, in its main forms, and with very few exceptions like the Eleusinian Mysteries, the interaction was by nature exclusive and restrictive. Interaction and cooperation between citizens and foreigners did not depend on consensual agreement, rather the decision as to whether and how extensively outsiders – non-citizens – could participate was always taken by one party only, namely the citizens.

It might appear peculiar that there were so many restrictions of access to the public cults in Athens, and that the interaction of citizens and foreigners in the religious life of the city was so limited. After all, a considerable part, though not all, of the foreign population of Attica were Greek. The restrictions can only be understood through the importance of the cults to Athenian identity. It is true that all Greeks shared a large number of deities. However, all city-states had their own, unique cults dedicated to the deities, distinct from others. Athenian cults were specifically Athenian, essential to the Athenian identity, and therefore the privilege and prerogative of the citizen community. By definition, then, those who were not Athenian were outsiders in the context of the public cults, especially with regard to the core activity of the cults, the sacrifice.

In the sphere of private religious life there were fewer formal restrictions, but the same forces also had influence there, especially with regard to the foreign cults represented by the religious associations. The resistance to foreign membership need not necessarily have been motivated by prejudices towards outsiders as such. The Athenians were slow to have anything to do with foreign cults simply because they were alien to Athenian traditions and experiences.

Garter Knights, Guild Piety, and the Cult of Saint George in Fifteenth Century England

James MacGregor

Introduction

In late medieval England, people of all social and economic levels joined charitable guilds for the civic, spiritual, and convivial benefits that membership conveyed. Foremost amongst these benefits were the requiem masses provided by the guild to ease the path of deceased companions' souls through purgatory.[1] These post-mortem perks, however, were not the driving factor that motivated late medieval people to seek guild membership. Rather, as Barbara Hanawalt and Ken Farnhill have shown, the chief spiritual attraction of guild affiliation was the opportunity to form close personal and communal bonds with the saint to whom the guild was dedicated. For this reason, most guilds met annually on their patron's feast day and commemorated the occasion by hearing mass in the saint's honour. Furthermore, many guilds maintained chapels, altars, images, or lights dedicated to the saint. It is therefore these corporate activities that must be regarded as the chief spiritual function of a guild since they formed the intercessory foundations upon which the efficacy of the requiem masses were based.[2]

While the integral link between patron saints and guild activity is commonly recognized by modern students of late medieval guilds, the relationship between guild members and their heavenly patrons is rarely explored in any depth. It is therefore the aim of this essay to examine that relationship through the lens of one late medieval English guild in particular – the Order of the Garter. The Order is ideal for such a case study because, even though it is best known as England's most elite chivalric fraternity, it was also a guild whose chief patron saint was Saint George.[3]

As such, it is known that garter knights participated in the same types of communal activities vis-à-vis their patron saint as did members of much less prestigious guilds.[4] To date, however, the importance of Saint George to the devotional life of the Order of the Garter has been largely taken for granted. Students of the Order's history, for example, often discuss the institution's ceremonies and rituals, but give only minor consideration to the way in which the cult of Saint George influenced the corporate and personal piety of garter

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1 H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediæval England*, London 1919, 9-10, 28-9, 42-4.

2 B. Hanawalt, 'Keepers of the Lights: Late Medieval English Parish Gilds', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 21-37, esp. 27-30; K. Farnhill, 'Guilds, Purgatory and the Cult of Saints: Westlake Reconsidered', in S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, Aldershot 2001, 59-71.

3 H. E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford Historical Monographs), Oxford 2000, 20; D. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520*, New York 1987, xviii, 24-6, 123-4, and E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, London 1672, 187-9.

4 Compare, for example, the activities of the Order as discussed below with those of the guild of Saint George in Norwich: S. Riches, 'Hagiography in Context: Images, Miracles, Shrines and Festivals', in S. Salih (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, Woodbridge 2006, 25-46, esp. 29-31.

knights.[5] Similarly, students of the history of Saint George's cult in England acknowledge the foundation of the Order of the Garter as a crucial step towards the saint's eventual identification as England's patron saint. In constructing this argument, devotion to the saint by garter knights is implied, but there is little discussion about the extent or form of that devotion.[6] The collective result of these attitudes is that Saint George's importance to garter knights is viewed in purely symbolic terms. The saint thus emerges as little more than the Order's mascot or figurehead while his role in the spiritual lives of garter knights remains imperfectly understood.

To redress this imbalance, the present study begins with the premise that the veneration of Saint George was central to the communal and personal devotional experiences of garter knights. In order to properly contextualize this assertion, a brief overview of the history of the Order of the Garter, the reasons for Saint George's association with that organization, and the devotional practices of the Order are provided at the outset. This is followed by an examination of the prayers to, and pictures of, Saint George in the books of hours owned by three fifteenth century members of the Order. A detailed examination of the words and images in these texts reveals that a specialized dialectic existed between garter knights and their patron saint that was influenced by, and reflective of, each man's membership in the Order of the Garter. This in turn reveals a unique brand of individual and corporate piety in which the political, patriotic, and pious aspirations of English garter knights converged within the cult of Saint George. While this conclusion is certainly valuable for the insight it provides into the role of Saint George within the context of the Order of the Garter, it is also important for what it reveals about the cult of the patron saint within the context of late medieval English guilds more broadly. Thus, by using the Order of the Garter as a model, it is possible to better understand how members of other guilds likely forged and maintained relationships with their own patron saints that were similar to the relationship that existed between the garter knights and Saint George.

The Order of the Garter and Saint George

The Order of the Garter was founded in 1348 by Edward III of England as an elite chivalric fraternity. Membership in the Order was extremely exclusive and, during the first century of its existence, was reserved primarily for those deemed to have loyally served the English cause during the Hundred Years' War. The Order thus served as a means of binding a select group of warriors directly to the English monarch and thereby ensured their continued support for the Anglo-French conflict.[7]

From its creation, however, the Order was more than simply a political and diplomatic tool; it was also a guild that provided spiritual security for its members. To fulfil this role, the Order had its own chapel within the walls of Windsor castle that was served by its own college of canons. The chapel was originally dedicated to Saint Edward the Confessor but was rededicated in 1348 to honour two additional saints – the Virgin Mary and Saint George – both of whom, along with Saint Edward, served as joint patrons of the Order.[8] Despite the Order's tri-fold dedication, the fraternity's earliest surviving statutes (*c*. 1415) make it clear that Saint George was regarded as the Order's chief patron by the early fifteenth century. One thus finds

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5 Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 237; Boulton, *cit.* n. 3, 165.

6 J. Good, *The Cult of Saint George in Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2009, 63-4, 71; S. Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth*, Stroud 2000, 106-9.

7 The members of the Order were the English monarch, the Prince of Wales, and twenty-four knights selected by the king. Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 11-4, chapters 2-4; Boulton, *cit.* n. 3, 101-17, 125-38.

8 The chapel was built by Henry III (r. 1216-1272). Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 28-30, 218-26; Boulton, *cit.* n. 3, 124-5, 142-4; L. Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48 and the Earliest Statutes of the Order of the Garter', *EHR* 109 (1994), 356-85, esp. 365.

that the Order's annual meeting was held on Saint George's feast day;[9] that the saint's name was used to refer to the setting of these ceremonies (Saint George's Chapel, Windsor);[10] and that the saint gave his name to the Order itself with members referred to as the companions or knights of Saint George.[11]

The fact that the garter knights called themselves the companions of Saint George reveals a great deal about the relationship perceived to exist between themselves and their Order's patron saint. In chivalric terms, the notion of companionship reflected bonds between knights that were based on reciprocal responsibilities and loyalties. Broadly speaking, this reciprocity manifested itself at court and on the battlefield where knights expected courteous and just treatment from their peers.[12]

For garter knights, however, the nature of chivalric companionship was significantly heightened by the political, diplomatic, and military rivalry that existed between England and France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Throughout the Hundred Years' War, and even in its aftermath, both sides regularly claimed that theirs was the divinely favoured cause.[13] It was in this competitive and bellicose environment that Edward III founded the Order of the Garter and chose Saint George as one of its patrons. This, in turn, played a significant role in Saint George's recognition as England's patron saint by the kingdom's political and military elite.[14] For garter knights then, chivalry, piety, and patriotism were closely intertwined with the patronage of Saint George.

Still, Saint George's patronage of the Order cannot be properly explained in purely secular terms. For this reason, it is necessary to understand something of the saint's hagiography. By the time of the Order's foundation in 1348, and throughout the remainder of the middle ages, Saint George was widely recognized as a martyr who had been a soldier, and more specifically a knight, before dying in defence of the Christian faith. His knightly qualities were enhanced in the late middle ages when the story about his battle with a dragon became widespread. According to the legend, Saint George happened upon a young princess who was given as a sacrifice to a dragon that was harassing her father's kingdom. Ignoring the princess' pleas that he flee and save himself, George awaited the dragon's arrival and engaged the beast in combat. After wounding and subduing the creature, George commanded the princess to tie her girdle around the dragon's neck. He then led the princess and the beast back to the city where the princess' father reigned. The townsfolk were terrified by the beast's presence in their midst and George promised to kill the monster if they all converted to Christianity. The people, including the princess and her father, agreed and George slew the dragon.[15]

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9 'Le jour de Saint George', 'La feste de Saint George', in Jefferson, *cit.* n. 8, 377 (ll. 58-9), 378 (ll. 71-2, 88, 100), 379 (l. 117).

10 'La Chapelle de Saint George', 'La chapelle en l'onneur de Saint George', in Jefferson, *cit.* n. 8, 377 (l. 24), 379 (l. 139).

11 'Les compaignons de Saint George', 'Les chevaliers de Saint George de la Compaignie du Gartier', in Jefferson, *cit.* n. 8, 378 (l. 64), 379 (l. 109), 382 (l. 270).

12 R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, Oxford 1999, 205-8.

13 J. W. McKenna, 'How God became an Englishman', in D. J. Guth – J. W. McKenna (eds), *Tudor Rule and Revolution*, Cambridge 1982, 25-43, esp. 29-38.

14 D. A. L. Morgan, 'The Banner-bearer of Christ and Our Lady's Knight: How God became an Englishman Revisited', in N. Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, Woodbridge 2005, 51-61; D. A. L. Morgan, 'The Cult of St George c. 1500: National and International Connotations', *Publication du centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe–XVIe s.)* 35 (1995), 151-62, esp. 152-6; W. M. Ormrod, 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', *Speculum* 64 (1989), 849-77, esp. 859.

15 Most late medieval English legendaries tell this story: E. H. Weatherly (ed.), *Speculum sacerdotale* (Early English Text Society, Original Series 200), London 1936, 129-33; T. Erbe, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies* (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 96), London 1905, 132-5; R. Hamer, *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende* (Middle English Texts 9), Heidelberg 1978, 65-74; R. Hamer – V. Russell, 'A Critical Edition of Four Chapters from the *Légende Dorée*', *MS* 51 (1989), 130-204, esp. 169-80; F. S. Ellis (ed.), *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, 7 vols, New York 1973 [London 1900], 3:126-9.

Saint George's identity as a soldier-martyr, combined with the knightly ethos embodied in the dragon episode, made him the ideal patron saint for an elite chivalric guild. That patronage, however, was underpinned by two different, yet complementary, perceptions of the saint's ability to influence the life of his adherents. On the one hand, Saint George was expected to act as an exemplar after whom the garter knights could model their own behaviour. By striving to live up to the chivalric ideal established by the saint, the companions enhanced their own and their Order's reputation for distinction in the profession of arms. On the other hand, through his merits as a martyr of the early church, Saint George was also expected to act as an intercessor for the garter knights in the court of heaven. Rather than through deeds, this aspect of the saint's patronage was sought through words, namely through the prayers of the garter knights and the clerical personnel who served the Order. In both respects, the reciprocal nature of the relationship between Saint George and his companions is fairly straightforward – in exchange for honouring the saint through the emulation of his deeds and petitioning him through prayer, the saint protected the bodies and the souls of his devotees.[16]

A good representation of Saint George's dual significance to garter knights is found in a manuscript that is closely associated with the Order. In 1445, the garter knight John Talbot (whose personal book of hours will be considered below) presented the new English queen, Margaret of Anjou, with a lavish volume of French romances and other prose works as a wedding gift.[17] Commonly called the Shrewsbury book, the manuscript concluded with a brief history of the Order of the Garter and a copy of its statutes. Preceding the text of the statutes is an image of the assembled garter knights kneeling in prayer before an icon of Saint George slaying a dragon. (see **fig. 1**) Behind the saint kneels a young woman (the princess who George is rescuing), her hands folded in prayer, watching the action occur in front of her. The scene that all of the observers behold reflects the saint's role as a chivalric exemplar while the posture of the knights and the princess reflects reverence of the saint as an intercessor.[18]

The Corporate Piety of the Order of the Garter

Beyond demonstrating the twin roles played by Saint George in the lives of garter knights, the image from the Shrewsbury book also demonstrates the importance of prayer to the corporate piety of the Order. This is reinforced by the Order's statutes which contain two explicit references to prayer to the saint: the duty of the Order's alms knights to pray to God and Saint George for their maintenance, and the duty of all companions to visit Saint George's Chapel when in the vicinity of Windsor Castle to hear mass to Saint George.[19] To these obligations must be added the implicit assumption that Saint George would have been venerated year-round by the Order's canons in his capacity as a dedicatee of the chapel bearing his name, and that the mass for Saint George's day (23 April) would have been heard by the companions as part of the Order's annual feast.

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16 Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 20-1.

17 BL Royal MS 15 E vi; Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 249-50; A. J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427-1453*, Barnsley 2005 [London 1983], 123. For a detailed discussion of the Shrewsbury book's provenance and content, see D. Dunn, 'Margaret of Anjou, Chivalry and the Order of the Garter', in C. Richmond – E. Scarff (eds), *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Late Middle Ages* (Historical Monographs Relating to St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle 17), Leeds 2001, 39-56; M.-A. Bossy, 'Arms and the Bride: Christine de Pizan's Military Treatise as a Wedding Gift for Margaret of Anjou', in M. Desmond (ed.), *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* (Medieval Cultures 14), Minneapolis 1998, 236-56; C. Reynolds, 'The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E VI', in J. Stratford (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 12), London 1993, 109-16.

18 BL Royal MS 15 E vi, f. 439r.

19 Jefferson, *cit.* n. 8, 377 (ll. 48-52), 379 (ll. 126-41). One of the Order's charitable activities was the maintenance of twenty-six poor knights, or alms knights, at Windsor Castle. See Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 30, and E. H. Fellowes, *The Military Knights of Windsor, 1352-1944*, Windsor 1944, vii-xxi.

Fig. 1: Royal 15 E. VI, f.439. A chapter of the Garter: the king and knights grouped around an altar, which is surmounted by St. George and the dragon. The manuscript was presented to Margaret of Anjou, wife of King Henry VI, by the Earl of Shrewsbury. Image taken from Shrewsbury/Talbot Book of Romances. Originally published/produced in France (Rouen), before circa 1445. © The British Library Board.

While useful for proving that prayer to Saint George was central to the corporate activities of the Order these references say nothing about the actual content of those prayers. Fortunately, the statutes regulating the activities of the Order's canons indicate that all services at Saint George's Chapel were to follow the liturgical use of Sarum.[20] Thus, even though no liturgical manuscripts from the collegiate establishment at Windsor survive, it is still possible to ascertain the substance of the mass for Saint George used in the Order's chapel. Within this mass there are three prayers that refer specifically to Saint George: the collect, secret, and post-communion.[21] None of them, however, are addressed directly to Saint George, but rather to God or Christ, each of whom are petitioned to recall the saint's sacrifice for the faith and acknowledge him as an intercessor for those who venerate him. In this context, it is only the saint's martyrdom that is commemorated; there is no reference to his identity as a chivalric exemplar or as the Order of the Garter's patron saint.[22]

As an institution dedicated to Saint George, it is certainly possible that the veneration of the saint at the Order's chapel took on still other and more varied forms. This assertion is supported by a decree promulgated in 1415 by a clerical convocation in the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury. According to a letter sent to the bishop of London outlining the rulings of this council, Saint George's day was elevated to a major festival because the saint was regarded as the special patron and protector of England. Specifically, the letter

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20 The use of Sarum was based on the liturgical practices and customs of Salisbury cathedral in southern England.

21 The collect marks the first point during the mass when the priest actually addresses the assembled congregation. It thus serves as an introduction to the mass of the day and, for that reason, it is here where the saint's name is mentioned for the first time. The secret forms part of the ceremony surrounding the actual consecration of the Eucharist. Unlike the collect, the secret is said in a lowered voice by the priest and serves as an offertory prayer preceding the act of transubstantiation. The third prayer, the post communion, is said after the Eucharistic ceremony. It is pronounced aloud and is one of the last prayers recited before the mass ends. See A. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*, Toronto 1982, 82-93.

22 Ashmole, *cit.* n. 3, 577-80; J. W. Legg (ed.), *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, Oxford 1916, 262.

states that special prayers for the well-being of the king and kingdom were to be offered every year on the saint's day, although it provides no guidance as to the form or specific content of such prayers.[23]

Since the Order's chapel at Windsor was the most renowned ecclesiastical establishment dedicated to the saint in England, it seems reasonable to presume that the Order's canons adhered to this decree and may even have composed new, potentially patriotic, prayers to England's and the Order's patron saint. Sadly, if this occurred, no evidence of these activities survives today. It is possible, however, to glimpse what may have been by examining liturgical manuscripts closely associated with the Chapel Royal (the clergy who attended the king personally as opposed to the Order's canons) in the first half of the fifteenth century. In this context one finds novel devotional compositions in honour of Saint George, some of which explicitly acknowledge him as the protector of the king and kingdom of England.[24] Given the close connection between the monarch, the Order, and Saint George, it is certainly probable that similar liturgical innovations were composed for use in the corporate activities of the Order.

Three Garter Knights and their Books of Hours

Despite lacking specific information about devotional practices at Windsor, it is possible to discern the way in which individual garter knights may have prayed to Saint George through an examination of books of hours known to have belonged to companions of the Order in the fifteenth century. Based largely on the Psalter and the breviary, books of hours were private prayer books that allowed the laity to observe the canonical hours of the day as did their clerical counterparts. At the heart of each book of hours was the Hours of the Virgin Mary which commemorated the life of Christ's mother and sought her intercession throughout the day. To this was often added supplemental material, usually consisting of, but not limited to a calendar, the penitential and gradual psalms, the Office of the Dead, and prayers to individual saints.[25]

While the ownership of many books of hours is unknown, there are six surviving manuscripts that can be associated with six specific garter knights: John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury (*c*. 1387-1453);[26] John, Duke of Bedford (1389-1435);[27] Sir Thomas Hoo (*c*. 1396-1455);[28] Richard, Duke of York (1415-1460);[29]

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23 D. Wilkins (ed.), *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols, Bruxelles 1967 [Londini 1737], 3:376; J. Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V', in G. L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, Oxford 1985, 97-115, esp. 107-8. The elevation of the saint's day was requested by the clergy of Canterbury as early as 1399 although Archbishop Arundel did not act upon it: Wilkins, *cit.*, 3:241, 245. Not until 1421 was Saint George's day elevated to a major festival in the province of York: R. L. Storey (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham 1406-1437* (Publications of the Surtees Society 164), 3 vols, Durham 1956-1966, 3:5.

24 BL Add. MS 57590, ff. 89^{v}-90^{r}, 90^{v}-9^{r}; BL Egerton MS 3307, ff. 37^{v}-42^{r}, 63^{v}; M. Bent, 'Sources of the Old Hall Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 94 (1967-1968), 19-35, esp. 21-6; R. L. Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7 (1954), 1-34, esp. 1-6, 33-4; B. Schofield, 'A Newly Discovered 15th-Century Manuscript of the English Chapel Royal – Part I', *Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946), 509-36, esp. 509-10, 513-4, 516, 522, 525; W. B. Squire, 'Notes on an Undescribed Collection of English 15th Century Music', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 (1901), 342-55, esp. 344-50, 352. See also Bodl. MS Lat. liturg. e. 7, ff. 109^{v}-111^{r}.

25 For an introduction to the content and function of books of hours, see E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570*, New Haven 2006, 3-23; R. S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York 1997, 9-25; J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, London 1985.

26 FM MS 40-1950.

27 BL Add. MS 18850.

28 RIA MS 12 R 31.

29 UC MS 43.

William, Lord Hastings (1431-1483);[30] and Richard III (1452-1485).[31] Only three of these, however – the Talbot, Bedford, and Hastings books – were created when their owners were already members of the Order. The Hoo and York books were commissioned before each man's election into the Order, while the Richard III book was not the original property of its later royal owner. Furthermore, the Talbot, Bedford, and Hastings books all contain prayers to Saint George that were part of the book's original content. Since this essay is predicated on the notion that garter membership influenced the way in which garter knights prayed to Saint George, the prayers to the saint in the Hoo, York, and Richard III books cannot be regarded as representative of garter attitudes. The discussion that follows, therefore, is based on an analysis of the prayers to Saint George in the Talbot, Bedford, and Hastings books.

The Bedford Hours

Of the three manuscripts, the oldest is the Bedford hours which was produced in Paris *c.* 1410-1430 to commemorate the marriage of John, Duke of Bedford and Anne of Burgundy.[32] Included in this manuscript is a full-page miniature that has received much attention from students of the Order of the Garter and of Saint George's cult in England. (see **fig. 2**) It depicts the Duke of Bedford, in his capacity as regent in France, kneeling in prayer before Saint George. Saint George stands before Bedford wearing armour and a blue robe decorated with the livery of the Order of the Garter. With his right hand, the saint motions towards the knot in the cord that holds his robe in place – a gesture that has been interpreted as signifying the bond between garter knights and their patron. Saint George's patronage of the Order of the Garter, and of England for that matter, could not be made more explicit than in this image.[33]

Less well known, however, is the prayer that accompanies the image. In it, Saint George is petitioned as a martyr and a dragon slayer in order to obtain his intercession for the well being of the supplicant's body and soul. Specifically, the dragon episode is used to create an analogy in which the subdued beast becomes Satan and the saint becomes the protector of the supplicant against the forces of temptation and sin.[34] In so doing, the prayer to Saint George in the Bedford hours is akin to countless other prayers to the saint found in countless other English devotional texts. As a result, this prayer, in and of itself, betrays no heightened sense of devotion to the Order's patron saint; only the accompanying image suggests otherwise. It is therefore the juxtaposition of image and text that creates a comprehensive devotional experience for the user of the Bedford hours. By meditating upon the content of the image the supplicant would be reminded of Saint George's association with the kingdom of England and the Order of the Garter. Yet meditation upon images alone did not beget intercession. For this, recitation of the accompanying prayer was essential in order to ensure that the saint's assistance was requested in an effective and devout manner – a fact clearly conveyed by the image itself which depicts an open book on the prie-dieu, or prayer desk, at which the duke kneels.[35]

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30 BL Add. MS 54782.

31 LP MS 474.

32 E. König, *The Bedford Hours: The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece*, C. Roth and C. de Hamel (trans.), London 2007, 62, 128-31. The book eventually came into the possession of Henry VI when it was presented to him as a gift by the Duchess Anne in 1430.

33 BL Add. MS 18850, f. 256^{v}; Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 12, 248; Riches, *cit.* n. 6, 111; J. Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, London 1990, 55. For a different interpretation, see König, *cit.* n. 32, 78-9, 124.

34 BL Add. MS 18850, f. 257^{r}.

35 A. Bennett, 'Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy* (Occasional Papers 6), Princeton 2003, 54-78, esp. 69-71; V. Reinburg, 'Praying to Saints in the Late Middle Ages', in S. Sticca (ed.), *Saints: Studies in Hagiography* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts

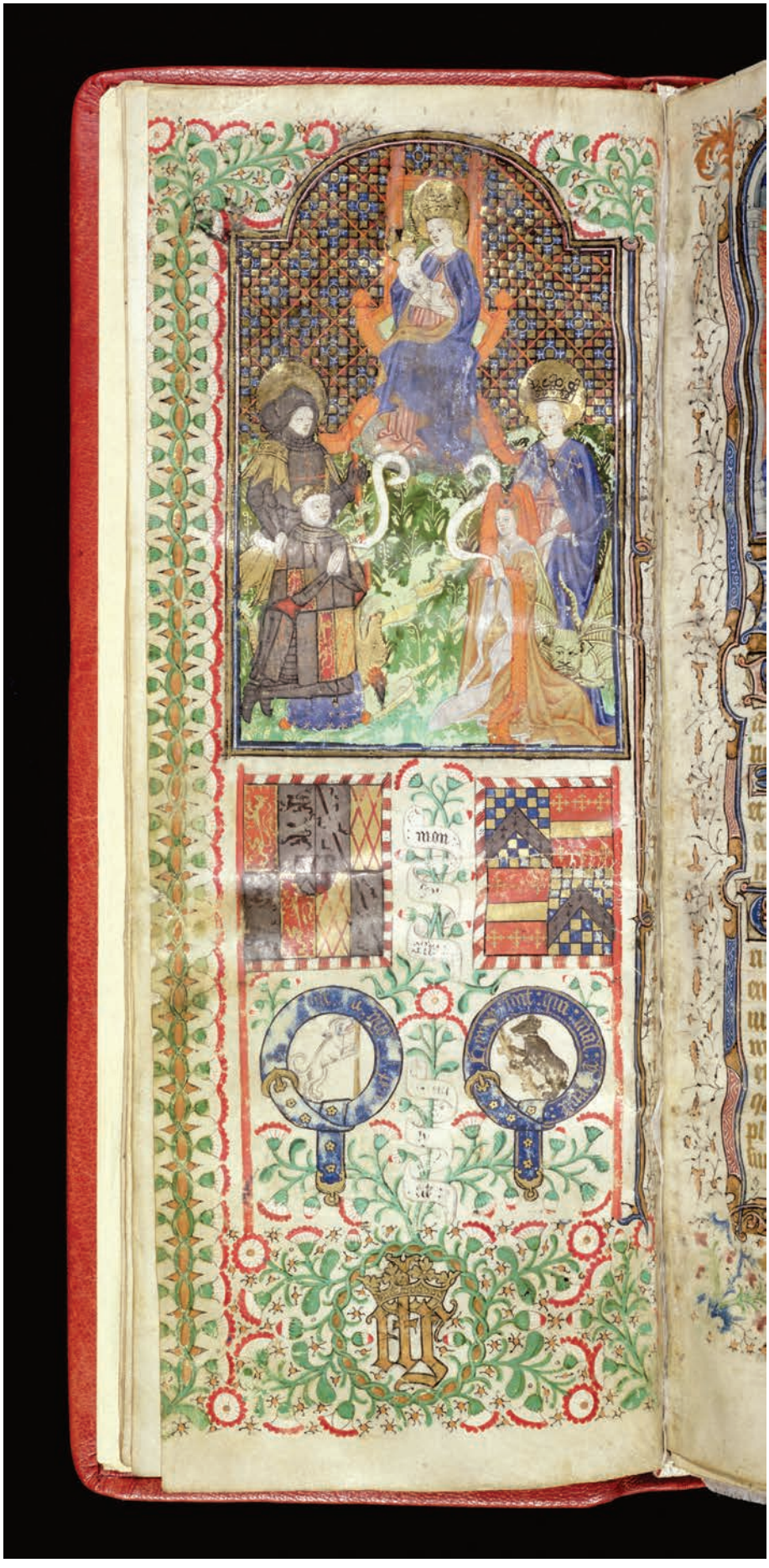

Fig. 2: Add. 18850, f.256v. John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, at prayer before St. George. The saint is dressed in the ermine-lined sovereign's robe of the Garter over full armour, and attended by a squire carrying his helmet, shield, and lance. Image taken from Bedford Hours. Originally published/produced in Paris; 1410-1430. © The British Library Board.

Fig. 3: Ms 40-1950, f. 7v. Dedication page from a Book of Hours belonging to John Talbot, *c.* 1444 (vellum), French School, (15th century) / Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK / The Bridgeman Art Library.

Prayer, politics, and patriotism thus commingle to create a fitting devotional experience for a companion of Saint George.

The Talbot Hours

The same admixture of pious, political, and patriotic sentiment can be found in another manuscript produced for a garter knight commonly known as the Talbot hours. Produced in Rouen around 1444, the book was intended for the personal use of John Talbot, one of the most renowned English captains in France under Bedford and Henry VI (and the same person who commissioned the Shrewsbury book discussed above).[36] The Talbot hours begins with a dedication page that depicts both Talbot and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp, kneeling before the Virgin and Child enthroned. (see **fig. 3**) Both husband and wife are presented to the Virgin by saints – the Lady Margaret by her name-saint, Saint Margaret, and the earl by Saint George. Clad in amour, Saint George stands behind Talbot with his right hand on the earl's shoulder and his left hand holding a spear that pierces the neck of a dragon lying at his feet. Immediately below this image, beneath both John and Margaret, are painted the arms of each partner, and below these are two garter devices announcing the earl's membership in the chivalric guild whose patron represents him as an intermediary before the throne of heaven.[37]

This introductory image is the only visual representation of Saint George in the Talbot hours. Unlike the image in the Bedford hours, the Talbot image is not accompanied by a prayer. This is because the purpose of this image was not, strictly speaking, devotional. Rather, it is best viewed as a proprietary image whose chief function was to convey the status and piety of the book's owner to anyone who beheld the dedication page.[38] Still, the Talbot hours is unique because it contains the greatest concentration of prayers to Saint George in any English book of hours. Thus, even though image and prayer are not tied directly together by textual proximity, the image itself serves as a visual introduction to both the level of devotion to the saint found inside the book and to the attitudes that underlie that devotion.

There are a total of five items in the Talbot hours that refer to Saint George; three seek his intercession directly and two invoke his name as part of intercessory prayer to a group of saints. Only one of these prayers is original to the book; the others were added prior to Talbot's death in 1453.[39] Of these items, two of the additions are of particular note. The first is a mass in honour of Saint George. The very presence of this item in the manuscript makes Talbot's book unusual since no other English book of hours is known to contain a similar devotion. Even more curious is the fact that the mass does not exactly match any known liturgical use. Since the Hours of the Virgin Mary in the Talbot hours is of Sarum use – the same liturgical use utilized at Windsor by the Order's canons – it is odd that the mass for Saint George does not strictly fol-

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and Studies 141), Binghamton 1996, 269-82; V. Reinburg, 'Prayer and the Book of Hours', in R. S. Wieck (ed.), *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, New York 1988, 39-44.

36 R. Marks – P. Williamson (eds), *Gothic: Art for England, 1400-1547*, London 2003, 230-1.

37 FM MS 40-1950, f. 7v. A similar image is found at the beginning of a book of hours belonging to Margaret Talbot: FM MS 41-1950, f. 2v. The garter device beneath Margaret is likely explained by the fact that her father, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, had been a garter knight: Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 292. There is no record of Margaret ever receiving robes as a Lady of the Fraternity of St George: Collins, *cit.* n. 3, 79-83, 301-3; J. L. Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter', *Albion* 17 (1985), 259-78. A third manuscript containing a related image is SCA MS Dep. 221/1, f. 4v.

38 Duffy, *cit.* n. 25, 34-5, 71; K. Scott, '*Caveat Lector*: Ownership and Standardization in the Illustration of Fifteenth-Century English Manuscripts', in P. Beal – J. Griffiths (eds), *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700. Volume I*, Oxford 1989, 19-63, esp. 21-2, 50.

39 FM MS 40-1950, ff. 19r-19v, 107r, 121r-122r, 132 r -132v, 135v; F. Wormald – P. M. Giles (eds), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979 (excluding the McClean Collection)*, 2 vols, Cambridge 1982, 2:441-8.

low the same rite. Given the book's French, and more specifically Norman, provenance, it is not surprising that the Talbot mass shares an affinity with the uses of Paris and Rouen.[40]

The three prayers that specifically name Saint George (the collect, secret, and post-communion) are identical in all three uses (Sarum, Paris, Rouen).[41] As in the use of Sarum, these prayers are directed to God or Christ and seek divine recognition of Saint George's status as an intercessor by virtue of his martyrdom. The remaining elements of the mass, however, are not proper to the Sarum, Paris, or Rouen rites. The result is a hybrid mass whose content, and therefore use, is apparently unique.

Whatever the liturgical use of the mass to Saint George in Talbot's book, its presence in the manuscript was complemented by Talbot's possession of a papal license to carry a portable altar and hear private masses. Since he probably had his book of hours with him on the battlefield the day he died, there is every likelihood that he took advantage of this indulgence.[42] The ability to hear mass on his own schedule allowed Talbot to regularly seek Saint George's intercession for his body and soul. Furthermore, as a member of the Order of the Garter, it also allowed him to properly keep Saint George's feast day even if he could not be at Windsor for the annual garter assembly. When considered alongside the garter iconography at the book's beginning, the presence of this mass makes it clear that John Talbot took the cult of Saint George and his membership in the Order very seriously.[43] Image and text work together to show how the intensity of Talbot's devotion to Saint George was informed by his garter affiliation.

The second interesting addition to the Talbot hours is a Latin hymn to Saint George. It begins by invoking the saint as a martyr and a knight and then recounts, in abbreviated form, the dragon episode and the saint's passion. It then plainly invokes Saint George as the special protector of soldiers and as 'the hope of the English' (*spes anglorum*).[44] In so doing, however, it does not seek the saint's intercession for the English kingdom, but rather for the soul of an English supplicant. Still, the connection between saint and kingdom is implicit and Saint George's association with England is here cited as a characteristic that makes him an efficacious intercessor for a garter knight like Talbot. In this context, there is little doubt that the supplicant in question is Talbot since the name 'Talbot' is written three times across the decorated letter 'S' with which the hymn begins. This decorative effect serves to closely bind the hymn with the book's opening image and again forges a link between Talbot's garter membership and his devotion to Saint George.

Interestingly, the same Latin hymn found in the Talbot hours is also found in a manuscript belonging to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester – Bedford's younger brother, a contemporary of Talbot, and a fellow garter knight. Produced *c.* 1430-1447, most likely in England, Gloucester's manuscript is not a book of hours, but rather a collection of miscellaneous devotions that was commissioned by the duke either for his own personal use or as a gift for Henry VI.[45] The hymn to Saint George is found towards the end of the book and is, with very minor exceptions, textually identical to its counterpart in the Talbot book. One interesting feature of the Gloucester version of the hymn, however, is that the word *anglorum* (of the English) contains a gap

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40 The use of Paris was based on the liturgical practices and customs of the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris. The use of Rouen was based on the liturgical practices and customs of the cathedral of Notre Dame de Rouen.

41 FM MS 40-1950, ff. 121^{r}-122^{r}; Legg, *cit.* n. 22; *Missale secundum usum ecclesie parisiensis*, Parisiis 1501, unpaginated; *Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie rothomagensis*, Rothomagensis 1497, unpaginated.

42 Duffy, *cit.* n. 25, 70-1; Pollard, *cit.* n. 17, 124.

43 Duffy, *cit.* n. 25, 78; Pollard, *cit.* n. 17, 124. Both authors also note that Talbot presented altar ornaments decorated with garter devices to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Rouen specifically for the celebration of Saint George's day.

44 FM MS 40-1950, f. 135^{v}. The entire folio containing this hymn is reproduced by Duffy, *cit.* n. 25, 79.

45 K. L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, 2 vols, London 1996, 2:239-41.

between the 'g' and 'l' where a letter has been erased.[46] This is because the scribe originally wrote the word *angelorum* (of the angels) – an error that was later corrected by erasing the 'e' and leaving the aforementioned gap. This erasure is important because it clearly indicates that such a scribal error was unacceptable in a book commissioned by a member of the English royal family and a garter knight.[47] Unlike the texts discussed so far, there is no garter imagery anywhere in this manuscript. Still, it is important to note that in the context of a book commissioned and owned by a garter knight (whether Duke Humphrey or Henry VI), politics and patriotism quite overtly informed the content of prayer to Saint George.

No other English book of hours contains as many prayers to Saint George as does the Talbot hours. Instead, most manuscripts are similar to the Bedford hours in that they contain a single prayer to the saint that seeks his intercession by means of analogies to his dragon-slaying and princess-rescuing abilities. The image that often accompanies such prayers depicts the saint on horseback attacking the dragon while the princess who he rescues watches the action from the background. Nothing in this highly standardized late medieval devotional experience says anything about Saint George's patronage of the Order of the Garter or of England. It is important to note, however, that the Bedford and Talbot books differ as much from each other as from the norm. Despite the overtly patriotic image in the Bedford hours, the prayer accompanying that image is fairly standard and reflective of a conventional piety towards the saint. The result is that if the image is disregarded, Saint George becomes but one of numerous saints whose intercession could be sought using the suffrages included in the book. The image in the Talbot hours is less overtly patriotic but acts as the preface to a book that is a virtual battery of prayer to Saint George. Thus, even without the image, it would be apparent from the book's content that its owner was a devout adherent to the cult of this particular saint.

The Hastings Hours

There is one final example of garter prayer to Saint George in which is found a degree of patriotic sentiment in excess of that in the Bedford and Talbot books. In a book of hours produced around 1480 belonging to William, Lord Hastings is a prayer that very specifically seeks the saint's intercession for the well-being of the English kingdom.[48] This is significant because unlike the hymn in the Talbot book in which Saint George's patronage of the English is identified as a characteristic that makes him a potent personal intercessor, this prayer clearly petitions the saint as a corporate intercessor for England. Since the Hastings hours postdates the Anglo-French truce of 1475, and since Hastings himself was not an enthusiastic supporter of the treaty, the content of this prayer reflects the political environment in which the manuscript was created. For this reason Saint George is petitioned in the Hastings hours as an intercessor who could subdue the stubborn French and preserve a tenuous peace even though Hastings personally disagreed with the friendly stance taken towards France by Edward IV.[49] As a garter knight and a supporter of the Yorkist dynasty,

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46 BL Royal MS 2 B i, ff. 86^{r}-86^{v}. Other manuscripts containing this hymn include FM MS 375, ff. 117^{r}-118^{v}; BL Harley MS 2887, ff. 17^{v}-18^{v}; BL Royal MS 2 B xv, ff. 65^{r}-66^{r}; YMA MS XVI O24, pp. 14-8.

47 As a counter-point, see WM MS W. 187, ff. 239^{r}-241^{v}. In this French book of hours, the word *angelorum* is used instead of the word *anglorum*, presumably because a prayer invoking Saint George as the protector of the English was unacceptable to the book's Gallic owner.

48 BL Add. MS 54782, ff. 47^{r}-47^{v}; D. H. Turner, *The Hastings Hours*, London 1983, 7-8, plate 47; J. Backhouse, *The Hastings Hours*, London 1996, 4, 28-31; P. Tudor-Craig has argued that the book was originally the property of the young Edward V: 'The Hours of Edward V and William Lord Hastings: British Library Manuscript Additional 54782', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodridge 1987, 351-69. Other manuscripts containing this prayer include SA MS 2, ff. 104^{r}-104^{v}; PM MS M. 255, f. 255^{r}; Bodl. Hatton MS 45, ff. 127^{v}-128^{r}.

49 For an overview of Hastings' career, see Turner, *cit.* n. 48, 89-108; Backhouse, *cit.* n. 48, 31-9.

Hastings' loyalty to his king and his devotion to Saint George are closely intertwined within the context of this prayer.

This patriotic sentiment is supplemented by visual evidence that clearly communicates Hastings' membership in the Order of the Garter. In three places throughout the text – at the beginning of the reading from the Gospel of Saint John, at the beginning of the hour of matins during the Hours of the Virgin, and at the beginning of the seven penitential psalms – one finds the Hastings arms surrounded by the garter device painted in the margins of the book.[50] Thus, even though there is no image of Saint George, and even though none of the garter images are associated with a prayer to the saint, the inclusion of these images shows that Hastings valued his status as a garter knight.[51] This book, therefore, clearly illustrates the very close connection that existed between garter membership, patriotic sentiment, and personal piety.

Conclusion

Despite the textual and visual differences that exist between the Bedford, Talbot, and Hastings hours, these three manuscripts are bound together by the same thing that bound Bedford, Talbot, and Hastings to one another, and that bound all three men to Saint George – the Order of the Garter. Yet as a result of this bond, it is clear that all three men associated the saint with much more than the Order – they also associated him with the military fortunes of their king and kingdom. Since the Order was England's premier chivalric fraternity, such a connection is not surprising. What is unusual is that these men seem to have made this aspect of the saint's patronage part of their regular devotion to the saint. Given that prayer to Saint George in late medieval books of hours most often sought his intercession for individual supplicants, the patriotic sentiments expressed in word and image in these men's books are extremely atypical. Not only was garter membership exclusive, but so too apparently was the way in which English garter knights prayed to Saint George.

By comprehending this exclusivity it becomes possible to better discern the significance of Saint George to the Order of the Garter in the fifteenth century. While the evidence does not permit us to conclude that every garter knight displayed the same level or type of devotion to Saint George as Bedford, Talbot, and Hastings, it does permit us to assert that the saint's role in the piety of these garter knights was heightened as a result of their membership in the Order. It further suggests that the cult of Saint George must be regarded as a vital component of each member's identity as a companion of the Order. Their identity as garter knights in turn reflected their identity as devoted practitioners of chivalry and as loyal servants of the English king and kingdom. Membership in their guild thus established a reciprocal bond of companionship between themselves and Saint George that each member took very seriously since any violation of this bond could be disastrous for themselves, their king, and their kingdom. The preservation of that bond was therefore essential and, as the images and texts in the Bedford, Talbot and Hastings hours clearly demonstrate, prayer was the means whereby companionship between the saint and his knights was maintained.

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50 BL Add. MS 54782, ff. 13r, 74r, 151r; Turner, *cit.* n. 48, 115, plates 13, 74, 151; Backhouse, *cit.* n. 48, 43-7, plates 17, 28, half title page; J. Backhouse, 'Memorials and Manuscripts of a Yorkist Elite', in Richmond – Scarff, *cit.* n. 17, 155. On the practice of encircling arms with the garter device, see P. J. Begent – H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years*, London 1999, 193-5. Another book of hours owned by Hastings is now in the Lázaro-Galdiano Museum in Madrid. Unlike the London manuscript, the Madrid book begins with a full-page image of the Hastings arms surrounded by the garter device. The sequence of suffrages to the saints is virtually identical in both books and the prayer to Saint George is the same. See Backhouse, *cit.* n. 48, 155; G. I. Lieftinck, *Boekverluchters uit de Omgeving van Maria van Bourgondie*, Brussel 1969, 109-11, plates 193, 194.

51 Before his death, Hastings chose to be buried next to Edward IV in St George's Chapel. Furthermore, in his will, Hastings bequeathed a total of £40 in cash and land to the canons of St George's chapel so that a priest might be retained to say mass and the divine office daily at his tomb. See Turner, *cit.* n. 48, 105; Backhouse, *cit.* n. 48, 51.

Based upon this conclusion, the prayers and pictures in the Bedford, Talbot, and Hastings books must be interpreted as conscious expressions of the patronal and companionate bonds that membership in the Order of the Garter created between Saint George and the garter knights. When analysed together, these words and images not only reveal the specialized discourse that underpinned those bonds, but also the proper devotional and institutional context within which they were originally framed. This devotional and institutional framework, however, was not unique to the Order of the Garter. Rather, countless other men and women joined guilds seeking spiritual benefits similar to those conveyed by garter membership. Furthermore, they participated in the same types of devotional and convivial activities in honour of their patron saints as did garter knights, albeit on a less grandiose scale. Unlike the garter knights, however, it is difficult to determine with any precision how the devotional practices of these 'ordinary' people may have been influenced by their guild membership. Thus, even though there were other guilds dedicated to Saint George in late medieval England, finding devotional texts (like books of hours) associated with those guilds' members is not as easy as identifying the three manuscripts and their owners discussed above.

Despite the absence of such evidence, it is possible to use the Order of the Garter as a model to better understand the experiences of other guild members. It can therefore be induced that just as garter membership enhanced the garter knights' devotion to Saint George, so too did guild membership bring the cult of the patron saint to the forefront of other guild members' devotional worlds. Through the lens of the Order of the Garter then, it is possible to see how belonging to a guild may have influenced the piety of guild members and caused them to forge and maintain similar relationships with their own patron saints. Even more specifically, it becomes possible to appreciate the diverse discursive methods that late medieval men and women may have used when practicing that piety.

Religious Participation in the Craft Ordinances in the Baltic Sea Region

Maija Ojala

Introduction

The everyday life of a craftsman and a craftswoman was structured by craft ordinances, which not only regulated work but also other aspects of life, such as religious participation. These professionally organized citizens, who manufactured goods for the urban markets, formed one fourth of the inhabitants in the Baltic Sea cities. Therefore, in order to understand religious participation in medieval cities, it is necessary to study craftsfolk and craft organizations. This article explores rituals and practises performed by craftsfolk: how was religious participation regulated in craft ordinances, aimed at regulating work and trade? Did the professional organization offer a worthy forum for religious performances? In this article I discuss religious participation at two levels: that of the actors, the various urban organizations, crafts, guilds and confraternities, and that of the actions, altar foundations, donations and feasts.

The article focuses on four cities bordering the Baltic Sea, Tallinn, Riga, Stockholm and Lübeck. The Livonian cities Tallinn and Riga were part of Hanseatic League, which, under the leadership of Lübeck, was the most important trade organization in the Baltic Sea during the later Middle Ages. Stockholm in Sweden also had close ties with the Hansa organization and all four cities were part of the same economic and cultural circle. Each of the cities had a vibrant craft production industry and a similar kind of source material is preserved from all the cities relevant to the research.[1] By concentrating on the Baltic Sea area I introduce a less researched region to the study of religious devotion.[2]

In past decades the various organizations and corporations of northern cities have received wide attention from scholars. Research themes have been the formation of crafts and guilds,[3] the relationship

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1 C. Wehrmann, *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, Lübeck 1872; A. Margus, *Katalog des Stadtarchivs Tallinn IV, Archiv der St Kanutigilde*, Tallinna 1938; W. Stieda – C. Mettig, *Schragen der Gilden und Ämter der Stadt Riga bis 1621*, Riga 1896; G. E. Klemming, *Småstycken på fornsvenska*, Stockholm 1868-1881; G. E. Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, Stockholm 1856. The majority of Tallinn's craft ordinances can be found in the Tallinn City Archive/ Tallinn Linnaarhiiv (TLA). Edited Tallinn craft ordinances can be found in *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands* (Estländische Literärische Gesellschaft), Bd. 2, Reval 1874 and Bd. 7, Reval 1912 and in *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* (*LECUB*), Bunge *et al*. (eds), Reval 1853-1910.

2 The previous research tradition concerning the medieval Livonian area is summarized in A. Mänd, 'Saints' Cults in Medieval Livonia', in A. V. Murray (ed.), *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, Farnham 2009. On religious rituals of crafts in the Low Countries, see A. Thijs, 'Religion and Social Structure: Religious Rituals in Pre-industrial Trade Associations in the Low Countries', in M. Prak – C. Lis – J. Lucassen – H. Soly (eds), *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Aldershot 2006, 157-73. For collective remembrance and religious participation in guilds and crafts in German speaking areas see, for example, O. G. Oexle, 'Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters', in J. Heinzle (ed.), *Modernes Mittelalter*, Frankfurt am Main 1994, 297-323; O. G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur*, Göttingen 1995; For England see C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*, London 1999 [1997]. On medieval religious practices in general and interaction with saints see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of Altars*, *Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven 2005 [1992].

3 Christoph Anz compares the guilds in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, his main focus being the formation of guilds, and the structure and membership of the organizations. In addition, he surveys the religious function of the guilds and their relationship to

between crafts, civic authorities and the church,[4] and festive culture in cities.[5] Nevertheless, the majority of craft, guild and confraternity research has concentrated on western and central Europe and focused on political or economic themes.[6] With few exceptions the craft ordinances have not yet been analyzed in the study of religious practices and saints' cults.[7] Thus, religious practices of craftsfolk provide a new viewpoint to the field of guild and craft studies.

The article is structured as follows: after short review of sources the urban organizations are categorized into three groups in order to distinguish the various actors. Then the focus is on practises, on altar foundations and cooperation with parish churches and veneration of patron saints. Finally, I discuss the role of the three organizations in religious participation and the forum they offered for religious performances.

Craft Ordinances as Sources

Craft ordinances emerged when it became necessary to record the oral tradition in writing, for example, when disputes about trade arose, when professions diverged, when the craft felt its privileges were threatened or when the city council wanted to tighten its control over corporations.[8] The majority of the articles in craft ordinances regulated the training and work of the craftsfolk. Thus the main purposes of a craft ordinance were to control the craft trade and the quality of products, and to guarantee certain privileges to craft members. However, the ordinances also consisted of articles that were not directly work-related, but that ordered the free time, religious participation and social life of the members. The ordinances also aimed to strengthen the unity between members. Here I focus primarily on the various aspects of the patron saint cult. However, the ordinances also included other types of religious articles, such as articles related to common religious festivities like Corpus Christi processions, and articles dealing with funerals.[9]

Prior to the Reformation, from 1350 to 1520, the following numbers of craft ordinances are preserved: 56 from Lübeck, 16 from Riga, 26 from Tallinn and 9 from Stockholm. In addition to craft ordinances, guild

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the clergy. Anz concentrates on confraternities at the expense of craft organizations. C. Anz, *Gilden in mittelalterlichen Scandinavia*, Göttingen 1998.

4 Dag Lindström concentrates on the relationships between the crafts, civic authorities and state. Main emphasis is on the control of production. D. Lindström, *Skrå, stadt och stat. Stockholm, Malmö och Bergen ca. 1350-1622* (Studia Historica Upsaliensia 163), Uppsala 1991; For relationships between crafts, guilds, confraternities and the church see L. Bisgaard – L. Søndergaard (eds), *Gilder, lav og broderskaper i middelaldernes Danmark*, Odense 2002.

5 A. Mänd, *Urban Carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550*, Turnhout 2005. The main focus is on merchants' organizations. On the individual life cycles of craftsmen see T. Kala – J. Krem – A. Mänd (eds), *Kümme keskaegest tallinlast*, Tallinn 2006. A fundamental study of medieval Tallinn is P. Johansen – H. v. zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch in mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval*, Köln 1973.

6 For example K. Schulz, *Handwerk, Zünfte und Gewerbe*, Mittelalter und Renaissance, Darmstadt 2010; S. Epstein, *An Economical and Social History of Later Medieval Europe*, Cambridge 2009, 100-29; R. Wissel, *Des alten Handwerks Recht und Gewohnheit I-III*, 2nd edition ed. E. Schraepeler (Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Komission zu Berlin, Band 7), Berlin 1971-1981. The relationship between the crafts, guilds, city council and state see for example: K. H. Kaufhold – W. Reininghaus (eds), *Stadt und Handwerk in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Köln 2000; B. McRee, 'Religious Gilds and Civic Order: The Case of Norwich in the Late Middle Ages', *Speculum* 67:1 (1992), 69-97; A. Black, *Guild – State: European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present*, New Brunswick 2003.

7 L. Bisgaard, *De glemte altre*, *Gildernes religiøse rolle I senmiddelalderens Danmark*, Odense 2001. For altar foundations, patron saints' cults and the cooperation with parish churches of the Tallinn Merchants' Guild, The Black Heads and St Canute's artisan Guild, see A. Mänd *Kirikute hõbevara, altaririistad kekaegesel liivimaal* (Eesti kirikute sisustus I), Tallinn 2008, and A. Mänd, 'The patron Saint of Medieval Tallinn', in H-M. Pellinen (ed.), *Earth, Stone and Spirit*. *Markus Hiekkanen Festschrift*, Turku 2009, 360-6.

8 Lindström, *cit* n. 4, 78-80, 90-4; Schulz, *cit* n. 6, 49-50.

9 Articles related to Corpus Christi festivals were mentioned only in a few craft ordinances. Funeral articles form a substantial corpus and therefore cannot be discussed within the frameworks of this article.

and confraternity statutes, protocol books, notebooks and official letters are discussed to illustrate religious practises. Craft ordinances are normative sources and in a sense they reflect only the ideal situation. However, even if the ordinances do not reveal what really happened, they still reflect contemporary mentalities. In research terms this can be regarded as things that existed in the subconscious of contemporaries. Furthermore, each craft included in the ordinances articles that they themselves considered important, the city council regarded as necessary, and were common custom. In this way they reveal what practices were considered important. Additionally, many articles in the ordinances refer to 'old tradition'. Some procedures were allowed because they followed it. This implies that older customs were cherished and that members acted according to them. Almost every article in the ordinances included a penalty in the form of a fine. Judicial evidence suggests that improper actions were tried in the (city) court. This implies that the craft rules were taken seriously and the penalties were indeed enforced. Since these penalties also constituted an income source for the crafts, the ordinances also had an important economic function.[10] Furthermore, when craft members appealed to the city council they referred to their ordinances. The ordinances were not, therefore, empty letters concerned only with arcane rules and rituals. Hence they can be used as sources when examining the everyday life and religious practices of the craftsfolk.

Social and professional organizations in cities

In late medieval towns the inhabitants organized themselves in various associations. Besides the household, it was important to belong to a group which united people of the same social status and/or profession. Roughly categorized, three types of lay associations existed in the cities around the Baltic Sea: crafts, guilds and confraternities. Each of these organizations usually had their own rules, called statutes or ordinances (ger. *Schragen*, swe. *skrå*). In research literature usage of the terms guild, craft and confraternity is ambiguous and all three can even be used as synonyms.[11] In the original sources the following Middle Low German (MLG) and Old Swedish (OS) terms are used: *ampt* (MLG), *embete* (OS), which generally refers to a craft, *broderschop*, *gilde* (MLG) and *gille, sällskap* (OS), which referred to confraternities, and *gilde*, *gille* or *cumpanye* (MLG), *kompani* (OS), artisans' or merchants' guilds. However, the usage of various terms is complex, even in the source material, and the same association can define itself as *ampt*, *gilde* and *cumpanie*.[12]

The various organizations must be distinguished, as it is only in this way that we can get a clearer picture of the religious participation of the craftsfolk. In research literature the organizations have often remained undefined or have been handled as one organization type, but with different names.[13] This has led to misleading interpretations, for example, to an overemphasis on the religious function of the crafts, or the exclusion of women from membership.[14] Once the organizations have been distinguished they can be com-

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10 Often the fines were either beer (for craft's festivities) or wax for candles. Wissel, *cit*. n. 6, II, 216.

11 In German research tradition the term *Zunft* generally refers to craftsfolk's organization in comparison to *Gild*, which refers primarily to merchant's association. See *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV, München 1989, 1452; E. Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter 1250-1500*, Stuttgart 1988, 304. In Anglo-Saxon tradition the term *guild* often refers to craftsfolks' organization as well. For the terms used in the Baltic Sea region see Wehrmann, *cit.* n. 1, 23-7; A. Margus, *cit.* n. 1, XIX; Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, 85; Anz, *cit*. n. 3, chapter III; Lindström, *cit*. n. 4, 66-7. The theme is broadly discussed in B. Schwieneköper (ed.), *Gilden und Zünfte, Kaufmännische und gewerbliche genossenschaften im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 29), Sigmaringen 1985.

12 For example TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555 (*Smede* – smiths, from the year 1415).

13 Cf. Anz, *cit*. n. 3.

14 Anz highlights the religious functions of guilds, but concentrates mainly on devotional confraternities, the main purpose of which was religious participation. In my forthcoming dissertation, preliminary titled as *Protection, Continuity and Gender: Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region (14th-16th Centuries)*, I argue that women's full membership depended on the organization type.

pared. Thereafter we can examine what kind of forum for religious performances each of these organizations provided. The categorization is done for research purposes, but it does clearly reflect contemporary differences in the statutes and membership of the three organizations. Traditionally different guild-like organizations have been distinguished either by their functions (i. e. statutes) or by the social composition of their membership.[15] However, it is insufficient to use one or other method – instead both can and should be used when distinguishing various organizations in medieval cities. For this reason, in this article I define urban organizations as three categories, crafts, guilds and confraternities.

Guild statutes mainly consisted of rules regulating guild festivities. In Lübeck, Riga and Tallinn the merchants' guilds were the most powerful ones, dominating the political and economic life of the cities. In all four cities craftsfolk's organizations, shortened as crafts, united persons with the same artisan profession. In craft ordinances the main emphasis was put on work practicalities. In Riga and Tallinn various crafts combined as artisan guilds to gain more political influence in the city. In Tallinn two artisan guilds existed, St Canute's Guild and St Olaf's Guild, but in Riga there was only one, the Small Guild.[16] Confraternities, such as the Stockholm *Jungfru Mariae Gille,* were above all charitable and devotional organisations. The commemoration of deceased members and patron saints was the principal concern in their statutes. People of different social status, profession and sex could become members of confraternities.[17] In the following table I have listed the similarities and differences between guilds, crafts and confraternities, according to their ordinances and membership.

Table 1. Parallels and differences of the urban organizations

	Guild	Craft	Confraternity
Women as full members in statutes			X
Various estates as members			X
Festivities mentioned in statutes	X	X	X
Collective remembrance	X	X	X
Patron saint cult mentioned	(X)	(X)	X
Articles related to work and trade		X	
Subordination to city council		X	

Sources: TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2 (craft ordinances 1350-1520); Wehrmann, *cit.* n. 1, passim; Stieda – Mettig, *cit*. n. 1, passim; Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1868-1881), passim and (1856), passim; Margus, cit. n. 1, LXX-LXXXIV.

Articles about festivities and articles related to the memory of the deceased members can be found in the ordinances in all three categories. Only the confraternities accepted people of various social classes as members, and only in their statutes was women's full membership mentioned. Crafts differ from the other two organization types on their professional emphasis on the rules, and in a way they were subject to the city council.

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15 McRee, *cit* n. 6, 70.

16 Mänd, *cit.* n. 5, 38.

17 Klemming, *cit* n. 1 (1868-1881), 143; Anz, *cit.* n. 3, 132-3; B. McRee, 'Charity and Guild Solidarity in Late medieval England', *The Journal of British Studies* 32:3 (1993), 195-225, here 196. For example Stockholm's Corpus Christi Guild was originally only for clerics, but was opened to laymen around 1405. This guild was exceptional because many mayors from various cities, tradesmen, craftsfolk, unmarried women and King Christoph III were all members. Anz, *cit.* n. 3, 150-3.

Mutual benefits – craft altars in parish churches

The study of the founding and maintaining of altars is one way to examine the religious practises of the craftsfolk. An official altar foundation letter illustrates the beneficial cooperation between crafts and parish churches. According to the letter, in 1485 the Stockholm goldsmiths' craft founded an altar in St Blaise's choir in the city's Great Church. This letter reveals that the craft also donated some decoration to the altar and a golden ornament for mass vestments. The goldsmiths and succeeding generations could 'freely enjoy and use their altar', but they were to take care of it. According to the letter, the goldsmiths also agreed to finance half of the possible construction work on the St Blaise's choir.[18] Even though it is not mentioned in the letter, the altar was probably devoted to St Loy (*St Eligius*), who is mentioned, and very likely pictured, at the beginning of the craft ordinance.[19] The altar served as a place for individual and collective devotion by craft members. Altar decorations and the golden ornament were donations to obtain mercy, but also demonstrated the wealth of the craft to other social groups in the city and foreigners who visited the Great Church. The altar served as a place of veneration for the craft's patron saint and for the deceased members of the goldsmiths' craft. The agreement with goldsmiths was also very profitable from the perspective of the Stockholm parish church, as it received financial support for choir renovations and decoration for mass vestments.[20]

An example from Tallinn reveals how cooperation with churches was sometimes regulated in the craft ordinances. In 1464 the shoemakers made an agreement with the vicar (*kerkherren*) of St Nicholas' Church that vespers, early mass, main mass, vigil, and requiem would be celebrated in the church to honour St Crispin and Crispian, the patron saints of the shoemakers. For these services the vicar would receive two Rigan marks. Every brother and alderman was also to give one Rigan mark [to the collective fund]. About ten years later the craft agreed to pay twelve shillings to the priest's assistant (*koster*)[21] in St Nicholas' Church for his services, and instead of beer, twelve shillings [to buy beer]. The alderman of the craft also promised to give six shillings annually to buy wax for the church lights.[22] In this case the craft paid the church and in exchange received certain services.

These examples show that crafts were a profitable source of income for local churches. However, the benefits of this cooperation were not simply one-sided and not always measurable economically. Since founding an altar required financial input, it is clear that the craft wanted something in return. In the shoemakers' case the craft paid for the religious services the church supplied. In the case of the Stockholm goldsmiths the benefits for the craft are more abstract. Precious offerings ensured good luck in business and hopefully secured a place in heaven. Because the goldsmiths committed themselves to take care of the altar, there was a strong bound between the craft and the ultimate authority the church represented, God Himself.

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18 Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1856), 163-4. The original document is preserved in Kungliga Bibliothek Stockholm, Handskriftensamling B 599: 2.

19 Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1856), 144: '*JN nomine domini Amen Gudi till loff ok ära Iomfrw Maria Allom helganom ok Sancto Loyo till loff heder ok äro.*'

20 Tiina Kala explains how the religious habits of the citizens contributed to the prosperity of the clergy. T. Kala, 'The Church Calendar and Yearly Cycle in the Life of Medieval Reval', in J. Kivimäe – J. Kreem (eds), *Quotidianum Estonicum, Aspects of Daily Life in Medieval Estonia* (Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband V), Krems 1996, 103-10, here 108.

21 I thank Anu Mänd for correcting the English translations.

22 TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no 24, 10^{r}, 11^{r} (*Schuster* – shoemakers, from year 1481).

Piety, prestige and collective identity – various purposes of altar foundations

The essential purpose of an altar foundation was to provide an unceasing supply of masses and prayers for the founders and thus to ease their time in purgatory.[23] Guilds, crafts and confraternities founded altars in order to serve and to thank God, and to grace the house of God.[24] The religious purpose of the altar donations is clearly expressed in one of the additions made to the Tallinn butchers' ordinance. According to this addition of 1491, Hans Sluter, with his friends, donated one chalice, two silver ampullas, one *Agnus Dei* and one silver flagon (for unconsecrated wine) to the altar of St Michael in the St Nicholas' church for the beatitude of his soul.[25] In this case the main concern is the salvation of the soul of the donor, but the other members of the craft are not forgotten either. Here two kinds of remembrance were bound together. On the one hand the memorial is always bound to the individual, in this case to Hans, but on the other hand the role of the social group was equally important.[26]

Altar foundations also had other functions. They signified the wealth and power of the founding organization and reinforced collective identity. In the Netherlands crafts participated wholeheartedly in supporting religious institutions when they understood that voluntary constructed altar reflected the organization's vitality and maturity.[27] In Tallinn the goldsmiths had three altars in three different churches during the late Middle Ages.[28] The altar objects were inventoried in the craft's protocol book and in the personal notebook (*Denkelbuch*) of the craft's alderman Hans Ryssenberg (1518-1522). Often the contributors were named as well. The inventories reveal that the altars were richly ornamented with precious liturgical artefacts.[29] These comprised several chalices, candelabrae, silver ampullae, silver altar crucifixes, antependia and various liturgical clothes with golden ornaments. In late medieval Tallinn the goldsmiths were the most prosperous craft and at least ten of the St Canute's Artisan Guild's aldermen were elected from among their masters.[30] The craft also made efforts to be accepted in the merchants' Great Guild, without success.[31] Clearly, by founding altars, the goldsmiths' craft wanted to gain respect, as well as salvation for the souls of its members.

Besides the goldsmiths, other Tallinn crafts had altars in the parish churches. The shoemakers, smiths[32], furriers and butchers had their own altars in St Nicholas' church and the tailors in St Olaf's church.[33] Often

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23 Daniell, *cit*. n. 2, 15; N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages, History and Representation*, New York 2009, 122.

24 Mänd, *cit.* 7 (2008), 51.

25 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 121, 15^{r} (*Fleischer* – butchers, from year 1509). Edition in G. F. von Bunge, *cit*. n. 1., Abt. 2, band 3 1967 [1853], n. 502, 360: *'[…] so hebbe ick Hans Sluter myt mynen vrunden gegeven to der vicarie sunte Michaelis altare in der nyen capellen to sunte Nicolaus bynnen Reval 1 kelk, 2 sulveren appollen, eyn agnus Dei unde eynen suluveren beecker, darmen dat vol de spoelinge ut gyfft, […] umme salicheit miner selen unde der gennen de rick gnaten hebbe'*.

26 Oexle, *cit.* n. 2 (1994), 297-320, 323. According to Anu Mänd the 'friends' could also mean Hans' family. Mänd, *cit.* n. 7 (2008), 50.

27 Thijs, *cit.* n. 2, 158, 173.

28 Mänd, *cit.* n. 7 (2008), 50.

29 The altar foundation in St Catharine's Church in the Tallinn goldsmiths' Protocol book TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 76, 52-3, inventory of the same altar 53-4; Inventory of the altar artefacts of the St John's altar in the St Olaf's church in Denkelbuch TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 82, 8^{v}., for donations see also 2^{v}; Inventory of the artefacts in St John's Almshouse church in Denkelbuch TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no 82, 9^{r}. Transcriptions can be found in Mänd, *cit.* n. 7 (2008), 208-9.

30 A. Friendenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, Lübeck 1931, 28; A. Mänd, 'Tallinna Knuti gild ja selle oldermannid keskajal' with English summary, *Vana Tallinn* XVI (XX), 2005, 129-57, esp. 151.

31 Friendenthal, *cit.* n. 30, 15-7.

32 The term 'smiths' must be understood as a general term for various smiths, such as blacksmiths, coppersmiths and *kleinsmede* etc.

33 Mänd, *cit.* n. 7 (2008), 50.

the St Canute's Guild aldermen were elected among the prosperous crafts. The list of 43 aldermen of St Canute's composite Guild shows two coppersmiths, two crossbow-smiths, three shoemakers, and one broad cloth cutter/tailor.[34] Thus these aldermen were members of such crafts which had their own altars. Both facts, having an own altar and a crafts' master as St Canute's Guild alderman, indicate that these crafts were indeed prosperous organizations. Consequently it demonstrates that altar foundations were a means of displaying the wealth and status of the craft, a representation of its prestige.

In many craft ordinances late members were memorialized. Craft members were expected to fund a requiem for the deceased members.[35] An altar where candles could be lit for past generations was one way of honouring their legacy and memory.[36] The craft members together made a commitment to maintain the altar and its lights, actions which also fortified their collective identity.[37] The Livonian cities in particular were multiethnic communities, although a majority of the craftsfolk were of German origin. In this context the altar foundations can be seen as a way for the wealthier crafts to distinguish themselves from the lower status crafts, which had Estonians as members.

Consequently crafts founded altars for religious purposes, for salvation and for collective remembrance, but the altars also represented the crafts' prosperity and consolidated group identity. Altar foundations provide an image of vigorous religious participation within craft organizations. However, in the actual craft ordinances few articles about altar foundations can be found. It seems that this kind of religious participation was not commonly regulated in the craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region. In the next section I discuss how the patron saint cult was regulated in the ordinances and what actions were mentioned.

Masses, donations and feasts – the patron saints' cult in craft ordinances

References to patron saints varied according to the ordinances. Those performances related to patron saint cults that were mentioned in the craft ordinances can be roughly divided into three categories: attending masses, making donations to a common (altar) fund devoted to the patron saint and enjoying a common feast.

The Tallinn shoemakers' craft ordinance serves as an illustrative example of the first category, attending masses on the patron saint's day. According to the ordinance, the brother saints Crispin and Crispian were chosen as the craft's patron saints. We already know about the arrangements made between shoemakers and the St Nicholas' church vicar. In addition to the payments to the St Nicholas' church, the craft ordinance obligated the craft members to attend vespers, vigil, requiem and mass on the day of St Crispin and Crispian, otherwise they were to pay one mark pound[38] wax penalty. The members were to wear their best clothing and make a small offering in these celebrations or again pay the penalty of a fine. Additionally, the shoemakers' workshops were to be closed on this day and the workers, journey-

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34 Mänd, *cit*. n. 30, 151; A. Mänd, 'Geselligkeit und soziale Karriere in der Revaler Gilden und der Schwartzenhäupter', in J. Hackmann (ed.), *Vereinskultur und Zivilgesellschaft in Nordosteuropa*, Köln 2012, 39-76, esp. 68-9, 74.

35 In Tallinn the ordinance of hemp weavers and joiners obligated their members to donate a requiem, TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no. 642, 5^{r} (*Hanfspinner* – hemp weavers, from year 1462); no. 668, 3^{v}. (*Puusepäd* – joiners, from year 1508). In Riga the obligation was for barbers, girdlers and shoemakers: in Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, no. 11, 249 (*Barbiere* – barbers, from year 1494), no. 39, 324 (*Gürtler* – girdler, from year 1512), no. 103, 529 (*Schuhmacher* – Shoemaker). In Lübeck the same applied, at least to small shopkeepers and carpenters: in Wehrmann, *cit.* n. 1, no. 28, 284 (*Krämer* – small shopkeepers, from year 1504), no. 60, 459 (*Tymmerlude* – carpenters, from year 1428).

36 Anz argues that the safeguarding of the spiritual side of life was crucial in the confraternities. Anz, *cit.* 3, 151, 167.

37 Cf. English examples in Duffy, *cit*. n. 2, 151.

38 One mark pound equals 416 gramms. See Mänd, *cit*. n. 5, Appendix 6.

men, apprentices and maids were to have a free day, by penalty of one mark.[39] It is clear that the Tallinn shoemakers considered the commemoration of their patron saint important, not least because this article was written down in the ordinance. Furthermore, various arrangements were made for the celebrations, there was a penalty for not participating, everyone was supposed to dress up when attending masses, and finally, the saints' day was a rest day.

Examples from the second category, making donations to a common (altar) fund, can be found from various Riga crafts. The blacksmiths of the city used a part of their fines for the candles on the altar of St Loy.[40] It seems that they had an altar with an altar fund devoted to their patron saint. The ordinance of Riga barbers regulated that every craft member should pay one tenth of his or her income to the common fund of their patron saints Cosmas and Damian. In addition, masters should pay one shilling and journeymen (*knehct*s) one penny into the fund every holy Sunday in honour of God.[41] Unfortunately the ordinance does not mention any practical purpose of this fund.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Riga linen weavers' ordinance stated that masters, journeymen, apprentices, helpers in the workshop and independently working women should pay a certain amount of wax and money to the common fund every Monday after Corpus Christi holy day. An addition to the end of the same ordinance, made in 1458, lists contributions made by craft members in honour of Corpus Christi: Thomas Sten and Hille each gave a tablecloth (*taflaken*), Anna Blumkenblawsche and Ilse Salsche each donated small shrine cloths (*dvele*), Hans Pebalghe gave a flagon (*Kanne*) and Bertel Kilian gave one glass, to name but a few.[42] Probably these donations were directed to the altar of Corpus Christi, although the altar is not explicitly mentioned in the ordinance. It is possible that the contributions were fines for breaking some craft rules.[43] Then again, they may simply have been gifts to honour the saint, receive blessing for the craft members and secure perpetual memory within the community.[44] The purpose of these objects for contemporaries may have been to pay the fines and express piety alike.

The altar donations expressed piety, prestige and a wish for remembrance. To participate to the maintenance of the parish church and to sponsor artefacts and ornaments were expressions of mortuary piety. Lay folk made donations in order to fulfil their penitential duties, to contribute to the prosperity of their craft or parish, and to be remembered before and after their death. They wanted their names to be listed on parish bede-rolls, so their memory would be preserved among the parishioners.[45] Likewise, donation of an artefact to the craft's altar demonstrates the donor's wish to be remembered.

In Lübeck sources mention the common feasts, which form the third category of actions. The Lübeck barbers used to have a feast on the day of Saints Cosmas and Damian. If a member was unable to attend he or she

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39 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 24, 10^{r}-10^{v} (*Schuster* – Shoemakers, from year 1481). Tiina Kala argues that the shoemakers had an altar devoted to their patron saints in the St Nicholas' church; see Kala, *cit.* 20, 108.

40 Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, no. 90, 463 (*Schmide* – Smiths, from years 1426-1530).

41 Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, no 11, 248-9 (*Barbiere* – Barbers, from year 1494): '*Tho dem ersten Gade tho lave unnd ene sonderlige ehre eren hilligen patronen Cosmo unnd Domiano, […] den se uth ereme fryen willen van all deme gelde, dat sie mit arstedie verdenen, den teinden penningk vorwilkoret hebben tho gevende […].*'

42 Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, no. 69, 395-6, list 399 (*Leineweber* – linen weavers, from year 1458).

43 Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, no. 69, 399 (*Leineweber* – linen weavers, from year 1458): *'Item so hebben disse guden luden gegeven in unse ampt to vorbeteringe unses amtes in der ere des hilge lichnam.'* The word *vorbeteringe* is in modern German Verbesserung, Ersatz, and the verb *vorbeteren* (ausbessern, Schadenersatz leisten) is frequently used in the ordinances when referring to the penalty of fines.

44 Duffy, *cit* n. 2, 133-4.

45 Duffy, *cit* n. 2, 133, 153-4; C. Burgess, '"Longing to Be Prayed for": Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages', in B. Cordon – P. Marshall (eds), *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2000, 44-65, esp. 53.

was to pay half of the participation fee, unless it was 'a case of an emergency'.[46] The Lübeck small shopkeepers' (*kremer*) craft ordinance stated that every brother and sister was to come to the *cumpanie* on St Anna's day and eat and drink their money's worth or otherwise pay one pound of wax as penalty.[47] Whether the last two examples from Lübeck represent religious practises is, of course, a matter for debate. The ordinances do not provide any particular information on what happened during the feast dinners, except that eating and drinking was included.

Common opinion is that shared dinners were typical activities within medieval crafts. The collective feast, collective veneration of the patron saint/s and commemorating past members (*Totenmemoria*) can be seen as the main elements in creating and strengthening collective identity.[48] Based on the craft ordinances from the Baltic area it seems that in the articles related to feast dinners the social side of craft life was emphasized. In articles where feast dinners on patron saints' days are mentioned there are no references to any donations, or to wax, artefacts or masses, nor is the altar mentioned. On the other hand a shared feast dinner can be regarded as one form of memorial action, which has long traditions in Christendom.[49] It is also possible that the nature of the feast had changed with time and the commemoration of saints was more prevalent in the early phases of the development of the craft system.[50]

Some craft ordinances mention common dinners (or feasts, usually called *drunke*) in connection with administrative affairs.[51] The Riga furriers' ordinance illustrates how social and administrative matters go hand in hand with commemoration of past members and religious practices. In the evening, after the feast and craft assembly, members were to participate in the vigil and on the next day remember the living and deceased members of the craft by donating a requiem.[52] This suggests that late medieval crafts emphasized the social significance of the feast dinner and the continuity of rituals. It is clear that the present day division between the religious and the secular did not apply to late medieval society, as Tiina Kala has remarked.[53]

As these examples illustrate, some craft ordinances contained detailed descriptions of patron saint veneration. When using quantitative methods on source material, however, this picture becomes more perplexing. Altogether 107 pre-Reformation craft ordinances are preserved from Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga and Lübeck, but only eleven of these ordinances had an article related to craft patron saint cults. Given this paradoxical situation, what can be said about the commemoration of patron saints? On the one hand there exist detailed descriptions of veneration of patron saints, but on the other they appear in a very small proportion of the preserved medieval craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea area. The solution is to compare the various organizations and examine what kind of forum they gave for religious performances and participation.

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46 '*Ane id en beneme eyne bewislike notsake*'. Wehrmann, *cit*. n. 1, no. 4, 165 (*Barberer* – barbers, from year 1480). The barbers' crafts in Riga and Lübeck had the same patron saints.

47 Wehrmann, *cit*. n. 1, no. 28, 283 (*Kremer* – small shopkeepers, from year 1501): '*Item mer up desuluen tijd is belevet vnde bewijllet, so dicke vnde vaken alse sunte Annen koste synt, so schal eijn ijwelk broder vnde suster kamen in de kumppenije, ethen vnde drinken vmme ere gelt, bi broke I punt wasses.*'

48 Isenmann, *cit.* n. 11, 300; Thijs, *cit*, n. 2 162-3; Lindström, *cit*. n. 4, 81.

49 Oexle, *cit.* n. 2 (1994), 302-3, 315.

50 Religious participation was strong in the early phase of guild development, and some of them were more or less ecclesiastical organizations. See Margus, *cit.* n. 1, XI; Johanssen – v. z. Mühlen, *cit.* n. 5, 65, 75-8; Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, 91-2; H. v. z. Mühlen, 'Zur frühgeschicte der Revaler Gilden', in Nagermann – Lenz (eds), *Reval handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20 Jahrhundert*, Lüneburg 1997, 16-42, esp. 34; Schulz, *cit.* n. 6, 44.

51 For example Stockholm's tailors were to have their craft assembly (*steven*) on Michaelmas and on 1st of May after the feast dinner: Klemming, *cit*. n. 1 (1856), 107 (*Skräddare* – tailors, from year 1501). See also Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1856), 47-8 (*Köttmånglarne* – butchers). The tailors in Riga chose the persons in charge in communal drinking: Stieda – Mettig, *cit*. n. 1, no. 93, 484 (*Schneider* – tailors, from year 1492). The Tallinn goldsmiths' alderman Hans Ryssenberg wrote on various administrative and financial matters when the craft was together in his notebook TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 82.

52 Stieda – Mettig, *cit*. n. 1, no. 56, 380 (*Kürschner* – furriers, from year 1397).

53 Kala, *cit.* n. 20, 104.

Guilds and confraternities – worthier forums for religious participation?

Tallinn offers a way to compare various organizations as forums for religious participation, because there the crafts were united in two artisan guilds and at least six confraternities were active in the city.[54] The St Canute's Artisan Guild had an altar in both parish churches of the city. The altar in St Olaf's Church is first mentioned in 1449 and it was consecrated to St Canute. The Guild's second altar, in St Nicholas' church, is sometimes referred as St Canute's altar and sometimes as the altar of the Virgin Mary.[55] Having altars in two churches indicates that the Guild wanted to provide for all its members, whichever parish they lived in, besides expressing its wealth. Since most of the crafts in Tallinn could not have afford to establish and maintain their own altars they had to settle for the guilds' altars.[56] The possession of two church altars strengthened the position of St Canute's Guild as a unifying organisation for all the craftsfolk in the city, and no doubt as the more prestigious of the two artisan guilds.

The Tallinn artisan guilds, especially St Canute's guild, had a leading role among the craftsfolk in organizing annual feasts, which were of great importance in the Baltic Sea area.[57] Christmas and Carnival were the main feasts, which involved the holding of masses, administrative assemblies, processions, communal dinners and ball dances.[58] In the statutes of the St Canute's Guild the main emphasis was placed on regulation of festivities. This underlines its role in the urban community. Another significant feast was the Corpus Christi, which consisted of a solemn procession through the city, which 'was followed by more secular celebrations in the halls of guilds and confraternities'. The marching order in this religious procession manifested the social hierarchy.[59] Specifically, the procession was a suitable way to express group identity. The Tallinn shoemakers' ordinance regulated that the shoemakers or the smiths were to walk ahead of the other in alternate years. After them came the bakers, then the tailors, followed by the journeymen.[60] Unfortunately other crafts were not mentioned.

It can be concluded that artisan guilds offered a forum for religious participation in two ways. Firstly, by maintaining altars in parish churches they provided a place to express (personal) devotion and piety, especially for those craft members whose own craft did not possess an altar in a parish church. Secondly, by organizing annual feasts and processions they provided a forum for collective religious and social participation.

In addition to the artisans' guilds and crafts, there were a vast number of religious confraternities in the late medieval cities of the northern Baltic. In Tallinn there were at least six confraternities prior to the Reformation.[61] The terminology can be confusing and make categorizing difficult.[62] The term *confraternity* has connotations of a religious order, but here the term refers to lay organizations and to 'mixed organizations', which had both laymen and clergy as members. Despite the ambiguity of terms in research literature,

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54 Here I focus on St Canute's guild because quite little is known of St Olaf's guild, which was eventually absorbed into the St Canute's guild.

55 A. Mänd, 'St Canute's Guild and its Aldermen in Medieval Reval (Tallinn)', in R. Pullat *et al.* (eds), *Vana Tallinn XVI (XX), Modus vivendi II*, Tallinn 2005, 149; Johanssen – v. zur Mühlen, *cit.* n. 5, 66.

56 Mänd, *cit.* n. 7 (2008), 50.

57 Mänd, *cit*. n. 5, 51-3. The artisan guilds were upstaged by the merchants' guilds in festivities.

58 Mänd, *cit*. n. 5, Chapter 3.

59 Mänd, *cit*. n. 5, 163-9, quotation 168.

60 TLA, coll 190, inv 2, no. 24, 5r. (*Schuster* – Shoemakers, from year 1481).

61 Mänd, *cit.* n. 5, 40; Johanssen – v. z. Mühlen, *cit.* n. 5, 67; Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, 87-8; Anz, *cit.* n. 3, chapter 2; Margus, *cit.* n. 1, XIV, XXI.

62 McRee speaks of religious guilds, whereas Christoph Anz does not make any distinction, but writes about guilds. Then again, according to Steven Epstein, a guild was also a confraternity. McRee, *cit.* n. 6, passim; Anz, *cit.* n. 3, passim; Epstein, *cit.* n. 6, 111

the commemoration of patron saints was more apparent in the rules and practises of these confraternities than in the craft organizations.[63] In annual gatherings the members commemorated the deceased members by having a common meal. They took part in charity work and received their reward in collective remembrance after their deaths.[64]

The following examples illustrate the functions of confraternities according to their statutes. The statute of the Tallinn Corpus Christi guild begins with the statement that the guild was established for the consolation and salvation of body and soul of the members.[65] The statute is badly damaged, but it concentrates on common feasts, mentioning memorial tankards as well as the attending of mass together after the common meal. In Riga the brothers and sisters of the Holy Cross and Trinity guild committed themselves to keep a light burning in front of the Corpus Christi (altar) in St Jacob's church for the salvation of the souls of both dead and living members. Otherwise the ordinance concentrated on regulating the common feasts.[66] The statute of the Virgin Mary Guild in Sweden also does this: for instance, if someone raises a commemorative tankard without the permission of the aldermen, or if someone's children make a mess in the guildhall, there is a penalty. In addition, the guild was the keeper of the lights in the Virgin Mary Day masses.[67] However, the statutes often lack information about the course of events at the feasts of confraternities.[68]

Accordingly, the confraternities offered a forum for collective veneration of saints and collective remembrance. Confraternities offered common dinners, which brought together people of different professions and trades, social status and sex. How devout the feasts were is hard to estimate, but the confraternities nevertheless proffered yet another forum for religious participation, which varied from that offered by the guilds and crafts.

It is clear that devotional confraternities differed from crafts as regards membership and statutes. However, a sharp distinction between devotional confraternity and professional craft can be problematic, since in some cases these two types were integrated.[69] For example, the Riga fishermen funded a laudable confraternity and guild (*een löffliche broderschop und ene gilde*) in the honour of the Holy Cross.[70] Their ordinance has features of both craft and devotional confraternity. It can be debated whether the fishers founded both a religious confraternity and a professional craft or the terms *broderschop* and *gilde* were used as synonyms. It is also possible that the inner structure of the craft was divided in two, the guild side concentrating on professional matters while the confraternity side handled religious matters.[71]

Evidence from Stockholm reveals close cooperation between the goldsmiths' craft and the confraternity of St Loy: the goldsmiths' aldermen were to lead the *sancte loy Companij,* and the craft ordinance from

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63 Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, 91-2; Margus, *cit.* n. 1, XV–XVI. Statutes of confraternities can be found, for example in Stieda – Mettig, *cit*. n. 1, 374-8. Die Gilde des Heiligen Kreuzes in Riga); Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1868-1881), 127-35 (St Görans Gille), 143-9 (Jungfru Mariae Gille), 152-61 (Helga Lekama-gillet); Kala, *cit*. n. 20, 106-8. Confraternities of Corpus Christi were quite common in the Baltic region. On the Corpus Christi guild in Sweden see Anz, *cit*. n. 3, chapter 2. The statutes of Tallinn's Corpus Christi Guild are edited in *LECUB*, Abt. 1 Bd. 1, DXCII, 762-9.

64 H. Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften der "Oberschicht" in Lübeck im 15./16. Jahrhundert: Frömmigkeitsformen, soziale Beziehungen und wirtschaftliche Interessen', in A. Grassmann (ed.), *Der Kaufmann und der liebe Gott. Zu Kommerz und Kirche in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Hansische Studien XVIII), Trier 2009, 21-44, esp. 21-2.

65 *LECUB*, Abt. 1 Bd. 1, DXCII, 762 (Reval Heilige Leichnams-Gilde, end of the thirteenth century).

66 Stieda – Mettig, *cit*. n. 1, 378 (Gilde des heiligen Kreuzes und der Dreifaltigkeit 1252).

67 Klemming, *cit*. n. 1 (1868-1881), 143-8. The statute is undated.

68 Mänd, *cit*. n. 5, 40.

69 In the Netherlands religious craft confraternities and craft guilds were sometimes affiliated. Thijs, *cit.* n. 2, 158.

70 Stieda – Mettig, *cit.* n. 1, 275.

71 For this kind of subdivision see also Isenmann, *cit.* n. 11, 307-8; Wissel, *cit.* n. 6, *I*, 98.

the beginning of the sixteenth century pictured a saintly figure, probably St Loy, on its inner cover.[72] It is uncertain whether the *sancte loy Companij* was a separate confraternity or closely related to the craft itself as a sub-organisation.[73]

The devotional confraternities offer one possible explanation to the paradox of why veneration of patron saints was so seldom mentioned in the craft ordinances, even though the saints held an important role in medieval religious participation. In Stockholm, Riga and Tallinn there were at least six confraternities and in Lübeck as many as seventy.[74] No local saint cult existed in Livonian cities, but the patron saint cults were imported from Germany and Scandinavia and supported by various organizations, primarily artisan and merchant guilds and various confraternities.

Conclusion

Taken together, the categorising of various organizations is crucial when studying the religious participation in late medieval urban environment. All three organization types, crafts, guilds and confraternities offered some kind of a forum for religious participation. However, based on the ordinances and statutes of the various organizations and quantitative analysis, guilds and especially confraternities offered worthier forums to express piety than the professional craft organization. Nevertheless, the altar foundations show that some of the crafts also offered their members a place to express piety, devotion and remembrance. Yet the craft altars or patron saint cults were seldom mentioned in the craft ordinances, indicating that these ordinances rarely regulated this kind of religious participation. The popularity of religious confraternities suggests that there was a demand in the urban milieu for an organization where collective piety, veneration and remembrance could be expressed; crafts, guilds and confraternities responded to this demand, offering forums for religious participation. Since in Livonian areas the patron saint cults were imported and the venerated saints were not of local origin, the findings in this article suggest that these cults were controlled from above by merchant and craft organizations. The fact that altar foundations, donations and feasts also aimed to strengthen collective identity and demonstrate the prosperity of the craft or guild supports this preliminary finding. A further study could assess how freely the individuals could chose their forum, where and how to express their religious devotion.

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72 Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1856), 144 (*Guldsmede* – goldsmiths, from year 1501): '*[...] een eller twa aff brödromen til oldermen huilke som schulu samma sancte loy Companij fore standa [...]*'.

73 Cf. Tallinn Table Guilds. Mänd, *cit.* n. 5, 38; See the edition of the Tallinn Table Guild statutes and their instructions of feasts in E. von Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Reval*, Reval 1885, 63-72. The tasks of the Tallinn Table Guild were to minister religious performances of the merchants' Guild, maintain the altars in parish churches, take care of the poor and organize annual feasts. See L. Hakala, *Murros vai Jatkuvuus? – Tukholman ja Tallinnan killat myöhäiskeskiajalta uskonpuhdistukseen* (unpublished licenciate Thesis), University of Tampere 2000, 41.

74 Mänd, *cit*. n. 5, 40; Klemming, *cit.* n. 1 (1868-1881), passim; Dormeirer, *cit*. n. 64, 21.

Hoping for Heirs? The 'Lady of the Matrimony' and the Case of Clemet Hogenskild in Late Medieval Finland

Elina Räsänen

Introduction: tracing the hidden encounters

In *anno Domini* 1512, on Saint Anne's Day, a nobleman called Clemet Bengtsson Hogenskild made his last will in the town of Turku/Åbo[1] in Finland. He was a man of wealth and accordingly bequeathed generously to various institutions, convents, shrines, and individuals. These included, for instance, the Dominicans in Turku, and the shrines of Saint Anne, Saint Henrik, and the Three Kings in Turku Cathedral. Relatives and churchmen were promised chattels, such as horses, clothes, and jewels.[2] To his newlywed wife, Lady Anna Hansdotter, Clemet referred in his will as follows: 'if it be so that my beloved wife shall not become united with me by children, I will give her all my personal property and her dower that is 1200 marks.'[3] Clemet's provision proved unnecessary, because she did conceive, providing Clemet with an heir, a girl later to be christened Anna.[4]

Clemet Hogenskild mentions the names of many saints in his will, and although no surviving document explicitly conveys this, he saw, experienced, and interacted with images depicting the saints he venerated. This relation between the image or object and its beholder is one of the crucial aspects of the study of medieval images: how were they used, what societal functions did they fulfil, and why were they made? How did people participate in (religious) life *with* images? These questions, focusing on the reception and various functions of medieval art, have been widely covered in art history within recent decades.[5] Moreover, the 'anthropological turn' has shifted the focus onto the beholder's experience; scholars seek to understand what happens in 'front' of the image, instead of concentrating on what is 'behind' it, that is, from where the motifs and configurations come from.[6]

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1 When a town or place is mentioned for the first time, both Finnish and Swedish names are given, in that order.

2 Stockholm, National Archives of Sweden, RApp. 15.12. 1512. Published in R. Hausen (ed.) *FMU*, 8 vols., Helsinki 1910-1935, no. 5622. The will is also found online in the *Diplomatarium Fennicum*.

3 *FMU* no. 5622: '*jtem ær thet swa, at min ælskelighe hustrv ey bliffuer barnbwndhen met mech, tha giffuer iach henne alle mijnne lösörer oc hennes morghengoffue ffrij, som ær xij(c) marc*.'

4 On Clemet and Anna Hansdotter, see F. Ödberg, 'Fru Anna Hansdotter och hennes tid (1478-1549) med bilagor', *Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift* II: 6-7 (1907), 1-48. The name is written as 'Klemet' or 'Clemet'; see *FMU* nos. 5503, 5518, 5622, 5793. Research literature and sources concerning Anna Hansdotter is more extensive, and these will be referred to at relevant points in the text.

5 For various approaches, see e.g. J. Baschet – J.-C. Schmitt (eds), *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du 6e 'International Workshop on Medieval Societies'*, Paris 1996; S. Kaspersen (ed.), *Images of Cult and Devotion. Function and Reception of Christian Images in Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe*, Copenhagen 2004. See also the summary on the theme by M. Caviness, 'Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers', in R. Conrad (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art. Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, Oxford 2006, 65-85.

6 The front/behind division is derived from Georges Didi-Huberman's influential study and its title *Devant l'image. Question posée aux fins d'une histoire de l'art*, Paris 1990. On the impact of anthropology on art history, see e.g. H. Belting, *An Anthropology*

Bruno Latour, the French sociologist of science (whose background is in anthropology), has shown how different phenomena in the world can be comprehended as networks that bind together nature, society and discourse. This type of research has traditionally been conducted in non-European cultures; according to Latour, 'in works produced by anthropologists abroad, you will not find a single trait that is not simultaneously real, social and narrated.'[7] To my mind Latour's thinking based on his reinterpretation, or rather denial, of modernity is very suitable for medieval studies, in which there is already a tradition of researching the Middle Ages as 'another culture', distant from our own and definitely not modern. Interest in anthropological approaches has also prompted a new attentiveness to material things, giving agency to them as objects not only used by people, but actually working together with people. A renewed concern with the presence and efficacy of crafted things falls onto the ontology of images and challenges such oppositions as object-subject or animate-inanimate. This subjectification accommodates well to most medieval images, as they were much more than simply decorations or 'art' in the modern sense: images of saints were considered living and communicating agents.[8]

To find ties between people and things in the distant past is a difficult task, even more so when written source material is scarce – as is the case concerning Finland (which, in the medieval era, was the eastern part of the Swedish Realm and formed the Diocese of Turku). Although hundreds of medieval wooden sculptures depicting saints and holy events have survived in Finland, very few contemporary persons can be associated with them.[9] This applies to embroideries, paintings and other works of art as well. Therefore, if we still wish, as I do in this article, to explore how individuals participated in religious life together with saints and their images indirect references must also be used to reconstruct these encounters. The paucity of evidence should not prevent this research; as Swedish historian Janken Myrdal has said, in formulating his method based on source pluralism and aimed to open up 'difficult' cases, 'the first step is to accept that true statements will be fewer than likely statements'.[10]

This article explores the meanings Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin, possibly had in the lives of Clemet Hogenskild (d. 1512/13) and his wife Anna Hansdotter Tott (1478-1549). In doing so, the spotlight falls on a specific devotional aspect, namely Saint Anne's role in fecundity and family relations. She was known for, among other things, her ability to promote fertility and to assist in childbirth; beliefs about these capacities stirred the popular imagination, giving rise to miracle stories that circulated throughout Europe.[11]

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of Images: Picture, Medium, Body (Trans. T. Dunlap), Princeton 2011 [Orig. in German 2001]; M.F. Zimmermann, 'Art History as Anthropology: French and German Traditions', in M.F. Zimmermann (ed.), *The Art Historian. National Traditions and Institutional Practices,* New Haven & London 2003, 167-88.

7 B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, New York 1993, 7; see also B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford 2005, 63-86.

8 See e.g. D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago 1989; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence. History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Trans. E. Jephcott), Chicago 1994 [Orig. in German 1990]; K. Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages. Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350-1500*, New York 2002. The classic on the theme being S. Ringbom, 'Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* VI:73 (1969), 159-70.

9 See J. von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion und Kunstverbreitung im Ostseeraum des Spätmittelalters* (SMYA 99), Helsinki 1993, 121-6; H. Edgren, 'Beställaren och bildinnehållet – några exempel från Finlands medeltida kyrkor', in A. Aurasmaa – T. Talvio (eds), *Museon muisti. Ritva Wäreen juhlakirja* (TT 31), Helsinki 2005, 137-46.

10 J. Myrdal, 'Source Pluralism and a Package of Methods. Medieval Tending of Livestock as an Example', in M. Lamberg et al. (eds), *Methods and the Medievalist: Current Approaches towards Middle Ages*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2008, 134-58, esp. 144.

11 See T. Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother and her Children', in A. M. Mulder-Bakker (ed.), *Sanctity and Motherhood. Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, New York 1995, 31-65, esp. 54-6; G. McMurray Gibson, 'Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed: Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans', in K. Ashley – P. Sheingorn (eds), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, Athens (GA) 1990, 95-110; C. Rawcliffe, 'Women, Childbirth, and Religion in Later Medieval England', in D. Wood (ed.), *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, Oxford 2003, 91-117; V. Nixon, *Mary's Mother. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, University Park 2004, 76-9.

But from medieval Sweden, including Finland, such direct evidence is basically lacking, though it is highly unlikely that the situation would have much differed from the rest of Northern Europe. For instance, none of the surviving miracle stories about Saint Anne, to the best of my knowledge, touch on the issue of infertility. Generally speaking, medieval miracle stories about fecundity seem to have been rare in Sweden.[12]

I intend to examine these traits in the cult of Saint Anne by looking at them through a larger prism and variety of sources. Clemet Hogenskild's will offers a route for such an exploration, since, although the content of this will is not extraordinary in itself, it enables us to bring together tangible things, existing places and real people. Before discussing the protagonists' actions and reconstructing their motives, I will clarify the veneration of Saint Anne and its relevance to maintaining the family line, limited to the geographical area discussed in this article. This will be done by examining the impact of the Birgittines, based on Saint Birgitta's (1303-1373) affection for Saint Anne, and how their preferences were manifested, for example, in prayers and miracle stories. Below I will analyse two little-known sculptures depicting Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child. I suggest that they convey a similar message, yet they are quite different, as we shall see, in their appearance and visual emphasis. The first sculpture used to be in the shrine of Saint Anne in Turku Cathedral, a space of worship that I will lightly reconstruct, and the second one in the chapel of Lokalahti / Lokalax, where Saint Anne is clearly offering a baby boy to the devotees.

Hjonalagens fru in the Realm of Sweden

Saint Anne, like many female saints, has aroused new scholarly interest in recent decades, partly due to the new perspectives opened up through gender studies and feminist theology. Many studies have explored how her cult is interwoven with attitudes towards the female body and the norms of behaviour.[13] In general, Saint Anne was one of the most beloved saints in the late Middle Ages, and particularly so in northern Europe. Saint Anne's connection to fertility was interwoven into her very saintliness since, in a wider sense, the whole purpose of such a cultural figure as the mother of the venerated virgin is based on elemental religious notions of procreation and hierogamic relations. Furthermore, the life of Saint Anne, as already recalled in the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James* written in the first century AD, was dominated by her own wish to have children.

The success of Saint Anne was related to many religious and societal factors, and her cult had wide appeal – to women and men, to burghers, to nobility and peasantry alike. For instance, in a collection of the miracles of Saint Anne from the mid-1400s, written in the *scriptorium* of Vadstena, the main Birgittine Abbey, the devotees benefitting from Saint Anne's grace represent a range of characters: a miller, a clerk, a poor wife, a priest, a fisherman, a burgher's daughter, a bishop and a knight.[14] Common to all societal groups

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12 See J. Myrdal, *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser med en katalog över svenska mirakelberättelser och en nyöversättning av Brynolfsmiraklerna av Janken Myrdal och Göran Bäärnhielm*, Skara 1994, 26-8.

13 On the cult of Saint Anne in general, see the literature above in note 11 with B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna. Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum* (Forschungen zur Volkskunde, 1-3), Düsseldorf 1930. Several studies on Saint Anne and her cult have appeared in the last decades, including my doctoral thesis, to which this article is partly indebted to: E. Räsänen, *Ruumiillinen esine, materiaalinen suku. Tutkimus Pyhä Anna itse kolmantena -aiheisista keskiajan puuveistoksista Suomessa* (SMYA 116), Helsinki 2009. Other contributions on the subject include; A. Dörfler-Dierken, *Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Göttingen 1992; Ashley – Sheingorn, *cit*. n. 11; T. Brandenbarg, 'St. Anne and her Family. The veneration of St. Anne in connection with concepts of marriage and the family in the early-modern period', in L. Dresden-Coenders (ed.), *Saints and She-Devils: Images of Women in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, London 1987, 101-26. The above-mentioned research offers references to previous studies and hagiographic literature.

14 Uppsala, University Library, MS Cod. Ups. C 9, ff. 1^{r}-7^{v}. The manuscript is written by Erik Simonson or Ericus Simonis (d. 1464) and includes a life of Saint Anne and ten miracles. The parts on Saint Anne are published in G. Stephens (ed.), *Ett fornsvenskt legen-*

was the acceptance of the effectiveness of Saint Anne's intercessory powers, resulting from her natural and close bodily contact to her family and offspring, the Virgin Mary and Christ.

The above-mentioned miracle collection emphasises close ties between ordinary people and the heavenly family: by venerating Saint Anne it was even possible to cross the line and become a family member of Christ. For example, one of the stories tells of a priest who had always loved Saint Anne, but who is now, on his deathbed, still worried about the fate of his soul.[15] A maiden appeared by his bed claiming to be his sister. The priest insisted that he was an only child, whereupon the maiden announced that Saint Anne was her mother, and since he too was 'Saint Anne's child', they were siblings. When the lady Saint Anne (*frw sancta anna*) entered, the priest wanted to get up to show his respect, but the caring Anne ordered him to rest. After this, Jesus Christ, all bloody, appeared and placed himself between the Virgin and Saint Anne. He addressed the priest as the brother of his mother, the Virgin Mary, and explained that he and the Virgin were present because of his grandmother, or literally mother's mother (*mina modhermodher*) Saint Anne. Moreover, Christ told the priest to ask for his last communion and to testify to what had happened and how much Christ and the Virgin appreciated the veneration of Saint Anne.

The story reveals how the devotee of Saint Anne was allowed to enter her closest circle and by so doing ensure the salvation of his soul. This is told by elaborating on the names of familial and generational relations and, simultaneously, by juxtaposing heavenly family members with those of common people. Another miracle story in the same collection vividly evokes this, too, when Bishop Remigius admits that 'he is doing as children do when they go from their scolding mother [the Virgin], to the grandmother [Saint Anne], asking for forgiveness and solace'.[16] Many stories name the protagonist as Saint Anne's child, as well as Mary's sister or brother. By highlighting generations they laid emphasis on the elemental importance of continuity in households, in which Saint Anne could play a part.

The cult of Saint Anne was cultivated in the monastic institutions, namely of the Birgittines, and according to their values – one way in which, to my mind, the Scandinavian situation differed somewhat from that in the other parts of Europe in the late 1400s.[17] Moreover, much of the surviving visual and, above all, textual material on the devotion of Saint Anne derives from the Birgittine institutions. As the scholarship of Jonas Carlquist reveals, the leading persons in Vadstena were, in the early 1500s, very particular which version of the legend of Saint Anne should be in use: an older text was marked as 'this should not be read' (*detta ey skall læsas*) and instead the newer translation, written in Vadstena, was advised to be read aloud.[18] Due to the establishment of the double monastery *Vallis gratiae* (Valley of Grace; Naantali / Nådendal) in 1438, the veneration of Saint Anne reached a new level in Finland.[19] In fact, Saint Anne was one of the patrons of the

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darium innehållande medeltids kloster-sagor om helgon, påfvar och kejsare ifrån det 1:sta till det XIII:de århundradet (SSFS Serie 1, Svenska skrifter 7:3), Stockholm 1874, 1-26. See also J. Carlquist, *De fornsvenska helgonlegenderna. Källor, stil och skriftmiljö* (SSFS 81), Stockholm 1996, 31. The online version of the text: http://www.nordlund.lu.se/Fornsvenska/Fsv%20Folder/ (read 19.8.2012).

15 Cod. Ups. C 9, f. 5^{v}. See Stephens, *cit.* n. 14, 19-21.

16 Cod. Ups. C 9, ff. 4^{r}-5^{v}. See Stephens, *cit.* n. 14, 16. On the Remigius miracle more in detail, see E. Räsänen, 'Late-Medieval Wood Sculptures as Materialized Saints: The Embodiment of Saint Anne in Northern Europe', in J. Vakkari (ed.), *Mind and Matter – Selected Papers of Nordik 2009 Conference for Art Historians* (TT 41), Helsinki 2010, 50-65. See also J. Carlquist, *Vadstenasystrarnas textvärld. Studier i systrarnas skriftbrukskompetens, lärdom och textförståelse* (SSFS Serie 1, Svenska skrifter 89), Uppsala 2007, 323.

17 On Birgitta's views on Saint Anne, see e.g. M. Lindgren, 'De heliga änkorna. S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i birgittinsk ikonografi', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 59:1-2 (1990), 52-69; Räsänen *cit.* n. 13, 107-9.

18 Carlquist *cit.* n. 14, 225. The remark is in MS Cod. Holm. A 3.

19 See Räsänen *cit.* n. 13, esp. 107-15. A vast scholarly literature is dedicated to the monastery; it includes e.g. K.G. Leinberg, *De finska klostrens historia* (SSLF 14), Helsingfors 1890, 145-479; B. Klockars, *I Nådens dal. Klosterfolk och andra c. 1440-1590* (SSLF 486), Helsingfors 1979.

monastery, or convent,[20] and in relation to its construction, in 1462, Bishop Conrad Bitz even declared Saint Anne to be one of the patrons of the whole diocese, with Saints Birgitta and Henrik.[21]

The wording of a one particular prayer to Saint Anne is indebted to the revelation Saint Birgitta had experienced in Rome: there she had received the relics of Saint Anne, and at the same time Saint Anne appeared to her and taught her how to pray while observing the relics (Book VI.104).[22] As I have argued elsewhere, the later vernacular versions of this prayer shifted its emphasis clearly from the Biblical concepts towards marriage and fecundity.[23] The prayer names Saint Anne as the *hjonalagens fru*, 'Lady of the matrimony' or 'of the household',[24] and this 'title' of hers in itself could have easily been interpreted as indicating that Saint Anne would actually *help* couples conceive future heirs, not just protect the family in general. Whether Saint Birgitta's prayer actually strengthened the fertility and marriage issues in the cult of Saint Anne or whether the revelation was more eagerly interpreted in this way because of the prevailing ideas is hard to say. The prayers addressing her as the 'Lady of the matrimony' were recited in *Vallis gratiae*, too, for we know it owned a book containing this prayer.[25]

Images figured prominently in late-medieval devotional life, including the technologies for the salvation of souls such as the granting of indulgences. For instance, a widespread prayer, written in the book owned by Lady Kristina Nilsdotter Gyllenstierna (1494-1559), came with an introduction indicating that by invocating the prayer three times in front of an image of Saint Anne one may get up to 20 000 years of indulgences.[26] The prayer itself is an extended version of the Hail Mary, incorporated with the name of Saint Anne and the notion of Mary's Immaculate Conception. A likely image the devotee would have used to obtain the indulgences would have been an *Anna Selbdritt* that became a popular visual representation of Saint Anne together with the Virgin and Child in Northern Europe.[27] This motif commonly shows Saint Anne holding two children on her lap, the Virgin, though juvenile in appearance, and the Christ Child. In Finland alone over fifty representations of this *Andachtsbild* have survived; mostly carved in wood and painted on walls, but also embroidered on textiles and even casted on rings.[28]

The veneration of Saint Anne's family, the Holy Kinship, spread particularly in the Hansa region during the late fifteenth century. The validity of Saint Anne's three marriages, the *Trinubium Annae* which is in

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20 On the details of the dedication see Räsänen, *cit.* n. 13, 109-10; M. Hiekkanen, 'The Convent of St Olav and its Architectural Remains', in *Dominicans in Finland and around the Baltic Sea during the Middle Ages* (Report 18), Turku 2003, 99-104.

21 *FMU* no. 3185: *--sanctorum patronorum tocius regni Swecie scilicet sanctorum Johannis baptiste et Erici atque nostre dyocesis Aboensis Henrici, Anne et Birgitte*.

22 Published in B. Bergh, *Revelaciones, Book 6. Revelationes sanctae Birgittae* (SSFS Serie 2; Latinska skrifter 7,6), Stockholm 1991, 266.

23 E. Räsänen, 'Agency of Two Ladies: *Wellborne qvinna* Lucia Olofsdotter and the Veneration of Saint Anne in the Turku Diocese', in T. M. S. Lehtonen – É. Mornet (eds), *Les élites nordiques et l'Europe occidentale (xvii^e^ et xv^e^ siècle)*, Paris 2007, 259. A version of the prayer in Old Swedish is published in R. Geete, *Svenska Böner från medeltiden efter gamla handskriften* (SSFS Serie 1, Svenska skrifter 38), Stockholm 1907-1909, 348. A Middle English version has been published in R. Ellis (ed.), *The liber celestis of Saint Bridget of Sweden, Vol. 1: Text* (Early English Text Society 291), Oxford 1987, 467.

24 The meanings of matrimony and household were intertwined; on 'hjonelag' in law texts as 'household'; see S. Suvanto, *Yksilö myöhäiskeskiajan talonpoikaisyhteiskunnassa. Sääksmäen kihlakunta 1400-luvun alusta 1570-luvulle* (Historiallisia tutkimuksia 193), Helsinki 1995, 399.

25 The prayer is included in MS Cod. Holm. A 49, which was in use in Naantali; see e.g. Carlquist *cit.* n. 14, 27.

26 J. Carlquist – J. Carlquist, *Nådig Fru Kristinas andaktsbok – möte med en bannlyst kvinnas fromhetsliv*, Örebro 1997, 49 and 116, who give a full account of this manuscript (c. 1520). The content clearly shows closeness to Birgittine devotional life.

27 The German name for the motif *Anna Selbdritt*, 'Anne herself the third', is sometimes used in English research literature, because of the lack of an equivalent term that would not be anachronistic, such as 'Saint Anne Trinity'. The Swedish name, which is found in various medieval objects and written sources, *Anna sielff tridie*, follows German. For the history of the term, see B. Stolt, 'Varför "Anna själv tredje"?', *Iconographisk post* 4 (1993), 32-4.

28 See Räsänen, *cit.* n. 13. For imagery in Sweden, see I. Pegelow, *Helgonlegender i ord och bild*, Stockholm 2006, 273-5.

the core of the Holy Kinship, had been discussed and argued about for centuries, and it had circulated, for example, in the *Legenda Aurea*.[29] In the last decades of the fifteenth century a distinctive visual expression of the cult emerged, showing the family members united around Saint Anne. The pictorial representation showed, in its basic form, all three husbands of Saint Anne, her three daughters, all named Mary, and their husbands and offspring. Numerous artworks depicting the Holy Kinship survive even today in Sweden, and one also in Finland.[30] This pictorial constellation of the extended family certainly fitted well with the notion of Saint Anne as *hjonalagens fru*. Although the veneration of the Holy Kinship played no part in Saint Birgitta's *Revelations*, it seems to have been later accepted within the Birgittine community. For instance, the legend recalling the three marriages and also Saint Anne's mother Emerentia was translated from Low German into Old Swedish in Vadstena at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[31]

Clemet and Anna

Clemet Hogenskild was of Danish background and served the regents of Sweden as their high official.[32] When in Finland, he became acquainted with the local élite, including the widow Lady Anna Hansdotter Tott. She was from a wealthy and influential family that also originated in Denmark. As an adolescent she had been taken to the court of the regent of Sweden, Sten Sture the Elder, and his wife Ingeborg Åkesdotter Tott. At the age of twenty, in 1498, Anna Hansdotter was wed for the first time, to the castellan of Turku Henrik Bitz, who was 30 years older than her. After seven years of marriage she was widowed.[33] Anna Hansdotter and Clemet Hogenskild, in turn, were wed sometime in 1512, but a later account indicates that the couple did not live even a year together ('*ffor thy the mondhe ecke fwlt aar liffua tiil hopa*') before Anna was a widow again.[34]

Exactly when Clemet died is not known. His testament is written on a piece of paper, instead of parchment. It is a fairly modest looking document despite the ornate initial 'J' starting the phrase 'In the name of Lord Jesus Christ Amen' (*J Herrens Ihesu Christi nampn amen*). In the last words of his will Clemet expressed, following the common standard, his hope that four influential men would add their seals to the charter with his own seal, but these are lacking at least on the surviving version: only one large mark of a sealing-wax is on the reverse side of the paper and this must be from Clemet's own seal. Unfortunately it is not clearly visible, as there is a piece of paper attached to the surface of the wax.[35] **(fig. 1)**

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29 On the *Trinubium Annae* and the depictions of the holy kin, see e.g. W. Esser, *Die Heilige Sippe. Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, Bonn 1986; P. Sheingorn, 'The Holy Kinship: The Ascendancy of Matriliny in Sacred Genealogy of the Fifteenth Century', *Thought. A Review of Culture and Idea* 64: 254 (1989), 268-86; P. Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History', in Ashley – Sheingorn, *cit.* n. 11, 169-98.

30 See I. Pegelow's list, *cit.* n. 28, 292. See also I. Pegelow, 'The Men of the Holy Kinship in the "Margin"', in K. Markus (ed.), *Images in the Margins. Nordic Studies in Medieval Art*, Tallinn 2006, 264-76; M. Lindgren, 'Mer om Memelia', *Iconographisk post* 1 (1977), 24-33; L. Karlsson, *Bilden av Maria*, Lund 2009, esp. 341-51. Of the holy kinship altarpiece in Vöyri, Finland, see Räsänen, *cit.* n. 13, 214-6, 138-40 with bibliography.

31 Carlquist *cit.* n. 14, 30, 104-7.

32 See Ödberg, *cit.* n. 4.

33 Anna Hansdotter was Ingeborg's niece. The marriage to Henrik Bitz was likely to strengthen the ties of his family to the reign of Sten Sture. See Ödberg, *cit.* n. 4, 2-7; T. Hockman, *Kolmen polven perilliset. Ingeborg Aakentytär (Tott) ja hänen sukunsa (n. 1460-1507)* (Bibliotheca Historica 104), Helsinki 2006, esp. 78, 146, 148; E. Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse och 1500-talsadel* (SSLF 442), Helsingfors 1970, 161-4; Suvanto, *cit.* n. 24, 73-83, 350-3.

34 *FMU* no. 5793. Ödberg (*cit.* n. 4) has argued that when Clemet bought some land on 24th July 1512 (*FMU* no. 5590) the couple was already married. In fact, the document does not directly indicate this, despite the repeated mentions of his 'heirs and followers' ('*hans arffwa och epter komande*').

35 This remark is based on my examination of the original document (RApp. 15.12. 1512) in the National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm. See note 2.

Fig. 1: The will of Clemet Hogenskild. Collections of Charters written on paper, 15.12. 1512. National Archives, Stockholm, Sweden. Photo: National Archives, Stockholm.

As mentioned earlier, the will was dated on Saint Anne's Day, although the very date this indicates is disputable.[36] Whether composing and dating the will on this particular day was a deliberate or accidental deed by Clemet remains unknown, but it is possible that this was a way to attract the attention of the holy grandmother in order to secure the fulfilment of his will. If Clemet was indeed ill when the will was drawn up, the wording related to heirs in the future seems optimistic, and saintly intercession would certainly have helped. Whatever the circumstances of the will, Anna Hansdotter's and Clemet Hogenskild's daughter was born some months after he died. As this was slightly out of the ordinary, a statement was written by Bishop Arwid Kurki in 1515, testifying that the couple were properly wed and that the baby, by then 'healthy, bouncing and sweet' ('*helbroghd, karsk och deyligh*'), was indeed a true and legal heiress of Clemet Hogenskild.[37]

As mentioned, the daughter was christened Anna (Clemetsdotter, 1513-1590). This was Anna Hansdotter's own first name, but it also seems to have been Clemet's mother's name, and therefore the act follows the tradition of giving the grandparent's name to the newborn. Clemet's mother's name comes down to us from Hogenskild Bielke (1538-1605), Anna Clemetsdotter's future son, who received his grandfather's family name as his first

36 This was 15 or 9 December, or possibly even 26 July. The diocesan liturgical year in Turku held the feast day of Saint Anne on 15 December, although in the other dioceses of Sweden it was commonly celebrated on the ninth. Common European feast day was 26 July. Reinhold Hausen (*cit.* n. 2), who published the document in Finland, marked the date according to the diocesan calendar (15.12), while Swedish research has connected it to the ninth of December; see Ödberg, *cit.* n. 4, 15-6.The reason for this anomaly is not solved; see Räsänen *cit.* n. 13, 94-5. On Saint Anne's Day in the medieval calendars used in the Turku Diocese, see A. Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands*, Helsinki 1925, esp. 101, 162-3, 240-2; on Saint Anne's Day in Sweden and Scandinavia, see A. Bugge – K. Vilkuna – C. A. Nordman, 'Anna', *KLNM I,* 147-53.

37 *FMU* no. 5793. On Anna Clemetsdotter's life, see F. Ödberg, 'Om Hogenskild Bielkes moder, fru Anna Hogenskild till Dala och Åkerö, och hennes tid (1513-1590) I-III', *Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift* II: 8-10 (1908-1909), 6-52; 53-84; 1-87.

name.[38] It is likely, then, that the name for the daughter was settled already before the death of the father. The name Anna was not exceptional at the time and it was favoured in many other families too: in fact, the popularity of the name grew rapidly during the fifteenth century and according to the taxation lists of Stockholm, in 1520 it was the third most common female name, after Margit (Margareta) and Karin (Catharina).[39]

The chosen name, Anna, may as well have been a promise or 'gift' to Saint Anne that reflected the couple's hopes to have a child. This kind of process is evoked by a personal prayer of a wealthy lady, Katherine Denston in Suffolk, England, who very much wished to have a son. She ordered a Life of Saint Anne to be written for her, with an unambiguous prayer ending the *vita*:

> Provide, lady [Saint Anne], too, that John Denston and his wife Katherine may have (if it please God's grace through your merits) a son before they die, as they already have a beautiful small daughter called Anne *in honour of you*.[40]

Hence the Denstons had named their daughter Anne in the hope that this would please the holy grandmother and make her look favourably on their wish for a future male heir. Clemet and Anna may have given the name in return for pregnancy. Having an heir of either sex should have been particularly important for Clemet, for Anna already had a son Erik by Henrik Bitz.

Anna Hansdotter had, of course, an obvious reason, her own name, to favour the cult of Saint Anne, with or without any special interests, pleas, or family traditions. Women named Anne/Anna acquired art works depicting Saint Anne, sometimes also including their own donor portraits; they also ordered poems to be written or chapels to be dedicated to her. For instance, in 1472 a burgher *frau,* Anna Hofmann of Ingolstadt, ordered a silver gilt reliquary depicting the *Anna Selbdritt*, and in the 1460s an East Anglian noble lady, Anne Harling, founded a chantry chapel dedicated to Saint Anne.[41] Like these women, Anna Hansdotter had plenty of financial means for supporting the cult of her namesake.[42] To favour a particular saint due to a shared name was habitual to the Birgittine nuns, too; for instance, the prayer book of a nun named Anna Karlsdotter contained no less than seven prayers to Saint Anne.[43]

Other elements in the devotion of Saint Anne, such as being an example of charity, are also likely to have appealed to a noble lady like Anna Hansdotter.[44] In addition, the devotion of the Holy Kinship corresponded well with the concerns of the upper classes; as Carole Rawliffe has aptly remarked, 'a society preoccupied with lineage and dynastic politics inevitably attached as much significance to Christ's ancestry and kinship as it did to the genealogies of kings and aristocrats'.[45] Royal families even had themselves painted

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38 Ödberg, *cit.* n. 37, 12 note 1. Anna Hansdotter's own mother was called Kristina; for her family tree see Ödberg, *cit.* n. 4, 43-5.

39 R. Otterbjörk, 'Personnavn', in *KLNM XIII*, 206-17. On the spreading of the name Anne in Europe since the thirteenth century, see Kleinschmidt, *cit.* n. 13, 112-3.

40 Italics mine. The legend is included in Osbern Bokenham's (c. 1392-1447) *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*. A modern English translation is *A Legend of Holy Women: A Translation of Osbern Bokenham's Legends of Holy Women*, translated with an introduction and notes by S. Delany, Notre Dame 1992, 41. See McMurray Gibson, *cit.* n. 11, 96-106. The veneration of Saint Anne was active in Katherine Denston's family, whose own home chapel was dedicated to her; see G. McMurray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages*, Chicago 1989, 82.

41 McMurray Gibson, *cit.* n. 40, 21, 96-106; Nixon *cit.* n. 11, 21-7, 144.

42 On Anna Hansdotter's properties see Hockman *cit.* n. 33, 187, 195; Suvanto, *cit.* n. 24; O. Ferm, *De högadliga godsen i Sverige vid 1500-talets mitt – geografisk uppbyggnad, räntestruktur, godsdrift och hushållning* (Studier till det medeltida Sverige 4), Stockholm 1990; on her gifts and correspondence, see A. Lahtinen, 'Lahjat ja aatelin suhdeverkostot 1500-luvun Ruotsissa', in M. Mäkikalli – R. Laitinen (eds), *Esine ja aika. Materiaalisen kulttuurin historiaa*, Helsinki 2010, 34-65, esp. 34-7, 50-2.

43 C. Gejrot, 'Anna Karlsdotters bönbok. En tvåspråkig handskrift från 1400-talet', in I. Lindell (ed.), *Medeltida skrift och språkkultur. Nio föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1992* (Runica et Mediævalia), Stockholm 1994, 13-60, esp. 44.

44 I have previously analysed how Saint Anne's cult touched the concerns of noble ladies; see Räsänen *cit.* n. 23, 246-61.

45 Rawcliffe *cit.* n. 11, 98.

as the Holy Kinship.[46] That Saint Anne was raised to the position of matriarch of the Holy Kinship, and thus had not only Jesus Christ as a grandchild but five apostles too, increased her relevance in fertility and family matters. It also gave her a special place in the hearts of women, and men, who remarried: just as it showed the *trinubium* of Saint Anne as more than acceptable, it surely smoothed the passage of worldly widows into remarriages as well. Therefore, Anna Hansdotter, who even married for the third time in 1514,[47] may also have had this personal reason to venerate the Holy Kinship.

The Birgittine devotion was probably not so meaningful for Clemet, and the convent *Vallis gratiae* is mentioned in his will in the same vein as the Franciscans in Kökar and the Dominicans in Turku. Anna Hansdotter's contacts with the Birgittines, on the other hand, were close, as was common among the nobility in Finland. Anna's first husband Henrik Bitz was buried in the *Vallis gratiae*, and her daughter Anna Clemetsdotter was to be educated there with the sisters.[48] Later on in her life, after the whole country had been shaken by the Reformation, Anna Hansdotter regularly visited Vadstena and supported the sisters there.[49] These and other regular exchanges surely brought her close to the devotional preferences of the Birgittines, described in the first part of this article, that included the notable attention towards the family of Christ.

Place of rest, space of saintly intervention

Clemet donated three marks in his will to the relatively wealthy shrine of Saint Anne in the Cathedral. This shrine possessed a skilfully crafted sculpture depicting the *Anna Selbdritt*.[50] Though now in a deteriorated state, the sculpture was once finely painted and decorated, and is likely connected with the famous workshop of Bernt Notke (d. 1509) **(fig. 2)**.[51]

Like many others of its kind, this work of art alluded to what I consider as the primary meanings of its motif: the human ancestry of Christ on his maternal side, which was crucially needed to create the matter, the body for the Incarnate God. For devout observers of this sculpture, such as Clemet and Anna, the composition was associated with generations and descendants, not only in the supernatural world of God, but also in the lived, experienced world of men, that is, their own world. Therefore, while praying to Saint Anne they would have noticed how the mother is duplicated in the daughter: the details in Anne's clothing, such as the neckline and its rim, are repeated in the dress of Mary. Or perhaps they noticed how Saint Anne, graciously and gently supporting her daughter's back, resembles the second mother, Mary, whose hand is supporting her son. The gestures and postures of the portrayed characters highlighted, then, the importance of blood-line and continuity, and also of the motherly inheritance.[52]

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46 Brandenbarg, *cit.* n. 13, 121-2.

47 Anna Hansdotter's last husband was a nobleman, Jöns Larsson Bölja (d. c. 1520), and she even outlived him by three decades. According to Ödberg (*cit.* n. 4, 21) the splendid wedding was held in October 1514 in the presence of numerous high ranking families.

48 Ödberg, *cit.* n. 4, 7, 25.

49 Ferm, *cit.* n. 42, 307.

50 On the shrine and its other donators, see Räsänen, *cit*. n. 13, 102-7; J. Rinne, *Turun tuomiokirkko keskiaikana II. Alttarit ja kirkolliset toimitukset*, Turku 1948, 48-52, 256.

51 On this sculpture, see E. Räsänen, 'The Craft of the Connoisseur: Bernt Notke, Saint Anne and the Work of Hands', in U. Albrecht – A. Mänd (eds), *Art, Cult and Patronage: Die Visuelle Kultur im Ostseeraum zur Zeit Bernt Notkes*, Kiel 2013, 25-45.

52 This was largely connected to the great emphasis put on the body, humanisation and suffering of Christ in the Late Middle Ages; on the importance of these interpretations for the Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child imagery, see Räsänen *cit.* n. 13, 116-40.

Fig. 2: Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, c. 1480. Polychromed sculpture, oak, h. 115 cm. Turku Cathedral, Finland. Photo: National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki / Timo Syrjänen.

Fig. 3: Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, c. 1510. Polychromed sculpture, birch, h. 89 cm. Lokalahti parish church, Finland. Photo: author.

It is impossible to verify the original location of the shrine of Saint Anne in Turku Cathedral, or of the sculpture for that matter, but it may have been in the chapel of the Holy Cross, as suggested by archaeologist Juhani Rinne.[53] If this location of the shrine is correct, the altar supporting the sculpture was placed under a beautifully decorated vaulted ceiling, where paintings from the 1480s show curving floral ornamentation that surrounds the images of female saints.[54] There Clemet and Anna would have approached the holy grandmother who was not only alive in their imagination, but also *looked* alive with her meticulously painted features and exquisite clothing. She was gazing at them solemnly, with a hint of a smile on her narrow

53 Rinne, *cit.* n. 50, 30-8, 47-52, 95-6. I have elsewhere discussed his reasoning, which is problematic due to its dependency on the wall paintings and somewhat irrelevant written sources; see Räsänen *cit.* n. 13, 104-6.

54 See e.g. L. Wennervirta, *Goottilaista monumentaalimaalausta Länsi-Suomen ja Ahvenanmaan kirkoissa*, Helsinki 1930, 92-6. One of the images is generally considered to depict Saint Anne, but this cannot be certain; see Räsänen *cit.* n. 13, 106.

and noble-looking face. This kind of experience was possible because their comprehension of representation differed from ours; a re-presentation actually housed the saintly presence.[55]

Art historian David Summers stresses the spatial and corporeal understanding of art: '*Real space*', says Summers, 'is ultimately defined by the human body, more specifically by the body's finite spatiotemporality, its typical structure, capacities and relation'.[56] We do not know how, or on what level the *Anna Selbdritt* sculpture was placed, but its height (115 cm) comes close to that of a life-size figure in a sitting position. The circumference of the head is c. 58 cm, and thus similar to the head size of real people. Therefore, the three-dimensional sculpture mirrored the actual bodies of the beholders. Considering the burial place of Clemet in the cathedral, he may have imagined the earthly existence of Saint Anne, the sculpture, as overseeing his eternal rest while his soul, it would be hoped, joined her heavenly existence.

The Queen Mother of Lokalahti

In addition to the sculpture in Turku Cathedral, Clemet and Anna would have encountered a great number of other works depicting Saint Anne, both in luxurious cathedrals and in small chapels. Clemet's bequests in his will direct us to places with which he had a special connection and which he had probably visited, and therefore allow us to select an example for a closer examination. Of the several places he mentions, our attention is drawn to the distant Lokalahti village chapel, to which Clemet bequeathed a bundle of rye. This may seem next to nothing, but as a point of comparison, we can note that to the church in Nousiainen / Nousis, the burial place of Saint Henrik and an important pilgrimage place, he gave two bundles. There is no obvious reason, as far as I know, such as possession of landed property nearby that would explain Clemet's choice of Lokalahti.

At the time of Clemet's death the Lokalahti chapel, dedicated to Saint Catherine of Alexandria, should have been fairly new. It was planned already in 1490, when the churchyard was consecrated.[57] However, as things don't always go as planned, it may still have been under construction. This would be one explanatory factor for the donation, as it was common to grant indulgences for those who financed new church buildings. Be that as it may, the medieval wooden chapel no longer exists. The present Lutheran church, built in 1763, however, houses several medieval wooden sculptures. The one of interest here, depicting Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, dates according to stylistic analysis to the first decades of the sixteenth century. As more exact dating cannot be given at present, it is possible that it had not yet even been carved by the time Clemet died. Bearing these reservations in mind, let us nonetheless ponder how Clemet might have observed this work of art **(fig. 3)**.

The figures of the Lokalahti *Anna Selbdritt* are composed in an unusual fashion: Saint Anne stands holding the baby Jesus while the much smaller Virgin Mary, slender and dressed in courtly manner, is standing on her right side, but below her, and glancing upwards.[58] The sculpture was once inside a covering structure with back piece and shutters, and was likely placed on an altar. The majestic Saint Anne is wearing a long dress, a robe and, as an iconographical exception, a crown on the top of her veil. This anomaly is too complex an issue

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55 On this and the Saint Anne sculptures coming alive, see Räsänen, *cit.* n. 16.

56 D. Summers, *Real Spaces. World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism*, London 2003, 36. Italics original.

57 *FMU* no. 4333; T. Riska, Vehmaan rovastikunta. *Turun arkkihiippakunta I* (Suomen kirkot–Finlands kyrkor 1), Helsinki 1959, 40.

58 The polychrome is fairly well preserved, though some parts have later repainted. For documentation of this sculpture, conservated in 2004, see Räsänen, *cit.* n. 13, esp. 178-9. See also Nordman, *cit.* n. 51, 535-6.

to tackle fully here, but like so much medieval iconography, it is polysemic.[59] Here I would suggest that the crown on Saint Anne marked the divine choice that surpassed all the limits of the human body: God had chosen his son to be born to Saint Anne's family – this deliberate deed by God, choosing Anne from among all women, is a frequent concept in the devotional texts. By this act she became 'an eternal arc of the Lord (*arca Regis eterni*)', as Saint Anne, and literally her womb, was addressed in the Wednesday responsorium of the Birgittine sisters.[60] Or, '*gudz fadhers fatabwr*', the treasury of God the Father, as in nun Ingegerd Ambjörnsdotter's prayer book in the first decades of the sixteenth century.[61] A crown was an appropriate visual statement for such an honour. All this relates, by implication, to procreation and giving birth, whether miraculously as performed by the Virgin, or naturally as by Saint Anne and common women.

As far as the viewer can tell, in the Lokalahti sculpture Saint Anne is not really *carrying* the naked baby Jesus, but he is perched on the palm of Saint Anne's left hand, as if being presented to the beholders. The composition evokes the late medieval stress on the corporeality of Christ, and how the body of Christ as child was assimilated with the Eucharistic wafer, handed out by the communicating priest. Clemet may have meditated on this, but at the same time he will also have seen how Saint Anne passed the baby to the devotees, whom she looks at with a stern expression. It is she who possesses the child, and she who decides to whom she will entrust him. I am suggesting an allusion to Saint Anne's powers to grant children to those who pray for conception; the figure of the Christ Child is akin to a newborn, his nakedness underscored by the visible lines of flesh on the thighs. She is plainly handing over the baby, who is the King of Kings, but who looks like any other baby, and even more, a baby boy, which is apparent by his exposed genitals.

Conclusion: participating together with saints

I have discussed participation by focusing on the interaction of the chosen individuals and images; I have also employed Saint Anne's powers concerning fecundity as a mediator, or a link, between the two. The beholding and experiencing images of Saint Anne, has been perceived in this article, to follow the formulations of Bruno Latour, as real, social and narrated, because this was how the images were in their former, 'living surroundings', understood.[62] Discursive entities, such as legends, stories, and beliefs surrounded and defined the sculptures, yet they were concrete objects and thus real in the tangible world, but also real as in the meaning of 'alive'. They were part of their community and conveyed societal norms and ideals. The very images were in a responsive relation with people who took part in various forms of devotional life. I have, therefore, envisioned Clemet and Anna as physically approaching and experiencing the images, as sharing the same, real spaces with the objects. Today, albeit in a different context, they are still real: while people like Clemet and Anna are present in our era only indirectly, works of art still exist as things to be touched or looked at – alienated as they are from their original meanings and functional opportunities.

Although we will never know for sure if Clemet or Anna addressed Saint Anne with distinctive wishes to have a child, they regarded her as the protectress of the family and of marriage, a notion which intrinsically implied heirs, and was keenly promoted by the Birgittines. Saint Anne's powers were based on her role as the

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59 I have discussed some of the explanations offered for the crown elsewhere; see E. Räsänen, 'Reviewing Research on Medieval Wood Sculptures. The Encounter of Olga Alice Nygren and Carl Axel Nordman with the Crowned Saint Anne', in R. Suominen-Kokkonen (ed.), *The Shaping of Art History in Finland*, (TT 36) Helsinki 2007, 214-27.

60 T. Lundén, *Den heliga Birgitta och Petrus av Skänninge, Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis. Vår Frus tidegärd utgiven med inledning och översättning av Tryggve Lundén* (Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia I–II, 27 & 28), Lund 1976, II, 12.

61 See Geete *cit.* n. 23, 382 (MS Cod. Holm. A 43).

62 Latour, *cit.* n. 7. Phrasing by Summers, *cit.* n. 56, 41.

responsive, primordial mother. What is more, Clemet and Anna Hansdotter beheld the images depicting Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child that evoked connotations to generations and giving birth. Even today we can detect in the composition of these sculptures something vital about human existence: while they tell of procreation and its divine form, Incarnation, they also manifest the act of providing support, and thus demonstrate how the internal becomes the external – that is, how a mother gives flesh to a new person and thus ensures that the chain of generations can continue.

Male Virgins in Latin Inscriptions from Rome

Christian Laes

You will find that I have mimicked your maidenhood,
if there is also a maidenhood for men
(Achilles Tatius 5. 20. 5; transl. K. Harper)

In pagan Antiquity, virginity was an almost exclusively female matter. For a man, it would have been preposterous, not to say ridiculous, to take pride in his being a virgin. There was not even a Greek or Latin word to denote a male virgin. With the advent of Christianity, things changed. The transformation was profound: male maidenhood was not only denoted by a proper word (*virginius*), but also became a marker, mostly in epitaphs, for belonging to the new religion. The present chapter will deal with this remarkable transformation, which has received relatively little scholarly attention.[1]

Indeed, non-Christian texts hardly ever confront us with men praising themselves or being praised for their being a virgin. The Latin word for virgin, *virgo*, only existed as a female noun, as did the Greek *parthenos*. There was not even the expectation that young men, mostly in their mid-twenties, should enter their first marriage as a virgin, quite the contrary. Without exaggeration, one could say that the early church had monopolised the issue of virginity. While for obvious reasons the ecclesiastical writers mostly focused on women, they introduced the issue of male virginity and chastity as well. Almost simultaneously, a whole range of Christian funerary inscriptions for male virgins emerges, resorting to specific vocabulary and words which are not paralleled in ancient literary sources. Though these Christian inscriptions have been collected, they have hardly ever been studied systematically. Ultimately, the result of the admittedly somewhat unusual marriage between history of gender/sexuality on the one hand and epigraphy/serial evidence on the other yields new results in the study of early Christianity. It enables one to compare and confront the theoretical discourse of the well-to-do with the way it was received in documents produced by the lower classes. We get to know how the virginity discourse impacted on ordinary people's self-representation and possibly on their every day lives, or, in other words, the way the new religion influenced socialisation in the city of Rome.

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1 For the non-Christian dossier, see H. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, Philadelphia 1960, 130 (on Jewish *virginii*); M. Humbert, *Le remariage à Rome. Etude d'histoire juridique et* sociale, Milan 1972, 66; S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, 234-5; J. Evans Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity. The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation*, Oxford 1995, 70 and 335; G. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity. The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition*, London and New York 2000, 103. On the Christian material, see H. Leclercq, 'Mariage', *DACL* 10:2 (1932), 1843-982, esp. 1963-4; A. Ferrua, 'Questioni di epigrafia eretica Romana', *RAC* 21 (1944-45), 165-221, esp. 195-8; H. Nordberg, 'B. Les mots *virgo* et *parthenos* dans les *tituli* chrétiens de Rome', in H. Zilliacus (ed.), *Sylloge inscriptionum christianarum veterum musei Vaticani*, Helsinki 1963, 203-9; C. Vogel, 'L'Âge des époux chrétiens au moment de contracter mariage d'après les inscriptions paléochrétiens', *Revue de droit canonique* 16 (1966), 355-66, esp. 359; Humbert, *cit.*, 346-7; J. Janssens, *Vita e morte del cristiano negli epitaffi di Roma anteriori al sec. VII*, Rome 1981, 107-12; 198-210; K. C. Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages*, London and New York 2000, 3-5.

Male virginity in the Roman non-Christian context

Methodologically sound research on Roman ages of marriage has been carried out since the 1960s. Legal texts set out minimum ages of twelve for girls and fourteen/fifteen for boys, but these are by their nature normative and not necessarily reflections of every day reality. Inscriptions offer an enormous collection of data, which are somewhat distorted by local commemorative patterns or the so-called epigraphic habit, causing people, for instance, to mention the age of death and the duration of marriage in the cases of people who died young or for those whose marriages had lasted an extraordinarily long time, in other words, to show a preference for the exceptional rather than the common. Papyrological data from Egyptian census lists might also be helpful, albeit only for the province of Egypt. Taking into account these pieces of evidence together with indications from comparative research, it seems that Roman society was characterised by a Mediterranean pattern of early marriage, with women marrying in their late teens or early twenties and men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty, possibly a bit younger for aristocratic young men. Recently, Walter Scheidel has convincingly argued that this is a general hypothesis one can advance with some certainty, while other claims should be made with the utmost caution, and with due consideration of the confounding variables revealed by comparative evidence from later periods. Even the suggestion that girls married in their late teens rather than their early to mid-teens seems to make more sense from a present-day point of view, but is otherwise hard to substantiate.[2]

Both in the Greek and the Roman tradition, sexual initiation and the loss of virginity were crucial components of the first wedding night for the girls[3]. We cannot know whether a girl from the middle class marrying in her late teens had any sexual experience before marriage. Most probably, it was expected that she had not. Virginity was considered important, although this claim of virginity was not yet sanctioned by religion. For high class Roman girls, sexual chastity before marriage was considered a must. The requirement of sexual purity was such that unmarried girls were not even allowed to attend banquets at which obscene jokes were made.[4] Ancient lexicographers mention the expression 'married words' (*nupta verba*): words which only married women were allowed to hear, women who had been initiated into the secrets of sexuality through the experience of the bridal bed.[5] The sudden confrontation with sexuality and the machismo of the first bridal night must often have marked a drastic change in the lives of aristocratic girls who had been commemoring their childhood just a day before. Marriage was in fact their rite de passage into adulthood.[6]

Not a single pagan text expresses the expectation that a young man should preferably be a virgin when he entered marriage. Quite the contrary. Roman youngsters had been permitted to experiment with sex from

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2 The study by W. Scheidel, 'Roman Funerary Commemoration and the Age of First Marriage', in *CPh* 102 (2007), 389-402, contains all the necessary references to earlier literature. A.A. Lelis – W.A. Percy – B.C. Verstraete, *The Age of Marriage in Ancient Rome,* Lewiston etc. 2003 has argued for an earlier age of marriage, both for boys and girls, in the aristocratic upper class. See Scheidel, *cit*., 401-2 on this study.

3 For the Greek tradition, see G. Sissa, *Greek Virginity*, Cambridge 1990; L. Viitaniemi, 'PARTHENIA – Remarks on Virginity and its Meanings in the Religious Context of Ancient Greece', in L. Larsson Lovén – A. Strömberg (eds), *Aspects of Women in Antiquity. Proceedings of the First Nordic Symposium on Women's Lives in Antiquity*, Jonsered 1998, 44-57. On marriage and sexual initiation in the papyri, see T. J. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Virginité et défloration masculines', in B.G. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology, vol. 2*, Athens 1988, 327-33. For an excellent overview of female virginity in the Roman world, see L. Caldwell, *Scripted Lives. Girls' Coming of Age in the Early Roman Empire*, Cambridge (forthcoming).

4 Varro, *Men*. 9 (ed. Cebè) = 11 (ed. Bücheler-Heraeus).

5 The expression is found with Fest. 174 (ed. Lindsay). See M. Lentano, "Noscere amoris iter": l'iniziazione alla vita sessuale nella cultura romana', *Euphrosyne* 24 (1996), 271-82.

6 It is a pity that we never hear the voices of these girls in the source material. For a brilliant evocation of a fictitious Roman wedding ceremony, see K. Hopkins, A *World Full of Gods: Pagans, Jews and Christians in the Roman Empire*, London 1999, 37.

their coming of age onwards. For this they had young male or female slaves at their disposal, and young men were encouraged to visit a brothel.[7] If we are to believe Philo of Alexandria, among the gentiles young men after their fourteenth year were engaged in completely shameless sexual acts with whores and all sorts of women who make a profit with their body.[8] After he became a husband, the Roman man still enjoyed a certain liberty in sexual matters. Roman marriage was marked by a double moral standard: other standards applied to men than to women, who were expected to guard their chastity. Despite the admonitions of moralists (and later on Christian authors) this remained the moral standard till late Antiquity. In the Roman concept of marriage, the sexual fidelity of the male partner was not considered an indispensable condition for a happy and harmonious marital life.[9] Admittedly the insistence on contracting a marriage in order to restrain youthful lust was a popular topos with moralists and ancient writers of comedy. But this emphasis needs to be understood in the context of the new responsibilities marriage brought: care for the new house, wife and children, and family patrimony.[10] Contrary to canonical law, sexual performance was not one of the basic conditions for the marriage being legally valid. In Ulpian's words, it was not sleeping together but consent that certified a marriage.[11]

The early church on marriage and virginity

The early church created a monopoly on virginity. To Christian authors, marriage was outshone by virginity and widowhood.[12] Admittedly, Christianity did not ban sexuality or the institution of marriage. Though Paul prided himself in his chastity, he emphasised that others had received other endowments by the Holy Spirit. In the end, it was better to marry than to burn: marriage served as a tool for the curbing of lust and passion.[13] While Tertullian must have shocked many of his compeers by his fierce attacks on extra-marital sex, marriages with non-Christians and even procreation, he also extols true Christian marriage, where man and wife live together in perfect *concordia*, as brother and sister, perfect servants

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7 On brothels and sexual outlets, see e.g. Pseudo-Acro, *Scholia in Horatium serm.* 1. 2. 31-32; Iuv. 5. 117; Pers. 5. 30-36. On slaves, see Sen. *benef.* 1. 9. 4. See C. Laes – J. Strubbe, *Jeugd in het Romeinse rijk. Jonge jaren, wilde haren?*, Leuven 2008, 59; 126-7; C. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality. Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*, New York and Oxford 1999, 38-47 (brothels); 30-8 (slaves).

8 Philo, *Ios*. 43. Philo is of course eager to stress the difference with Jewish practice.

9 Treggiari, cit. n. 1, 299-309; G. Nathan, cit. n. 1, 179-80. Remarkable examples in Suet. *Aug*. 69 (letter by the married Antony); Val. Max. 6. 7. 1 (Scipio's wife values her husband's concubine); Plut. *praec. coni.* 140b.

10 Laes – Strubbe, *cit.* n. 7, 180-1 for marriage as the end of youth. Typical texts include Ter. *Andr.* 151-3; 443-6; 560-2, as well as Cic. *fam*. 8. 13. 1; Statius, *silv.* 1. 2. 26-29; Ps.-Plut. *lib. educ.* 13.

11 *Dig.* 50. 17. 30 (Ulpian).

12 Scholarly literature on the subject of Christian marriage, asceticism and sexuality is vast. I mention only: P. Brown, *Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York 1988; E. Clark, '"Adam's Only Companion": Augustine and the Early Christian Debate on Marriage', in R. R. Edwards, S. Spector (eds), *The Olde Daunce: Love, Friendship and Marriage in the Medieval World*, New York 1991, 15-31; 240-54; E. Clark, 'Antifamilial Tendencies in Ancient Christianity', *JHSex* 5 (1995), 356-80; K. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge (MA) 1996; K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household*, Cambridge 2007; K. Cooper – C. Leyser, 'The Gender of Grace: Impotence, Servitude, and Manliness in the Fifth-Century West', *Gender and History* 12:3 (2000), 536-51; S. Elm, *Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1994; D. G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: the Jovinianist Controversy*, Oxford 2007; G. Nathan, *cit.* n. 1; C. Osiek, 'The Family in Early Christianity: "Family Values" Revisited', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 58 (1996), 1-24; T. M. Shaw, 'Sex and Sexual Renunciation', in P. F. Esler (ed.), *The Early Christian World*, London, New York 2000, vol. 1, 401-21; V. Vuolanto, *Family and Asceticism. Continuity Strategies in the Late Roman World* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis), University of Tampere 2008. For anthologies of relevant texts with commentary, see E. Eyben – C. Laes – T. Van Houdt, *Amor-Roma. Liefde en erotiek in Rome*, Leuven 2003, 130-4; 165-74; 198-203; 238-53 and V. L. Wimbush, *Ascetic Behavior in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis 1990.

13 1 Cor. 7: 7-9.

of the Lord, praying together and practicing charity together.[14] To Augustine the state of the married was inferior to celibacy or widowhood, but he nevertheless considered the bond between men and women as testimony to the most natural affinity in human society. Admittedly, after the Fall of Man, sexual lust had changed the character of marriage, but this did not mean that the institution of marriage itself should be considered morally wrong.[15] A passionate urge to promote virginity and widowhood, combined with a profound aversion to sex, led other patristic writers, such as Jerome or John Chrysostom, to make unrelenting tirades against marriage and sexuality, which must have struck their audience's ears as much as they strike the ears of modern readers. In their attacks on marriage, they mostly focus on the female side of it: the uncertain period of betrothal, with parents changing their minds over possible candidates for marriage[16], the nasty character of the bridegroom, the dangers of pregnancy, the problem of fertility, the burden of raising children, ubiquitous mortality, and marital violence.[17] However, 'male problems' are not forgotten: deception after marrying a most beautiful woman or a very ugly one, or problems with the dowry.[18] Ascetic and monastic movements expanded their criticism of both sexuality and marriage, as their followers opted for a self-inflicted destruction of their social status. However, it was also emphasised that male ascetics were potent, and indeed had abundant spiritual progeny.[19] Being without children had nothing to do with lack of manliness or authority.[20] As such, the ascetics had become masters of the power of fertility by negating their own sexuality.[21]

To the Christian patristic writers, virginity (*virginitas*) and chastity (*castitas*) were always closely intertwined. When using these terms, they may be referring to never having experienced coitus, or to a commitment to religious celibacy, or to sexual faithfulness in a monogamous marriage.[22] It was about holiness in body and spirit. Virginity was more than a physical technicality.[23] Hence, the patristic writers were usually dismissive of virginity tests as they were carried out by midwives. Such examinations did not prove anything: a *virgo intacta* might in fact not be a *virgo integra* in her spirit (like, for instance, the holy women who claimed to live together with a man in what they called a spiritual or a brother/sister marriage[24]). In about 380, Bishop Ambrose reported on the case of the consecrated Veronese virgin Indicia, who was accused of impurity on the basis of mere rumours. At this, Syagrius

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14 Tert. *uxor.* 2. 9. 6-9. See also Ioh. Chrys. *in epist. I ad Cor.* 26. 8 on harmony and mutual understanding in Christian marriage.

15 Aug. *virg.* 45 (inferior to celibacy); *bon. coniug.* 1. 3 (natural affinity); *civ.* 13. 23; *gen. ad litt.* 3 (marriage and sexual lust).

16 In all probability, there was also a considerable age gap between men and women in Christian marriage, causing women in their late teens to be on average eight years younger than their first husbands. See M. M. Aubin, 'More apparent than Real? Questioning the Difference in Marital Age between Christian and Non-Christian Women of Rome During the Third and Fourth Century', *AHB* 14:1 (2000), 1-13.

17 J. A. Schroeder, 'John Chrysostom's Critique of Spousal Violence', *JECS* 12 (2004), 103-16.

18 Hier. *epist.* 22, 22; 54, 4 & 15; Ioh. Chrys. *virg.* 57 are telling texts on the disadvantages of marriage.

19 E.g. Eus. Caes. *Dem. ev.* 1. 9; Greg. Nyss. *virg.* 19; Aug. *bon. coniug.* 9 and 17; *nupt. et concup.* 1. 13; *epist.* 243. 9.

20 Ioh. Chrys. *adv. oppugn. vit. mon.* 3. 16; Ambr. *fid.* 4. 8. 81-82.

21 Vuolanto, *cit.* n. 12, 84-90.

22 Kelly, *cit.* n. 1, 3-5.

23 1 Cor. 7: 34. In a sense, the concept of the hymen as a token of virginity was a creation of the Arabic medical tradition, which was adopted in the Latin West in the early Middle Ages. See Kelly, *cit.* n. 1, 25-6. Neither Aristotle nor Galen mention the virginal membrane when dealing with female anatomy. Soranus explicitly denies the existence of a hymen: Sor. *Gyn.* 1, 16-17. See G. Sissa, 'Une virginité sans hymen. Le corps feminin en Grèce ancienne', *Annales ESC* 39 (1984), 1119-39. For a different opinion on this matter, see L. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, Oxford and New York 1994, 50-55.

24 On this type of marriage, see particularly B. Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 2001; A. P. Alwis, *Celibate Marriages in Late Antique and Byzantine Hagiography: The Lives of Saints Julian and Basilissa, Andronikos and Athanasia, and Galaktion and Episteme*, London 2011.

of Verona had her virginity checked by a midwife. The Bishop of Milan strongly disapproved of this undignified and useless corporal inspection: instead he resorted to trustworthy witnesses to certify the virgin's dignity.[25]

Obviously there were no means to verify the virginity of males.[26] Based on classical humoral theories, discussions on the matter were limited to the possible effects of abstinence or sexual indulgence, as well as on the typically male ability to restrain his sexual activity, whereas women by their humoral constitution and predilection were more inclined to intercourse.[27]

Kathleen Kelly has called the consecrated male virgin 'a new ontological category with which Rome had little previous experience'.[28] In the year 211, Tertullian, for the first time in Latin literature, referred to 'so many men-virgins (*viri autem tot virgines*)' who contrary to female virgins were not veiled. For this reason, female virgins ought not to be honored for wearing this obvious sign of virginity.[29] Later on, Jerome also explicitly uses the word virgin as a masculine noun.[30] When these Christian authors did this, they ran counter to pagan usage.[31] Now we have to turn our attention to Latin epigraphy. Apparently, the specific Christian usage of the term *virgo* was frequently adopted for everyday usage in epitaphs, albeit in a peculiar way.

The Inscriptions of Rome[32]

Virgo *as masculine and feminine noun*

As in pagan Latin literature, in inscriptions *virgo* is nearly always used as a feminine noun, denoting a young girl not yet married. Girls were called *virgines* from about the age of seven. This was legally considered the minimum age for betrothal; from this age marriageableness could be displayed by the use of this word.[33] The link with the meaning of 'not being married' appears very explicitly in an inscription in which a woman is said to have lived twelve years as a *virgo*, and a further thirty years in marriage.

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25 The case is described in Ambr. *epist.* 5. See particularly *epist*. 5. 6: '… *cum praesertim nihil sanctius in virgine sit quam verecundia? Non enim sacra virgo ut corpore tantummodo integra sit quaeritur, et non ita in omnibus eius inoffensus maneat pudor. Virgo Domini suis est nixa fulcris ad sui probationem, nec alienis dotibus eget ut se virginem probet*'.

26 In their attempts to correlate male and female puberty, Hippocratic doctors mentioned the fact that adolescent boys might also bleed at first intercourse: Hippocr. *epist.* 6. 3. 14 (5. 300. 1-2 ed. Littré). See Dean-Jones, *cit.* n. 23, 53 on this passage. Strangely enough, in a story from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*AP* N 63) it is stated that the people who put the habit on a deceased monk's body could actually see that he had been a virgin!

27 Kelly, *cit.* n. 1, 94-101.

28 Kelly, *cit.* n. 1, 91.

29 Tert. *virg. vel.* 10. See also *virg. vel.* 8: *'qui inter viros virgo est'*.

30 Hier. *adv. Iovin.* 1. 4: '*Vos, quaeso, utriusque sexus virgines et continentes'*. See also Hier. *epist. 22. 21:* '*Virgo Elias, Eliscus virgo, virgines multi filii Prophetarum*'.

31 J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture*, Cambridge 1993, 260-1 on the use of *virgo* as a masculine noun by patristic writers.

32 For obvious reasons, I have chosen the inscriptions from the city of Rome. This vast collection is firmly documented in the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI* (*CIL*) for the non-Christian material, and the ten volume series *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (*ICUR*) for the Christian counterparts. As such, the number of inscriptions to be compared is more than sufficient, and the results are not skewed by local fashions in different places or cities.

33 P. Watson, '*Puella* and *Virgo*', *Glotta* 61 (1983), 119-43, esp. 137 n. 141 for epigraphical evidence. See the list in C. Laes, 'Inscriptions from Rome and the History of Childhood', in M. Harlow – R. Laurence (eds), *Age and Ageing in the Roman Empire,* Portsmouth 2007, 36: *CIL* VI 10703 (6 years); *CIL* VI 17144 (9 years); *CIL* VI 7898 (10 years); *CIL* VI 34130 (11 years; *virguncula*); *CIL* VI 23823 and 28756 (12 years); *CIL* VI 17224 and 35887 (13 years); *CLE* 55 = *CIL* I 1009; *CIL* VI 5817, 20167, 20653, 20892, 22704 and 28280 (14 years). 'Older' *virgines* above age fourteen: *CIL* VI 8027 (15 years); *CIL* VI 12055 (18 years); *CIL* VI 34728 = *ICUR* 27381 = 27397 (22 years). Though included in *CIL*, this last inscription is a Christian one, so that the eldest non-Christian female *virgo* in the Roman inscriptions was aged eighteen.

> To the gods of the underworld. Dedicated to the memory of beloved Aelia Crescentina. She lived twelve years as a virgin and thirty years and six months with her husband. Aufidius Secundianus made this for his wife.[34]

The same thought is expressed by using the turn of phrase *a virginitate*.[35] In one inscription, the purity and chastity of fourteen-year old Stephanis is emphasised, which has lead scholars to believe that this epitaph at least bears traces of Christian influence.[36]

The use of *virgo* as a masculine noun is very rare in pagan inscriptions. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* offers one example for Lyon, in which a six-year old daughter and a nineteen-year old son (the boy was a carpenter) who died within the space of only thirty days, were commemorated by their stepfather, mother, and brothers.[37] Searching through the databases of *CIL* VI, we only encounter one inscription in which a man is presumably named *virgo*. The 42-year old imperial freedman Titus Aelius Titianus, who had been in charge of the imperial library, died and was buried by his wife of twelve years, Flavia Ampelis, who even received the permission of the emperor to remove his bones afterwards. In all likelihood, Aelius Titianus died in Carnuntum when he was with the Emperor Marcus Aurelius on his expedition against the Marcomanni from 171 to 173 CE.[38]

Virginius *in Pagan Inscriptions from Rome*

Like its feminine counterpart *virginia*, the masculine noun *virginius* is only attested in inscriptions. Since the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has not reached the letter *v* yet, the Forcellini lexicon still offers the best and most elaborate lemma. There it is stated that *virginia* refers to a woman who had entered marriage as a virgin. Consequently, she was given this name by her husband. By analogy, *virginius* would have been

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34 *CIL* VI 10867 = *CIL* VI 12829: '*D(is) M(anibus) / memoriae / Ael(iae) Crescentinae / compari / quae vixit annis / virgo XII cum mari/to XXX et menses VI / Aufidius Secundianus / uxori fecit*'.

35 *CIL* VI 7732: '*Naevia C(ai) f(ilia) Pontis / vixit annis XIIX mens(ibus) X / dieb(us) IIII unum ab virgini/tate L(uci) Aemili Regilli matrimo/nium experta hunc titulum / pater infelicissimus filiae / opt<i=U>mae fecit'; CIL* VI 9810*: 'Dis Manibus / M(arci) Iuni Pudentis / pistori(s) magnario pepsiano / Claudia Earine / coniugi karissimo et sibi fecit / cum quo vixit a virginitate annis XXXV / sine ullo dolore nisi diem mortis eius et / libertis libertarbus posterisque eorum' (presumably Christian, see Diehl 7463); CIL* VI 11939*: 'D(is) M(anibus) / Antistiae Vict(o)riae con/iugi dulcissimae et be/ne merenti quae vixit an/nis XVII mens(ibus) n(umero) II dieb(us) XXVII / quae post virginitate / sua vix(i)t cum marito / suo mens(ibus) XI dieb(us) XXVII / Egnatius Eutychianus / maritus <f=E>ecit uxori ra/rissimae*'; *CIL* VI 22657: '*Dis M[a]nibus / M(arci) Munati Feli[cia]ni qui vix(it) / ann(is) LXVI men(sibus) [---] dieb(us) IIII / Munatia Aph[rodi]te uxor / coniugi car[is]simo quae / vixit cum eo [a] virginitate / sine ulla macula ann(os) XXXIV et / M(arcus) Munatius Felicianus filius / patri piissimo [e]t b(ene) m(erenti) fecerunt*'. Possibly, the same was expressed in a Christian inscription, the very fragmented character of which leaves us with many difficulties of interpretation: *ICUR* 13607 h: '*[---] secu[---] / [---] dece et o[cto ---] / [---]t et ad lucem [---] / [--- dulcis]simo filio [---] / [--- pe]r virginitat[em ---] / [---] XXI dep(ositus) VIII ka[lendas ---]*.'

36 *CIL* VI 5817: '*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Stephanis vir/go intaminata / lumen quod ace/pi reddidi pa/tre meum Ste/phanum secuta / hoc fatum voluit / vix(it) ann(os) XIIII*'. See B. Von Hesberg Tonn, *Coniunx carissima. Untersuchungen zum Normcharakter im Erscheinungsbild der römischen Frau* (PhD thesis), Stuttgart 1983, 152. For a similar case of *virgo intaminata*, see *CIL* VI 5817 = *CLE* 1532.

37 The deceased son is called *virgo*, here 'applied to a man without sexual experience', as *OLD* s.v. 2 a puts it. *CIL* XIII 2036: '*D(is) M(anibus) / et / memoriae aeternae / Valeriae Leucadiae infantis / dulcissimae quae vixit annis / VI d(iebus) XXX et / Virei Vitalis iuvenis incompa/rabilis ingeni artis fabricae / Ferrariae fratris eiusdem Leu/cadiae quorum mortem soli / XXX dies interfuerunt corpo/rato inter fabros tign(arios) Lugud(uni) / qui vixit ann(os) XVIIII m(enses) X d(ies) VI[I]II / cuius aetas talis fuit ut virgo / defunctus sit cuiusque sapien/tia omnibus amicis et parenti[b(us)] / admirabilis fuit huius de aeta[te] mors inique iudicavit. / Val(erius) Maximus Vitricus qui eum / sibi filium adoptaverat et art[e] / educaverat in quo spem aeta/tis suae conlocaverat et Iu/lia Secundina mater infeli/cissima qui sibi ab eis id fieri spe/raverant et / Vireii Marinianus et Secundi/nianus et Val(erius) Secundinus fra/tres p(onendum) c(uraverunt) et sibi vivi sub asc(ia) dedic(averunt)*'.

38 *CIL* VI 8878: '*D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Aelio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Titiano prox(imo) / a libr(is) sacerdotal(ibus) def(uncto) Carnunt(o) / ann(orum) XXXXII m(ensium) III d(ierum) XIX marit(o) virgin(i) / dulciss(imo) et incomparabili bene/que merito quem funeravit / Fl(avia) Ampelis coniux carissima / et reliquias eius permissu Imp(eratoris) / ipsa pertulit consecravitque / cum q(uo) v(ixit) a(nnos) XII m(enses) III d(ies) XXI sine ulla / querella*'.

the name a wife attributed to her husband, indicating that she had married him when *she* was a virgin.[39] Not surprisingly, Forcellini offers no examples of ancient definitions, only quotations from inscriptions in which the terms are used, but obviously never defined. In other words: we just have to take Forcellini at his word, and it might be worth taking a fresh look at the serial evidence. Indeed, some questions immediately come to mind. Could the term *virginius* also mean that the husband entered marriage for the first time?[40] Could it be the male counterpart of *univira*? Are there inscriptions for *virginii* who were not married? Were they mostly young persons? Do couples in which the man is named as a *virginius* mention having children?

There are four other examples of men being associated with virginity in *CIL* VI, by the term *virginius*.[41] As I will point out later, this is a very small number compared with the vast occurrence in Christian inscriptions.[42] Moreover, one of these four *CIL* VI inscriptions for *virginii* is actually a Christian epitaph.[43] Another is almost certainly non-Christian in inspiration. Aurelius Mucianus was a discharged soldier of the pretorian guard.[44] In another inscription, a husband honours his deceased wife and a certain Publius Aelius Filargurus, who appears to have been her former husband, and who is depicted as a *virginius.* Though this is not explicitly stated, in all probability Filargurus had already died. This would suggest that *virginius* represented the male ideal of marital fidelity, analogous to *univira* for wives.[45] => Finally, four commemorated persons, two men and two women, most of them freed persons, are called *virginia*.[46]

Male virgins in Christian inscriptions – age and unmarriedness

The ages at death of twenty male virgins are known. Seven of them are called *virgo* (see Table 1). About half of them were thirty years old or younger, so that we may safely say that they were quite young. Nine of the twenty-two male virgins were probably not married, since no wives are mentioned. Remarkably enough, these unmarried male virgins are nearly always labelled as *virgo* instead of *virginius*.[47] In these cases we may suspect that the original meaning for *virgo* was 'not yet married', as it was used in pagan

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39 E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, Padova 1771, 670-1 s. v. *virginia*: '*virginiam* appellabat maritus uxorem suam, quam virginem duxerat; eadem ratione *virginium* uxor maritum suum dicebat, cui virgo ipsa nupsisset'; 671 s. v. *virginius*: '*virginium* appellabat uxor maritum suum cui ipsa virgo nupsisset.' Note that for instance C. T. Lewis – C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879 do not even include the words *virginia* and *virginius*.

40 While the definition given by Forcellini does not exclude the possibility that a man might have had relationships with women or other marriages before entering the marriage in which he was called *virginius*, others have suggested that it also meant that it was the husband's first marriage: C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg 1917, 194; Nordberg, *cit.* n. 1, 209. Prominent Vatican scholars such as Ferrua have repeatedly opted for the former suggestion: Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 108.

41 Note that in *CIL* VI 8878 *marit(o) virgin(i)* could also be supplied as *marit(o) virgin(io)*.

42 Humbert, *cit.* n. 1, 66 also points to the rare occurrence of the term outside Rome. He lists *CIL* III 2739; 2868; 7507; 7553; 7694; 10577; 14910; *CIL* XIII 2189; *CIL* XIV 2841. Note that seven of these nine cases are from either Pannonia or Moesia.

43 *CIL* VI 37207 = *ICUR* 20738: '*D(is) M(anibus) / Val(erius) Ursianus cives Aquileie(n)sis probitus an(nos) XVIII / in legione X Gemina ubi mil(itavit) an(nos) V in pr(a)etoria an(nos) IIII / decessit an(no) plus minus XXVIII Iusta coniux bene (me)renti / virginio suo <f=E>ecit Iusta / mil(ites) cohor(tis) IIII pr(a)et(oriae)*'.

44 *CIL* VI 2604: '*D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius Mucianus missici/us c(o)h(o)r(tis) VI pr(a)et(oriae) qui vixit ann(os) / XXXVIIII me(n)s(es) VII dies VIIII (h)ora(s) VIIII / fecit Aelia Lucia co(n)iugi virginio / suo bene merenti fecit*.'

45 *CIL* VI 19253: '*D(is) M(anibus) / [---]nniae Helvidiae co(n)iugi sa[nctissi]mae / et incomparabili fec[it] / P(ublius) Arrenius Gemellinus de se b(ene) m(ere)nt(i) / con(!) qua vixit annis XI et / P(ublio) Aelio Filarguro marito virginio / {a}eius co[n(!) quo] vixit annis XXI*.' For this interpretation of *virginius*, see Humbert, *cit.* n. 1, 66 and Evans Grubbs, *cit.* n. 1, 335.

46 *CIL* VI 11731: '*D(is) M(anibus) / Annio Hilaro et / Flavio Romulo et / Annia[r(um)] Felic(u)l(a)e Sote/ris quorum corpora / virginia hic condita / sunt ad bene quiescendum*'. For a Christian example, see *ICUR* 20809: '*virginii in pace*' (about a man of unknown age and a woman named Iusta who died at age *p(lus) m(inus) LXIIII*).

47 The only two exceptions are *ICUR* 6497: '*Acomio [virgini]o ben[emerenti qui vixi]t ann[is] / XX mens[ibus] VI diebus [--- dormi]enti i[n] p(ace) / d(ie) V k(a)l(endas) maias Se[vero et] Ru[fino vv(iris) cc(larissimis) cons(ulibu)s]*'; *ICUR* 18458: '*Asellus qui et Martianus v(ixit) a(nnos) n(umero) XVIII / m(enses) VII / d(ies) XII / investis in pacae / Verissimus pater filio karissimo*'.

inscriptions for girls.[48] The age range of the deceased youngsters, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty-three, perfectly match the suggestion of a parallel with the feminine *virgo*: only Berecundus, thirty years old and commemorated by his mother, Spes, stands out as an exception.[49] If the turn of phrase *vernis venustus* is to be understood as '(most) handsome among the house-born slaves', one inscription for a male virgin is to be situated in the context of slaves and masters, though Vernis may also be interpreted as a cognomen.[50]

Two epitaphs may certainly be placed in the context of a religious community. In the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus, a *presbyter,* together with fathers and brothers, commemorated the 38-year-old lector Eugamius. The indication of his profession, as well as his age and the mention of *patres* and *fratres* strongly indicate that Eugamius lead a consecrated life somehow bound by religious vows.[51] A religious community is certainly a possibility in a fragmented inscription for a *scriptor*, who had recently been baptised and who was surrounded by fellow-students.[52] Unfortunately, these are the only two instances which point to the possibility of *virgo* as a consecrated life. Another two inscriptions for male virgins offer neither dedicators nor context, so that it would be rash to posit this thesis in these cases.[53] The paucity of evidence is in strong contrast to the ample epigraphic evidence of female virgins known as *virgines consecratae*.[54] However, one might still hold to the thesis of *virginii* as consecrated males, if one could find a considerable number of inscriptions for unmarried male virgins whose age is not indicated. In fact, we have only three possible examples.[55] In the end one must admit that married male virgins outnumber unmarried male virgins (eleven at the very most) by a factor of ten.

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48 See n. 33. Also Christian inscriptions use *virgo* in this sense for girls, as *ICUR* 4251: '*U]rse innocintissime castisimes / [f]emine que reliquid miseros <m>aritu / m et patrem vixit {X} virgo ann(os) XVIII et m(enses) II dies [---] / et cum maritum ann(os) III mese unum di<e>s XV / deposita III idus fe<b>(ruarias) quesquet in pace*'; *ICUR* 11214: '*quae mecum a virginitate s[ua vixit] / ann(is) VIIII mens(ibus) IIII dieb(us) XVI*'. For a list of Christian female *virgines*, unmarried girls mostly commemorated by their parents, see Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 200-1.

49 *ICUR* 25005: '*[A]urel(io) Petro fil[io] / dulcissimo qui v[ixit an]n(os) XVII / mens(es) VII virgo Aur(elius) M[ari]nus et / Ael(ia) Donata parentes Pelagiorum*'. *ICUR* 12459 (= I 3935): '*Felici filio bene merenti qui vixit annos / XXIII dies X qui exivit virgo de saeculu et / neofitus in pace / parentes fecerunt / dep(ositus) IIII nonas Aug(ustas)*'. In this inscription, the parents explicitly acknowledge that their son had just been baptised. *ICUR* 19464: '*Spes Berecundo filio / qui bixit an(nos) XXX birgo bene / mereti in pace*'. *ICUR* 18458: '*Asellus qui et Martianus v(ixit) a(nnos) n(umero) XVIII / m(enses) VII / d(ies) XII / investis in pacae / Verissimus pater filio karissimo*'.

50 *ICUR* 4348: '*Iulius vernis venustus qui vixit / annos XXI et mensis X depositus / virgo super se IIII kalendas septembres*'.

51 *ICUR* 16173: '*Eugamio l[ectori] virgini in p[a]ce / qui vixit annis [XXX]VIII me(nse)s II dies XXIII / cu[i titulum? pre]sbyter Generosus / una c[um patri]bus et frat[ribus posui]t / [depositus] XIII k(a)le(ndas) apriles*'.

52 *ICUR* 12093:'*[---]r qui bixit a(nnis) n(umero) X[---] / [---]enus scriptor [---] / virgo et a lege n[eo]fitus [---] / [con]discipuli rogantes deu[---]*'.

53 *ICUR* 6497: '*Acomio [virgini]o ben[emerenti qui vixi]t ann[is] / XX mens[ibus] VI diebus [--- dormi]enti i[n] p(ace) / d(ie) V k(a)l(endas) maias Se[vero et] Ru[ffino vv(iris) cc(larissimis) cons(ulibu)s. ICUR* 10098*: Pontius / Atenago / ras qui / vix(it) an(nos) XXII / virgo*'.

54 For epigraphic evidence for the city of Rome, see C. Pietri, 'Appendice prosopographique à la "Roma Christiana" (311-440)', *MEFRA* 89:1 (1977), 409-15. For literary testimonies, see J. Mayer, *Monumenta de viduis diaconissis virginibusque tractantia*, Bonn 1938. See also F. Grossi Gondi, *Trattato di epigrafia cristiana latina e greca del mondo romano occidentale*, Rome 1920, 156-8; Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 198-210, esp. 206-10.

55 *ICUR* 19349 (= *CIL* VI 9655): '*Sevirinus negotia(n)s emit si<b=V>i locu(m) a / Safargiu fossore sub virginia sua*'. The merchant Sevirinus bought a place to be buried in the catacombs from the *fossor* Safargius. Perhaps the turn of phrase *sub virginia sua* indicates that he did so when he was not yet married. *ICUR* 17079: '*Marco virg(in)io Eusebia fecit*'. Of course, there is the possibility that Eusebia was in fact Marcus' wife. A. Ferrua, 'Il sarcofago d'un bambino del IV secolo', *La Civiltá Cattolica* 118 (1967), 353-62, v. 2: '*Theusebio virgini neofito; v. 10: virginemq(ue) gerit, dom(ino) tribuente, corona(m)*'. Beneath this metrical inscription, the father had the following text inscribed: '*hic mihi prior filius, hic virgo virginem dedicavi[t] hunc locum*'.

The dossier of married male virgins

Table 2 collects the evidence on male virgins known to have been married as they appear in the *ICUR* collection. A first look at the table immediately reveals the overwhelming occurrence of the term *virginius.* The male form of *virgo*, however, only occurs in an epitaph where a wife honours her husband with the turn of phrase *virgo ad virginem*.[56] In fact, among all the inscriptions for male virgins with age indication and using the term *virgo*, there is not a single inscription for a married male virgin. *Virginius* thus seems to have had the connotation of being married,[57] while *virgo* was used in the sense of young and not yet married (analogous to the female use of the word), or in rare cases to suggest a consecrated life in celibacy. There is only one inscription for a *virginius* who seems not to have been married, but the fragmented state of the text makes this somewhat uncertain.[58]

While it is clear that *virginius* is mostly used in the context of married life, the serial evidence does not allow the drawing of any conclusions on specific types of marriages which might have been designated by this term. Few scholars would be prepared to endorse the Leclercq thesis that here we are dealing with 'chaste' marriages which have never been sexually consummated.[59] The use of *virginius* certainly did not designate a short duration of marriage, an alliance which was suddenly broken by premature death. On the contrary, in Table 2 we find marriages that lasted anything from seven or eight months to 34 years, and four examples of marriages lasting for thirty years. Nor is the emphasis of the *virginii* inscriptions on exceptionally long marriage duration, which allows the possibility of couples opting for the brother/sister marriage and foresaking sexual relationships after having produced offspring.

In about twenty instances, it is possible to calculate the wife's age at marriage. Table 2 shows ages ranging from eleven or twelve at time of marriage through mid-teens to early twenties, with the highest attested age as twenty-five. These numbers match with what we know from earlier research on age of marriage in Christian inscriptions, and reaffirm the Forcellini suggestion that by the use of the term *virginius* women indicated their status as a virgin at the moment of marriage: in accordance with both Roman pagan tradition and Christian expectations it was their first marriage.[60] As for men's first age at marriage, the paucity of evidence from *virginii* makes any claim difficult to substantiate, but the five attested ages suggest an average age of mid twenties for men at first marriage. *Virginius* may thus indicate that it was a man's first marriage, while it may equally well indicate that his wife entered her marriage with him as a virgin. In one rare example, *virginius* is explicitly used for a man in the period before being married – a usage of the term which must have been taken from the use of *a virginitate* for wives.[61]

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56 *ICUR* 11798, see n. 72.

57 Note the use of the Greek *partheneikos* as an adjective for a husband in *ICUR* 1869. This rare usage was most probably copied from the Latin *virginius*. See Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 111. Note that Plut. *Pomp.* 74. 3 has Cornelia speaking of her first husband as *parthenios aner* when she expresses the wish that she had died before hearing of his death. See Treggiari, *cit.* n. 1, 234.

58 *ICUR* 6497; see note 53. Also the separate use of *virginia* is extremely rare. Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 110 only mentions *ICUR* 16142.

59 Leclerq, *cit.* n. 1, 1963 refers to one Roman inscription to validate his thesis: *ICUR* 9464: '*dep(ositio) Vi [---] / que vixit inli/ bata cum birgin/ io suo annis V e / [t---]*'. However, the adjective *inlibata* is very rare in inscriptions, and may also have connotations of 'unabridged', 'uninjured', somehow the equivalent of *sine lite*. It does indeed appear in connection with virginity in Val. Max. 6. 1. 4.

60 See Aubin, *cit.* n. 16 and C. Carletti, 'Aspetti biometrici del matrimonio nelle iscrizioni cristiane di Roma', *Augustinianum* 27 (1977), 39-51.

61 *ICUR* 13886: '*ex virginio tuo ben(emerenti) / e meco vixsisti libens c /oniuga innocentissi / ma Cervonia Silvana / refrigera cum spirita / sancta dep(osita) kal(endas) apr(iles) Tiberi / ano II et Dioni co(n)ss(ulibus)*'. On this remarkable and unique usage, see Diehl 2305 and H. Solin, 'Zu altchristlichen Inschriften', *GGA* 229 (1977), 82-109, esp. 103.

Table 3 shows how the husband to wife dedications mentioning a *virginius* are far more numerous that the wife to husband ones. While wives were mostly called *virginia* by their husbands, men did not hesitate to call themselves *virginii* in epitaphs they set up for their deceased wives.[62] Sometimes chastity and reverence towards each other is emphasised, as in the case of the *virginius* Cleopatrus who is said to have been left as an orphan after the death of his faithful wife Patricia.[63] A telling example of the Christian stress on chastity and marital fidelity is an epitaph in which Probilianus praises his deceased wife (Hilaritas or Felicitas?) for having been faithful to him during his eight year period of absence. The inscription explicitly states that the neighbours were witnesses to her virtuous behaviour. By her chastity, the woman had earned her rightful place in the catacombs of San Callisto:

> Probilianus to his beloved (?) virgin. All the neighbours have experienced her fidelity, chastity and goodness. For eight years, during the absence of her husband (*virgini sui*), she preserved her chastity. Therefore she has been buried in this holy place, on the thirthieth of January.[64]

The link between *virginius* and married life emerges from the fact that in some inscriptions *virginius* seems to have taken the meaning of husband. The turn of phrase *cum virginio* occurs in the same way that the formula *fecit cum marito* is epigraphically attested.[65] In one epitaph, *virginia* is used for the wife Cassanete, and the synonyms *maritus/virginius* for her husband.[66] Moreover, an inscription now in the Quattro Coronati monastery reads as follows: '*Aurelia Legitima univira / que abuit birginium / XVI kal(endas) Mar(tias) in pace*'. The ICUR-editors rightly remark that the word *birginium* could mean several things: it could be a proper name of a husband (Verginius), or just indicate that Aurelia Legitima had been married. Of course, the latter possibility is already suggested by the word *univira*, but again, *birginium* could add to the Christian flavour of the inscription.[67]

In one inscription *virginius,* meaning husband, is placed on the same level as *filius*.[68] In addition, in another epitaph *virginius* seems to be synonymous with *maritus*. Vincentia remembers Phoebe and her husband.[69] An epitaph from the cemetery of Praetextatus mentions eighteen years of marriage (*cum virginium*), five years of widowhood, and an age of death of 34, leaving us with an early age of marriage at age eleven.[70] An inscription from the cemetery of San Agnese from 24 November 396 mentions a man who died at unknown age and his wife who died at approximately 64 years of age. Both are called *virginii*: again an example of synonymous use for both partners in a marriage.[71]

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62 Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 111-2.

63 *ICUR* 13196: '*Vona fidelis casta dulcissima prudens femina Patricia innox / q(uae) vixit ann(is) XXI m(enses) VI d(ies) XVIII q(uae) fecit cum Cleopatro virg(inio) suo / orfano nunc relincto cum omne religione et castitate ann(os) IIII m(ensem) I d(ies) XIIII. / Depost(a) est d(ie) XI kal(endas) mart(ias) benemerente in pace l(ocus) b(isomus)*'.

64 *ICUR* 10953: '*…tati virginiae suae Probilianus / queius fidelitatem et castitate et bonitate / omnes vicinales experti sunt quae / annis n(umero) VIII absentia virgini sui suam cas/titatem custodivit unde in hoc loco sancto deposita est III kal(endas) Febr(uarias)*'.

65 *ICUR* 2864 lines 5-6: '*et fecit cum {m}marito / suo ann(os) XXI m(enses) III d(ies) III REN MIR* (*sic*)'.

66 *ICUR* 2730: '*Maritus bene / merente Cass/ anete virginie / qui vixit ann(os) XXXVI / et dies I fecit cum vircin/ium sunt ann(i) VI / mes / es X dies X disessit VI / idus Matias*'.

67 *ICUR* 1009. *Comm. ad locum*: 'Verginius, nomen proprium an potius maritus'?

68 *ICUR* 17859: '*Ienuare quesquenti / quen posuit virginius et / filius benemerenti quesquet / in pace*'.

69 *ICUR* 10280: '*Vincentia in / petas pro Phoe/be et pro vir/cinio e/ius*'.

70 *ICUR* 14705: '*[---]na que vixit annos XXXIIII cum virginium fecit annos XVIII vidua fuit annos V deposita in pace XV [---]us Victor dep[ositus --- no]nis aprilis*'.

71 *ICUR* 20809: '*[--- benemerent]i in / [pace qui vi]xit ann(os) / [--]II non(as) Ian(uarias) / [A]rcadio Aug(usto) IIII et Ho/ norio III cons(ulibu)s et / [Iu]stae benemerenti / quae vixit ann(os) p(lus) m(inus) LXIIII / dep(osita) VIIII kal(endas) dec(embres) ips(is)*

In one case, reference seems to be made to betrothal: an unnamed woman honours her husband, lector Alexius, with whom she had lived for fifteen years, but who had been linked (*iunctus*) with her for sixteen years. Both man and wife are called *virgo*.[72]

Only three inscriptions mention *virginii* as having children.[73] However, it would be rash to conclude from this that the bulk of inscriptions not mentioning offspring imply couples practicing sexual chastity. On the contrary: such inscriptions belong to the type of husband to wife dedications, or *vice versa*, which are also amply attested in pagan epitaphs. In these inscriptions, reticence about children did not automatically imply that the couple did not have offspring.[74]

Conclusion

As so often, the well-known brevity of inscription leaves us with unanswered questions. People simply used terms as *virgo* and *virginius*. As they were understood by the audience of those who read them, there was no need define these terms in stone. However, putting together the serial evidence enables us to crack some of the epigraphical codes and come closer to an understanding of these inscriptions from the City of Rome. The masculine use of the word *virgo* comes very close to the meaning of the feminine form. It usually designated young and unmarried people, although in some cases reference was made to consecrated religious life. *Virginius* was almost exclusively used for married persons. The wide range of attested ages and the appearance of attested offspring in some cases makes the possibility of chaste and unconsummated marriages unlikely, but other possibilities are left open. In all likelihood, the allusion was to a girl marrying for the first time and as a virgin. Both the Greco-Roman and the Christian cultural context indicate this, as well as the fact that men publicised their having a virgin bride by attributing to themselves the term *virginius.* Nor is it impossible that *virginius* referred to the men's first marriage, perhaps after having a chaste lifestyle beforehand. Though neither possibility can be proven on the basis of the source material, one single inscription using the turn of phrase *ex virginio tuo* (see note 61), the analogy with the feminine *virginia,* and particulary the ideological context of the Christian way of life, point in this direction.

One fact, however, is indisputable. The frequent recurrence to the term *virginius*, and to a lesser extent the use of *virgo* as a masculine noun, stand out as a typical features of Christian epigraphy. Readers or passers-by would undoubtedly have recognised such inscriptions as belonging to the new religion, while Christians themselves would have acknowleged chastity and virginity as markers of their identity. They never saw it as a physical technicality, but as a wide and broad-ranging term connotating holiness in body and spirit.[75] As such, the mention of virginity for both males and females became the new fashionable term of Christian epigraphy, replacing older 'pagan' ideals such as the *univira,* which seems to have become

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co(n)s(ulibus) / virginii in pace'.

72 *ICUR* 11798: '*dilectissimo marito anime dulcissime Alexio lectori /de Fullonices, qui vixit mecum ann(is) VX iunctus mihi ann(orum) XVI / virgo ad virgine(m), cuius numquam amaritudinem h(a)bui. / Cesque in pace cum sanctis cum quos mereris. / Dep(ositus) VIIIX kal(endas) ianu(arias)*'. On betrothal, see Janssens, *cit.* n. 1, 108 referring to *ICUR* 6049 (Hilaritas being engaged at age eleven, marrying at age eighteen and dying at age twenty-five).

73 *ICUR* 4682: '*Staia benemerenti cum filiis / suis fecit Simplicio virginio / cum quo vixit ann(os) XXX anima / dulcis requievit in pace*'. *ICUR* 11876: '*Quiriace quae vixit annis / XXXVII cum virginio suo/ Igino{s} fecit annus XXIII. / Fili fecerunt parentibus suis in pace*'. *ICUR* 23857: '*Caesonio Ha[bili? virgi]nio / caris[si]mo be[neme]renti / <q>ui vix[it ann]is X[---] / relic[tis f]il(iis) n(umero) III [pri]mum / an(norum) VIIII aliu[m an(norum) --- al]ium an(norum) II S[ecu]nda coniunx*'.

74 R. P. Saller, 'Men's Age at Marriage and its Consequences in the Roman Family', *CPh* 82 (1987), 21-34; B. Shaw, 'The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage: some Reconsiderations', *JRS* 77 (1987), 30-46.

75 Note the partly technical definition in Catholic Church's present-day Canon law 1037.

outdated by that time.[76] This is perhaps the most important point to stress in the discussion about Christian *virginii*: the term did not have one single concrete meaning, but it was used to imply a pure, virginal and Christian lifestyle.

In many respects Christianity was indeed at odds with the standards and values of pagan society. In her recent book, Kate Cooper has explained how Christian thinkers and writers were eager to fit their new discourse into the rich pagan tradition. To them, the choice of marriage was not diametrically opposed to the ascetic ideal: living in a family was also a form of asceticism and a way to put Christian virtues into practice. Moverover, they both reinforced and transformed the institution of Roman marriage. Instead of a contractual agreement, it became a spiritual and by preference indissoluble tie between two persons, in which female submissiveness and continence by both partners were strongly emphasised. To Cooper, the Christianisation of marriage was a late Roman, not a medieval, problem. Already in the fourth century the need to re-theorise marriage had begun to be addressed, and the Christian identity of the married laity was far from inarticulate.[77] Her excellent book and most valuable theses are not so much about the daily life of the early Christians, but the complicated and often intangible subject of the interaction between theology and discourse on the one hand and practice on the other hand. In my view, the evidence on male virgins in Christian inscriptions reinforces her thesis. In practice, few Christians went as far as the radical ascetics and strove to banish sexual passion or even procreation. Most of them married, but at least kept the marital ideals of Christianity in their self-representation on stones. As such, these epitaphs testify to the socialising effects of religion, and the Christianisation of marriage, which did indeed take place in late Antiquity, a period of passages *par excellence*.

Table 1. Male virgins with attested ages

ICUR	**Age of male virgin**	**Married?**	**Wording**	**dedicators**
12093	10 y. +	not	virgo	condiscipuli
23857	10 y. +	yes	virgi]nio	uxor
25005	17 y.	not	virgo	parentes
18458[78]	18 y.	not	investis	pater
6497	20 y.	not	[virgini]o	--
4348	21 y.	not	virgo	-- (*Iulus vernis venustus)*
10098	22 y.	not	virgo	--
12459 (= 3935)	23 y.	not	virgo	parentes
20738 (= *CIL* VI 37207)	28 y.	yes	virginio	uxor
8985 = 15327	30 y.	yes	virginio	uxor
19464	30 y.	not	birgo	mater
351 = 9228	32 y.	yes	birginio	uxor
16173	38 y.	not	virgini	presbyter, patres et fratres
3714	43 y.	yes	virginio	uxor
11906	43 y.	yes	virgini]o	uxor

76 Though the term did not disappear in late Antiquity. See Humbert, *cit.* n. 1, 347-8.

77 Cooper, *cit.* n. 12, esp. p. xi.

78 See above n. 47 and 49. See the comment *ad locum* on *investis*: *'sed hic patet idem est ac virgo, ut Tert. de virg. 8 et 11'*. The passage in Festus, to which this comment refers, is Fest. 506 (ed. Lindsay): '*Vesticeps puer qui iam vestitus est pubertate, econtra investis, qui necdum pubertate vestitus est*'.

1132	44 y.	yes	vi]rginio	uxor
2683	46 y.	yes	virginio	uxor
21053	49 y.	yes	virginio	uxor
6002	54 y.	yes	virginio	uxor
15542	55 y.+	yes?	virginio	uxor?
4335	64 y.[79]	yes	v(irginio?)	uxor
22743	70 y.?	yes	virginio	uxor

Table 2. Married male virgins

ICUR	**Wording**	**Years of marriage**	**Woman's age at marriage**	**Man's age at marriage**
331	cum virginio suo	?		
419	con(iugi) virg(inio)			
351 = 9228	birginio	4 y.		28 y.
1009	que abuit birginium			
1132	vi]rginio	6 y. (?)		38 y. (?)
1783	cum virginium suum	13 y.		
1826	bixit super virg[inium suum ---]			
1991 = 23528	cum virgini[um] su[um]	18 y.	27 y.	
2149	cum vir(ginio)	1 y.	25 y.	
2683	virginio suo			
2730	cum vircinium	6 y.	20 y.	
2868	cum vir[ginio suo --	?		
3066	vir[ginio suo	15 y.		
3584	cum virgenium	?		
3697	cum virg(inio) suo	7 y.	12 y.	
3714	virginio			
4335	c(arissimo?) m(arito?) v(irginio?)			
4682	virginio	30 y.		
5351	virginius tuus	26 y.		
6002	virginio suo	30 y.		20 y.
6452	cum virginium suum	20 y.	17 y.	
8329	cum virginio suo	16 y.		
8985 = 15327	virginio suo	?		
9673	cun virginio suo	9 y.	14 y.	
9392	vircinio suo	18 y.		
9464	cum birginio suo	5 y.		
10217	cum [virgi]nio suo	30 y.		
10280	pro vircinio eius			

79 In fact, this is a rather uncertain reading of an inscription which is only preserved in literary copies. '*T(ito) Fl(avio) Postumio Varo / c(arissimo ?) m(arito ?) v(irginio ?) qui vixit / annis LXIIII d(iebus) XXXI/ dep(ositus) VII kal(endas) octob(res)/ Sextilia Iusta f(ecit) / coniugi benemeren/ti in pace*'.

10953	absentia virgini sui			
11241	cum vircinio suo	10 y.	21 y.	
11774	[cu]m virginio suo	?		
11798	virgo ad virginem	15 y.		
11876	cum virginio suo	23 y.	14 y.	
11878	cum virginio suo	29 y.[80]		
11896	cum virginio suo	3 y.	16 y.	
11906	cum [virgini]o suo	22 y.		21 y.
12551	cum virgini(um) suum	1 y. minus 1 day	15 y.	
12648	cum virgi(nio)	?		
12732	virginius			
13196	cum virg(inio) suo	4 y.	17 y.	
13283	cum vir[ginio ---			
13654	virgin[io ---]	? y. 7 m.		
13886	ex virginio tuo			
14461	byrginio suo			
14705	cum virginium	18 y.	11 y.	
15563	virginio suo			
15625	cum virginio suo	12 y.	21 y.	
16134	cum virgi[nio suo ---]	?		
16537	cum virgi[nium] suum	6 y.		
16542	--v]irginio suo			
16554	[cum virgi]nio suo	21 y.	16 y.	
17014	v<i>rginio coniugi	1 y.		
17859	virginius			
18002	cum virginio suo	9 y.	17 y.	
18492	cum virgio suo	25 y.		
18914	cum virginio suo	30 y.		
20052	[v]irginio suo			
20135	cu[m virginio ---]	6 y.		
20365	cum virginio suo	8 y.	14 y.	
20738 (= *CIL* VI 37207)	virginio suo			
20809	virginii			
21053	virginio suo	18 y.		31 y.
21210	cum virginium suum	10 y.	17 y.	
23447	cum virginio	34 y.	11 y.	
23782	cum birginium	10 y. +	maximum: 18 y.	

80 There is an obvious mistake in the numbers, as Quracetis would only have lived for fifteen years: '*depossio Quracetis que vixit / annis XIIIII menses VIII cum / XX virginio suo fecit annos XXVIIII / et dies XXXVIIII Ursacius coiugi /benemerenti in pace / d(e) p(osita) kal(endas) sep(tembres)*'.

23857	virgi]nio caris[si]mo			
25624	cum vir[ginio suo]	?		
25869 a	[--- cum] virgin[io suo	?		
26771	c]um virgi[nio suo ---]	?		
27162	cum virgi[nio suo]	8 m.	17 y.	
27184	virginio suo	7 y.		
27498	virginio [---]			
Diehl 4248 b	cum virg(inio) suo	7 m.	18 y.	
Diehl 4248 c	compari birginio	27 y.		
RAC 48 1972, 230-231	(vir)ginio	?		
22743	virgi[nio---]			

Table 3. Dedicators and dedicatees in inscriptions mentioning male virgins

Type of dedication	**Number of inscriptions**
Wife to husband	23
Husband to wife	43
Parents to children	1 (*ICUR* 20365)
Brother to sister	1 (*ICUR* 11896)
Children to parents	2 (*ICUR* 11876; 17859)[81]
Others for a couple	2 (*ICUR* 10280; 20809)

81 In *ICUR* 17859 a father and a son honour their deceased wife and mother.

Fictores and the Cult of Vesta

Outi Sihvonen

Introduction

The Roman religious system can be described as consisting both of the state cult with its priestly authorities, and of the cultic groups functioning in private. The priests of different deities formed colleges, and this was a distinctive feature of the state cult organization. The cult of the goddess Vesta formed an essential part of this system in the imperial era, due to the reforms of Emperor Augustus. As the guardian of tamed fire, Vesta was also connected to the continuity of the state, which was symbolized by the eternal fire in the temple of Vesta in the *forum Romanum*. Six Vestal virgins (*virgines Vestales*) from the noble Roman families were chosen at a time to guard the fire and the cult.[1]

Instead of studying the Vestal virgins themselves, I will turn my attention to cultic officials called *fictores*, who in the late republic are mentioned as bakers of the sacred cakes (*liba*), but in the third century CE appear to be strongly connected with the cult of Vesta and its priestesses. My objective here is to study how the ritual duties of the *fictores* connected them to the cult of Vesta and to the Vestal virgins. On the other hand, the social status of the *fictores* is at the centre of my study, offering us a viewpoint not only to the changes in the cult of Vesta but also more generally to the organizational structures of the religious colleges, particularly in the third century CE. Although the cult of Vesta has been studied for a long time, these assistants have aroused little interest in research.[2] I ask what their importance was in the cult practices, as far as the Vestals are concerned, and why they appeared frequently in the inscriptions donated to the chief Vestals during the third century CE.

The sources about the Vestals and *fictores* are scattered, and the evidence comes from different centuries, and from many authors, and of different genres. The third-century epigraphical evidence is the most

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1 For the useful comments and suggestions, I would like to express my gratitude to Mika Kajava, Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Simon Malmberg, Katariina Mustakallio and Ville Vuolanto.

On Roman priesthoods and cults, see e.g. M. Beard – J.A. North, *Pagan Priests*, London 1990; R. Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1996 [1989]. On the sacral colleges and the structure of them see J. Rüpke, 'Different Colleges – Never Mind!?', in J.H. Richardson – F. Santangelo (eds), *Priests and State in the Roman World*, Stuttgart 2011, 25-38. The Vestals and their cult have been studied for a long time and the special features of their status and lives have been discussed from many angles. For recent work on the social position of the Vestals and the historical change, see N. Mekacher, *Die vestalischen Jungfrauen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Wiesbaden 2006; K. Mustakallio, 'The Changing role of the Vestal Virgins', in L. Larsson Lovén – A. Strömberg (eds), *Public Roles – Personal Status, Men and Women in Antiquity*, Sävedalen 2007, 185-203; N. Mekacher – F. van Haeperen, 'Le Choix des Vestales, Miroir d'une Société en Évolution (III^{e} s. a.C.– I^{er} s. p.C.)', *RHR* 220:1 (2003), 63-80; M. C. Martini, 'Carattere e struttura del sacerdozio delle Vestali: un approccio strorico-religioso, 1', *Latomus* LVI:2 (1997), 245-63; H. Cancik-Lindemaier, 'Priestly and Female Roles in Roman Religion. The Virgines Vestae', *Hyperboreus* II:2 (1996), 138-50.

2 Only few studies take note of them. See B. Scardigli, 'Servi privati delle Vestali?', *Studi e testi di storia antica* 8 (1997), 233-48; Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 43-4. For short biographies and prosopographical details of the identifiable *fictores,* see J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum: a Prosopography of Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Religious Officials in the City of Rome, 300 BC to AD 499*, Oxford 2008 [2005].

relevant for my study. Numerous inscriptions found from the *Atrium Vestae* donated to the chief Vestals give detailed information about the social position of the *fictores*. With this material, it is possible to identify some of the *fictores* and study the changes during their careers in the cultic system and in their social standing in the community. On the other hand, the epigraphical material has its limitations, for we cannot, for example, trace the reasons behind their career development.[3] While analysing the epigraphical source materials, I have used prosopographical methods in order to study the social origins and connections of fictores.[4] As the supplementary material I use literary evidence from Cicero and the Late Republican era onwards, offering descriptions of the duties of the *fictores* and presenting evidence of their importance for the cult of Vesta.

I begin by shortly examining the origins of *fictores* and their place and duties in the Roman cultic systems of late Republic and early Empire, and how their occupation was connected to the Vestal virgins and their duties. After this necessary introduction, I will proceed to scrutinize the third century epigraphical material, and to examine the social position of *fictores* and their relations with the Vestals.

Fictores in the Late Republic and Early Empire

The *fictores* form only one group in the hierarchy of the sacral assistants who helped the priests, the *pontifices*, to take care of different practical matters. The sources from the Republican era and early Empire connect the *fictores* particularly to the pontifical priests; the Vestals are not mentioned in this connection yet. Besides the *fictores*, there were slaves called *servi publici*, who were maintained by the state or by their *patronus* or *patrona*, who had a priestly office. On the other hand, some of these servants, at least the so called *calatores*, could have been freedmen.[5] In addition to these state or privately sustained servants, there was also more professionally oriented group called *apparitores*, attendants or servants of the priests. They received a fixed salary from the state and they attended to different duties which varied in importance and appreciation.[6]

The purpose and the occupation of the *fictores* are commented on by various Roman writers. In the first century BCE Varro claimed that the origin of the word *fictor* came from the verb *fingere*, which means ‘to mould’ or ‘to make’. According to him, the *fictores* made or shaped the cakes called *liba*, which were used in the sacrifice.[7] Varro makes an ambiguous statement that the *liba* cakes are baked in order to make the libation before eating. It remains vague whether the cakes are then eaten or only sacrificed before the

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3 Although there are a lot of inscriptions on the Vestals, there are only a few comprehensive studies of these. One of the first was A. D. Nock, ‘*A Diis electa*: A Chapter in the Religious History of the Third Century’, *HThR* 23:4 (1930), 225-74. Nina Mekacher has presented and commented on all the inscriptions in her work. On the translations in German, see N. Mekacher, *cit.* n. 1, esp. 199-209. Regula Frei-Stolba has studied the inscriptions for the chief Vestal Flavia Publicia in ‘Flavia Publicia, virgo Vestalis maxima. Zu den Inschriften des Atrium Vestae’, in P. Kneissl – V. Losemann (eds), *Imperium Romanum. Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption. Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 1998, 233-51.

4 For prosopographical studies and Roman religion, see especially Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2.

5 The title *ministri* generally referred to the servants of the priests. Further, *calatores/kalatores*, the helpers or the attendants of the priest, were also a common occupational group in imperial times. Possibly the *calatores* were the freedmen of their priestly patrons, and it is highly likely that their term in office lasted as long as the term of their patrons. Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2, 12, 39-50; M. Horster, ‘Living on Religion: Professionals and Personnel’, in J. Rüpke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Oxford etc. 2007, 331-41, esp. 332-3.

6 For example, among the *apparitores* there was the office of the *scribae* (the professional writers), which had very high prestige. See N. Purcell, ‘The *apparitores*: a study in social mobility’, *PBSR* 51 (1983), 125-73. See also Horster, *cit.* n. 5, 334-36.

7 Origins of the word *fictor*, see Varro *ling*. 6.78.2-5. In a later passage Varro explains the function of the *fictores* as bakers of the sacrificial cakes: Varro *ling*. 7.43-44. The word *fictor* is used most often in non-religious context by many authors. For instance, Pliny uses the word *fictor* when he refers to the famous artists and sculptors.

meal.[8] Besides this, we do not know exactly what the cakes looked like, although there is a theory which connects the *liba* and *fictor* to the fragmentary relief of Ara Pietatis Augustae.[9] Even if we can nominate this fragment as a possible representation of a *fictor*, it is, in my opinion, too risky to state this definitely, since we cannot be sure about the appearance of the *liba*, or whether the *fictores* were the persons to deliver their productions to the sacrificial scene.

Varro bases his remark about the *fictores* on the *Annales* of the republican author Ennius, from second century BCE. In his *Annales*, which is handed down to our time only very fragmentarily, Ennius also claimed that the institution of *fictores* dated back to King Numa Pompilius, who was remembered in the tradition as a great organizer of cult life.[10] Varro seems not to redefine the duties performed by the *fictores* when he interprets Ennius, nor does he attribute to them any new significance – rather he simply reiterates their purpose. In all likelihood, this means that the *fictores* were practicing their occupation as the bakers of sacrificial cakes at the time of Varro or, at the very least that their occupation was connected to the baking, just as it is recorded by Ennius. Considering that Ennius and Varro practiced their studies in different centuries and the purpose and genre of their works was different, we must, however, acknowledge that there might have occurred a change in interpretation. Since his main purpose was to study the words, it may well be that Varro only gave the etymological content for the word *fictor*, without referring to the actual practices of his own time. Thus, the nature of the *fictores*' office might have been different in the era of Varro, although there is no evidence to confirm or deny this. In any case, the original work of the *fictores* was practical or physical, since they had to mould and bake the cakes.

Although there is no direct evidence of any religious festivals in which the *fictores* might have participated, there are descriptions of the cakes themselves and of the occasions when they were used. The most detailed descriptions of usage of *liba* are presented by Ovid, as he gives an account of the practices of Roman religion in his work *Fasti*.[11] Sextus Festus, a Roman grammarian from the second century CE, records how the priests used a special sacrificial knife (*secespita*) to cut these sacrificial cakes.[12]

Unfortunately, these sources do not state whether the *fictores* had any specific role in the sacrifices. However, Cicero states that a person unsuitable to act as a priest (*pontifex maximus*) would perform rites '*ignarus, invitus sine conlegis, sine libris, sine auctore, sine fictore*'.[13] The text implies that the rites cannot be performed correctly, and that relationships with the gods would suffer, if there were no suitable assistants on the sacrificial occasions. In other words, the ideal priest would rely on the *fictores*, who, with the help of

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8 Varro *ling.* 5.106.3: he writes about sacrificial cakes and the origins of the word in ambiguous terms: '*Libum, quod ut libaretur, priusquam essetur, erat coctum'*. For the *liba* -cakes see *OLD* s.v. *libum*. The word *liba* (singular *libum*) is used in a religious sense, but it is also used to refer to the ordinary sweet cakes baked for dessert.

9 In the fragment, there is a young man, who carries a basket (*canistrum*) full of food in his raised arms, which is presumably intended as an offering in the sacrifice. According to a theory of A.V. Siebert, *Instrumenta Sacra. Untersuchungen zu römischen Opfer-, Kult- und Priestergeräten*, Berlin 1999, 65, the content of the basket can be interpreted either as the *liba*, or some kind of fruit or as the ears of corn. The sacred purpose is emphasised by the depiction of the woollen strip, *infula*, hanging from the basket. Siebert concludes the young man could be a *fictor*.

10 Enn. *ann.* 2.115 and Varro *ling*. 7.43-44. At the end of the second century AD, Sextus Festus, the grammarian, used the same passage of Ennius in his study. Unlike Varro, he does not discuss the *fictores* or their function but mentions them only incidentally, see Paul. Fest. p. 355.35 (ed. Lindsay).

11 Cakes could be made from different ingredients if the occasion so required, see, for example, Ov. *fast*. 1.127-128; 3.733-736; 4.743.

12 Paul. Fest. p. 349 (ed. Lindsay): '*secivum libum est, quod secespita sacatur*'. This knife was part of the sacrificial and official dress of the *flamen* priests, their wives (*flaminicae*) and the Vestals. *Secespita* and priests, see Paul. Fest. p. 348 (ed. Lindsay). The use and materials of the *secespita* knives, see Siebert, *cit.* n. 9, 249.

13 Cic. *dom.* 139.9: '…without knowledge, without consent, without colleagues, without books, without a witness, without a *fictor*'.

others, could guarantee good relations to with the gods through their skills and assistance. The *fictores* were thus integral to the cultic procedure and belonged to the cultic personnel in Cicero's time.

Vestals, flour, baking and bread

Fictores were not the only persons who produced sacrificial offerings. Their work can be closely connected to the Vestals' sacral role, as the latter produced the sacred flour, *mola salsa*, used in the sacrifices. Servius states that when it was time to prepare the new corn and make the sacred flour used in the sacrifices, the three eldest Vestal virgins, *tres maximae*, prepared and ground the grains of emmer wheat (*ador*). They blended saltwater (*muries*) into the coarsely grounded flour and this mixture was used in many rituals.[14] Although the Vestals did not actually bake the *mola salsa*, they had to produce this important offering, and used the same kinds of ingredients as the *fictores*, who baked *liba* made from husked wheat and salt or other components, as Ovid describes.[15]

The supply of the grain, refining of the flours and bread baking were connected to the cult of Vesta in the Early Empire. The main festival of bakers (*pistores*) and millers was celebrated at the time as the main festival of the cult of Vesta, *Vestalia*, in June. In fact, there survives a votive offering and a cult monument for goddess the Vesta made by *pistor* Gaius Pupius Firminus, and there is also an inscription monument made by the *praefectus annonae* of the years 142-144.[16] At the beginning of the second century Emperor Trajan took measure to ensure that there was always a sufficient supply of corn in Rome by building new departments beside the House of Vestals, and at the same time promoted the protective nature of the goddess Vesta in order to obtain blessings for his project. It is likely that the new departments in the Vestals' residence had both storerooms for the corn products and rooms for selling the corn. In this way, the securing of the corn supply was strongly connected to the cult of Vesta.[17]

Thus the goddess Vesta and her priestesses were representatives of fecundity and protected the important corn supply. Their relation with the corn was emphasized even further, as the bakers celebrated at the same time as the main cult festival. Furthermore, the Vestals had the responsibility to prepare *mola salsa*, and so they took part in the corn processing and prepared offerings. However, the baking and processing of the corn was not considered a task for females. Plutarch discusses this issue in his *Quaestiones Romanae*, and records that according to the old legend of the abduction of the Sabine women by Roman men, the wives were not allowed to grind or cook for their husbands, but only to spin in their households.[18] Thus, from the viewpoint of Roman tradition and cultural memory, women were excluded from handling the corn.[19]

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14 Serv. *ecl.* 8.82. See also *RE* 15 (1932), 2516-7, s.v. *mola salsa*. Furthermore, the Vestals' duty was to keep and store this corn product which would be used throughout the religious calendar year.

15 See note 11 above.

16 An inscription of *praefectus annonae CIL* VI 31222; a votive of Gaius Pupius Firminus *CIL* VI 787.

17 For more about the emperor Trajan, the corn supply and its connection to the cult of Vesta and to the building program in the House of Vestals, see Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 97-8; R.T. Scott '*Vestae Aedem Petitam*? Vesta in the Empire', in S. K. Dickison – J. P. Hallett (eds), *Rome and Her Monuments: Essays on the City and Literature of Rome in Honor of Katherine A. Geffcken*, Wauconda (IL) 2000, 173-92, esp. 186-8.

18 Plut. *quaest*. *Rom*. 85. See also Plut. *Rom.* 14-15.

19 However, this question is problematic, since some other sources do accept women processing the corn and baking the bread in the household before the craft of the bakers, *pistores,* was formed, see e.g. Plin. *nat* 18.107. I suggest that the prohibition, which Plutarch mentions, refers to the mythological past or an ideal. In everyday life attitudes were more relaxed. In order to produce the offering, the *fictores* and the Vestals took care of the corn processing and baking for the sacral purposes.

It therefore seems that according to old Roman tradition, baking and processing of corn were gender specific activities unsuitable for women. Given this cultural framework and tradition, it was natural that there were some other actors, the *fictores*, who were responsible for the actual moulding and baking of the sacrificial cakes (*liba*). Just as the prohibition of corn producing by women was a feature of the archaic tradition, so too the organization of the *fictores* was traditionally seen as having been established by King Numa. This stresses even more the ancient origin of the tradition of corn producing for sacral purposes. The *fictores* seem to have been simultaneously craftsmen and sacral assistants to the pontifical priests. The production of the sacrificial offerings connected them to the duties of the Vestals, who were responsible for preparing the *mola salsa*. When moving on from the late Republic and early Empire, the connection between the Vestals and *fictores* was made even more explicit by the third century.

Fictores virginum Vestalium – Early Third Century *Fictores*

An intriguing question is why the *fictores* start to appear in epigraphical material at around the same time as they disappear from literary evidence. There is thus a tremendous change in the nature of the sources concerning the *fictores,* when we proceed to examine their situation in the third century. They are designated as the *fictor virginum Vestalium* or, simply, *fictor*.[20] In this way their office is related directly to the Vestals and to the cult of Vesta for the first time. However, the relation between *fictores* and the pontifical priests also continues in the third century with inscriptions mentioning *fictores pontificum*.[21]

The *fictores* were certainly not the only officials or assistants of the Vestal virgins. For example, servants called *aeditui Vestae* appear in the first century inscriptions as the helpers of the Vestal virgins.[22] Further, there was an occupational group called *antescolarii virginum Vestae*, who apparently took care of the business and money collected as a penalty for disturbing of the graves.[23] Also the *sacerdos virginium Vestalium* were presumably some sort of special assistants.[24] The Vestals also had their own personal servants or slaves as it is presented in the first and second century inscriptions.[25] However, none of these is represented in the third-century source materials. Apart from a certain Q. Veturius Callistratus, who seems to have been the *procurator* of the chief Vestal Campia Severina in the 240's, the *fictores* is the only occupational group that can be directly connected to the priestesses.[26]

From the archaeological evidence, it is presumed that the cultic assistants, slaves and servants had their rooms or offices in the House of Vestals, since they had to be available for the priestesses and arranged the practical affairs for them. There is also literary evidence in support of this.[27] However, there is no direct

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20 *Fictores virginum Vestalium*, see *CIL* VI 2136 (=32405); 2134; 2137; 32413; 32418; 32419; 32423. *Fictor*, see *CIL* VI 786; 36834.

21 *Fictor pontificum,* see *CIL* V 3352; *CIL* VI 1074; 10247; *CIL* VIX 2413.

22 *CIL* VI 5745 and 8711.

23 *CIL* VI 14672. Along with this inscription there are several other pieces of evidences indicating that the Vestals were those who received the fines if graves were harmed or disturbed. See, for example, *CIL* VI 5175; 13618; 13822; 14672.

24 *CIL* VI 2150.

25 *CIL* VI 5477 and 27134.

26 For Q. Veturius Callistratus, see *CIL* VI 2132.

27 Sections for slaves in the temple area of Vesta see Tac. *hist.*1.43.2. On the functions of the House of Vestals, see Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 96-7.

evidence of the *fictores* having their organization's headquarters or some kind of office in the House of Vestals or nearby.[28]

The two *fictores virginum Vestalium* known from the early third-century inscriptions are Cnaeus Statilius Menander and Cnaeus Statilius Cerdo both from the family of the *Statilii*. As the officials of *virgo Vestalis maxima* Terentia Flavola, who had been the chief Vestal since the year 209, they seem to have had different statuses, since Cn. Statilius Menander calls himself as *alumnus*, a protégé or pupil of Cn. Statilius Cerdo.[29]

There is also another member of the *familia Statilii* from the same era, who served as a *fictor* of the pontiffs. In the year 202/203, a certain Statilius Dionysius, *discipulus fictorum pontificum clarissimorum virorum*, participated in the donation of a honorary monument for the empress Fulvia Plautilla, who was briefly the wife of emperor Caracalla.[30] According to the inscription, his grandfather Titus Statilius Calocaerus, who acted as a *nomenclator* in the Severan court, seems to have taken the initiative in the donation process. His father, *tribunus militum*, also named Statilius Dionysius, and his uncle Statilius Myron, *dissignator scenarum*, were also among the dedicators.

The *familia* of the *Statilii* stands out when we study the early third-century institution of the *fictores*. Since Cn. Statilius Cerdo and Cn. Statilius Menander, *alumnus*, bore the same name, they were probably the freedmen of the same patron. Perhaps he encouraged them, as their benefactor, to pursue the office of *fictor*. Unfortunately we cannot ascertain if these men had anything to do with their contemporary Statilius Dionysius, *discipulus fictorum pontificum clarissimorum virorum*. Except for the family name, the only link between them is their office of *fictor*. However, it seems that not only were C. Statilius Cerdo and Cn. Statilius Menander freedmen, but that the family of Statilius Dionysius was also of servile origin. His grandfather T. Statilius Calocaerus was *nomenclator*, which, at least at the time of the early empire, was an office of a slave.[31] If so, he was manumitted, and his son become a military officer, *tribunus militum*, a status which was given in the third-century Rome to the men of equestrians or men who were about to reach this status.[32] This would mean that even if the social status of the *fictores* themselves was not always that of freedmen, the office of *fictor* might have offered a route for social advancement. In this period provincial citizens, local nobility and freedmen had better opportunities to gain a position in the capital than they had earlier. Moreover, the common family name could point to the existence of a strategy for social advancement for the *Statilii*, even if this must remain hypothetical.

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28 It remains unresolved, whether the *fictores* had their headquarters in the vicinity of the *schola kalatorum pontificum*, supposed to have been somewhere near the *regia*. See *LTUR*, s.v. *schola:* '*kalatores pontificum et flaminum*'.

29 *CIL* VI 32413: '*Terentiae / Flavolae / v(irgini) V(estali) / maximae / Cn(aeus) Statilius / Menander / fictor / v(irginum) V(estalium) / Cn(aei) Statili / Cerdonis / fictoris / v(irginum) V(estalium) / alumnus*'. There is also another inscription dedicated by Cn. Statilius Menander: *CIL* VI 32423: '*…] / maximae / Cn(aeus) Statilius / Menander / fictor / v(irginum) V(estalium) […* '. This as a possible duplicate, see E. B. van Deman, 'Notes on a Few Vestal Inscriptions', *AJPh* 29:2 (1908), 172-8, esp. 175-6.

30 *CIL* VI 1074: '*[Fulviae Plautillae Aug(ustae) coniugi] / Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini Aug(usti) / Pii Felicis pontificis cons(ulis) / Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septimi Severi Aug(usti) Pii Felicis / pontificis et Parthici maximi cons(ulis) III nurui / filiae / [] [C(ai) Fulvii Plautiani c(larissimi) v(iri)]]] / pontificis nobilissimi pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) necessarii / Augg(ustorum) et comitis per omnes expeditiones eorum / T(itus) Statilius Calocaerus nomencl(ator) / cum Statilio Dionysio trib(uno) leg(ionis) XVI Flaviae / et Statilio Myrone dissignatore scaenar(um) / filiis et Statilio Dionysio discipulo fictorum / pontificum cc(larissimorum) vv(irorum) nepote suo / [a]mpla beneficia de indulgentia / [Au]gustorum suffragio patris eius / consecutus*'. In the inscription *CIL* XIV 2413 the formula used is '*fictor pontificum populi Romani*' and in *CIL* V 3352 '*fictor pontificum Romae*'.

31 *RE* 1936, 817 s.v. *nomenclator*.

32 The cognomina of the *fictores*, for example Menander, seem to imply a status of a freedman see Scardigli, *cit*. n. 2, 234-5. However, at this point there already was diversity in social standing among those persons having the cognomina of Greek origins. See H. Mouritsen, *The Freedman in the Roman World*, Cambridge 2011.

Early third-century inscriptions a certain freedman Eutyches, a *fictor*, appears in inscription sources. He dedicated two inscriptions in order to honor the emperor Caracalla and his mother, the empress Julia Domna. In both dedications the goddess Vesta is asked to provide the good health and prosperity for the sovereign.[33] Eutyches does not explicitly state that he is a *fictor virginum Vestalium* but his inscriptions reveal him as a supporter of the goddess Vesta, and therefore it seems evident that there was a connection between him and the cult. Whether he had connections other than devotional ones remains unresolved.[34] There have been theories and speculation about the identity of Eutyches, which have led some to draw conclusions about the connections between the *fictores*, the Vestals, and the imperial house.[35] However, without any further indication of his status, the actual position of Eutyches in the organization of the *fictores* remains vague. Judging from the fact that he donated votive gifts, he had apparently done well for himself as a freedman.[36]

The third-century office of *fictor* had new and distinctive features by comparison with what we know about their earlier duties. Previously *fictores* had been connected with the *pontifices*, but now they are extensively referred to in connection with the Vestals. However, the nature of their function at this point and their relations to the priestesses need further explanation. Indeed, at the same time when the *fictores* start to appear in our sources under the title *fictores virgins Vestae*, the Severans started promoting the cult of Vesta by elevating its position in Roman religion and by renovating the temple and the *Aedes Vestae*. Empress Julia Domna, in particular, has been seen as the patroness of the cult.[37] The sacral occupation of the *fictores* belonged to ancient tradition and had been considered important by the authors like Cicero. Thus, the fact that the *fictores* were strongly connected to the Vestals indicates to politics which celebrated the conservative values and traditions of cult life. These ideas match well together with the situation in the imperial house. The religious invention with an emphasis on tradition was a way of establishing and legitimising the position of the new Severan dynasty. Against this background, the rise of the *fictores* suits well to be promoted by the *pontifex maximus*, emperor himself.

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33 Inscription for Caracalla *CIL* VI 36834: '*Vestae donum pro [salute] / Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Antonini Pii Au[g(usti) pont(ificis) max(imi)] / trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVI co(n)s(ulis) III[I p(atris) p(atriae)] / Eutyches lib(ertus) fictor cum fili[is] / voto suscepto*'. Inscription for Empress Julia Domna *CIL* VI 786: '*[Ve]stae donum pro salute / Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris / M(arci) Antonini Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(ontificis) m(aximi) / Eutyches <V=F>ictor cum filii[s] / voto suscepto*'. On the *pro salute* -formula, see M. Kajava, 'Honorific and other Dedications to Emperors in the Greek East', in P. P. Iossif – A. S. Chankowski – C. C. Lorber (eds), *More than Men, less than Gods. Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship: Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens, Nov. 1-2, 2007* (Studia Hellenistica 51), Leuven 2011, 553-92, esp. 582-3.

34 In his prosopography, Rüpke does not accept Eutyches as a *fictor*, see Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2, 671, no. 1563 III. I would not, however, rule Eutyches definitely out from the category of the '*fictor virginum Vestalium*'. At this point, the institution of the *fictores* seems to have been developing and the titles were perhaps used irregularly. Since Eutyches approaches Vesta in his inscriptions, it may well be that he had also other connections to the cult, and that he was, for example, in the service of the Vestals. However, this cannot be proved one way or the other.

35 It is tempting to identify this Eutyches as the *libertus Augustorum duorum officinator a statuis*, who donated a monument for the *sacerdos Solis* Julius Balbillus. The sun-priest, in turn, dedicated monuments for the chief Vestals Numisia Maximilla and Terentia Flavola, and he was also a supporter of Severan dynasty in the beginning of the third century. On this, see F. Chausson, 'Vel Iovi vel Soli : quatre études autour de la Vigna Barberini (191-354)', *MEFRA* 107:2 (1995), 661-765, esp. 695 with Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 44, note 330 and 149, note 1306. Should this relation be true, it would give further support for a relationship not only between the *fictores* and the cult of Vesta but also between the *fictores* and the imperial house. However, it remains speculative, whether Eutyches the *fictor* and Eutyches, *libertus*, were one and same person.

36 Besides Eutyches, there is other freedman, a certain L. Appius Sabini lib. Cinnamus, probably the *fictor pontificum Romae*, whose funeral monument from the imperial era has been found from Verona (*CIL* V 3352). He has also belonged to the group of *seviri Augustales*. This organization was specifically for the freedmen, and their main duty was to take care of the cult of the Emperor in the small towns of countryside. The precise dating remains unknown. On the position of the freedmen as *seviri Augustales* see G. Alföldy, *Römische Sozialgeschichte*, 4th ed., Wiesbaden 2011 (1975), 175-8. About the identity of L. Appius Sabini lib. Cinnamus, see Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2, 539 no. 684.

37 More about the promotion of the cult of Vesta and the renovations made during the Severans, see Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 194; B. Levick, *Julia Domna – Syrian Empress*, New York 2007, 126-7.

Fictores as Clients of the Chief Vestal Virgins

The Vestals acted as patronesses (*patronae*) for several people close to them.[38] Their connections to the emperor, high-priest, gave them opportunities to speak for their clients, who, in turn, offered their support for the priestesses. Usually, the relationship between a patroness and a client was based on their long-term acquaintance. In the case of the Vestals, their clients could be their own acquaintances or they have been part of their former households, although this remains hypothetical.[39] Even though we cannot tell exactly how the *fictores* benefitted from their relationships to the Vestals, it is highly probable that the factors involved were similar to those usually at play in patronage relations. The Vestals could have helped the *fictores* economically or advanced them in their careers. The *fictores*, on the other hand, promoted their patronesses fame and honoured them publicly.

In the 240's a certain Q. Veturius Memphius, *vir egregius*, *fictor virginum Vestalium*, expressed his gratitude to the chief Vestal Flavia Publicia. The Vestal's favour or kindness (*beneficium*) has clearly made an impression on him as he thanks her 'for her many good deeds' but does not give any detailed information about them. However, the word *beneficium* is often chosen in order to emphasize the economic nature of the relations between the persons concerned. He also praises the Vestal as 'foremost to all previous Vestals (*super omnes retro*)'. This formula is also used in many inscriptions dedicated to the emperors, and it was associated with a high honor.[40]

In the inscription, Q. Veturius Memphius implies that the Vestal has helped him in advancing his career. Unfortunately, the inscription does not give any particulars as how Q. Veturius Memphius proceeded in his career. Jörg Rüpke argues that Q. Veturius Memphius would not have been *fictor virginum Vestalium* and *vir egregius* simultaneously but that he is more likely to have donated the monument to the Vestal after retiring from his office.[41] Although it is plausible that he is thanking Flavia Publicia for his rise to the equestrian rank, there is no indication that he had left the office of *fictor* after achieving his new social position. In any case, Q. Veturius Memphius considered his status as a *fictor* worth mentioning in the inscription put on public display in the House of Vestals. What is most significant, however, is that once again the connection is made between the *fictores* and social advancement.

A contemporary of Q. Veturius Memphius was a certain Titus Flavius Apronius, *fictor virginum Vestalium*. He addresses Flavia Publicia as his *patrona*. Not only does he state his position as a client, but he also states that he is in the secondary position (*locus secundus*), probably referring to his place or status in the hierarchy of the *fictores*. In addition to the hierarchical structure of the *fictores* institution the inscriptions also reveal the forms of public participation and ways of making the family name visible in the House of Vestals. Titus Flavius Apronius states that he is donating the inscription together with his family and his friends or those closest to

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38 Besides the dedications from the *fictores*, see for example the inscriptions *CIL* VI 2132; 32415; 32417; 32420.

39 On the relationships between patrons and clients, see R. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 1982, 193 and on clients of Vestals, see Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 193.

40 *CIL* VI 32419: '*Fl(aviae) Publiciae v(irgini) V(estali) max(imae) / sanctissimae et piissimae / ac super omnes retro / religiosissimae purissimae / castissimaeque / cuius religiosam curam / sacrorum et morum praedi/cabilem disciplinam / numen quoque Vestae conprovabit / Q(uintus) Veturius Memphius v(ir) e(gregius) / fictor v(irginum) V(estalium) dignationis erga se / honorisque causa plurimis / in se conlatis beneficiis // Coll(ocata) V Idus Mart(ias) / Imp(eratore) Caes(are) [[[Philippo]]] Pio Felic(e) Aug(usto) II et / [[[Philippo]]] nobilissimo Caes(are) co(n)s(ulibus)*'. About *beneficia* see for example R. Frei-Stolba, *cit*. n. 2, 246 (with further on titular addressing in 241-2); R. Saller, *cit*. n. 39, 17-36; 43-58.

41 Jörg Rüpke thus interprets the wording of the inscription as suggestive that Q. Veturius Memphius donated the inscriptions to Flavia Publicia *after* he had been her *fictor*. For this theory, see Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2, 950, no. 3479. In the early study of Arthur D. Nock, the appearance of the equestrian *fictores* is, instead, connected to the fact that the cult of Vesta was gaining a lot of positive attention and devotional appreciation: Nock, *cit*. n. 3, 259.

him (*cum suis*).[42] The House of Vestals was an ideal place to bring the name and honour of the family into a public notice for the cult of Vesta and the priestesses were important elements of the Roman religious system and the sanctuary was situated in the center of the city. In this way the Vestals' clients and supporters did their best to benefit from the cult's honour and importance.[43] In this case, the initiative was naturally in the hands of Titus Flavius Apronius, who was already, *ex officio*, in contact with the Vestals.

The relations between the *fictores* and the chief Vestal virgins become more precisely articulated when the *fictores* declare themselves to be their clients. The *fictores* use the same kind of language as other clients and salute the priestesses as their benefactresses, and there are also conventional laudatory elements in the inscriptions. Although the third-century *fictores* made a point of donating inscription monuments for the chief Vestals, their official title, *fictor virginum Vestalium*, emphasizes that they were in the service of the whole Vestal *collegium*. However, attention is always drawn to the leading Vestal virgin, for whose *beneficia* they are grateful. There is no implication that there were any kinship links between these *fictores* and the priestesses, and it is therefore impossible to say whether they had known each other beforehand. On the basis of the inscription messages, the *fictores* can be described as officials who identified themselves as supporters of the cult of Vesta and who wished to gain from their links with the priestesses. Being a *fictor* and under the protective wing of a Vestal provided was an opportunity to maintain a lucrative clientship and to climb up the social ladder.

Transition in the Role of the *Fictores*

After the Severan dynasty came to an end in 235 CE, many new emperors succeeded to the highest authority and lost it again in rapid succession. The troubled political situation did not affect the continuity of the cult of Vesta. While some of the third-century emperors were in power only for a few months, some of the chief Vestal virgins remained in office for over twenty years and acted as stable patrons for many clients and citizens.

In the later part of the third century the word *curante* starts to appear in inscriptions as a description of the *fictores*' participation in the cult of Vesta. The word *curante*, implies that the *fictores* were in charge of practical matters related to the cult or that they were arranging the business of the Vestals, or perhaps even that they were responsible for setting up the inscription monument. The *fictor* of the chief Vestal Coelia Claudiana, Flavius Marcianus, is the first person whose participation is conveyed with the use this word. His name, the title, *vir egregius*, and *curante* have been engraved on one side of the inscription block next to the consul dating. It has also been suggested that his office was comparable to the office of the *ministri* of various cults.[44] Since his participation is mentioned, it is likely that Flavius Marcianus belonged to the close circle of the Vestals and their cult but there is no way of resolving whether this involved taking care of the business of the chief Vestal or setting up the inscription.

At the turn of the fourth century, the title *fictor* disappears from the inscriptions and only the word *curante* remains. In two inscription monuments for the chief Vestal Terentia Rufilla, a certain Aurelius

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42 *CIL* VI 32418: '*Fl(aviae) Publiciae / sanctissimae / ac piissimae / v(irgini) V(estali) max(imae) / T(itus) Fl(avius) Apronius / fictor v(irginum) V(estalium) / loci secundi / dignissimae / ac praestantissi/mae patronae / cum suis*'. Titus Flavius Apronius was probably the successor of the *fictor* Q. Veturius Memphius, see Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2, 686 no. 1668, esp. note 4.

43 More about the functions of the House of Vestals, see M. Lindner, *The Vestal Virgins and their Imperial Patrons: Sculptures and Inscriptions from the Atrium Vestae in the Roman forum*, Ann Arbor 1996, 171.

44 See inscriptions for Coelia Claudiana *CIL* VI 2136; 2137. Both inscriptions are from 286 CE. On the word *curante*, see Mekacher, *cit*. n. 1, 128-9. About the office of the *fictor* being comparable to the office of the *ministri*, see Scardigli *cit*. n. 2, 234.

Niceta has been in charge of the arrangements. Again, his name and occupational duty are written on the side of the inscription block along with the consular dating, but details of his social status are absent.[45] Unlike his predecessor Flavius Marcianus, Aurelius Niceta does not announce his title as *fictor,* but their offices were very likely similar as they express their duties using a similar formula. Aurelius' appearance indicates that there continued to be an official who helped the chief Vestals, and some organized system was preserved, even the absence of the title suggests that the organisation of the *fictores* was perhaps abolished at this point, at least in name.

Along with the *fictores* of the Vestals, we have knowledge of *fictores* of *pontifex*-priests in the third century. A *fictor* of the *pontifex*-priests named Aurelius Primianus appears in an inscription from the 250's, which explains the ownership of the funeral monument in Via Triumphalis. In the text, it is stated that he owns the landed property where the monument is situated.[46] His subsequent life and career cannot be traced, but his possessions indicate wealth.

Social mobility and advancement are also apparent in the case of Lucius Manlius Severus. In his funeral inscription, he states that he was a *fictor* of Roman *pontifex*-priests, *fictor pontificum populi Romani*, and the *quattuorvir* of the city of Bovillae. Furthermore, he states that he was a *rex sacrorum*, although it is not possible to know where he practiced this office as this is not clarified in the text.[47] His family origins were probably in Bovillae, where he was buried, and where he also belonged to the city's main administrative group, *quattuorvir*. He was therefore a member of the local élite, and he chose to highlight his status by mentioning his post as a *fictor* of the most important priestly college in the capital. It is difficult to determine, whether or not his participation in the institution of *fictores* offered him opportunities for advancement in his career. The case of Lucius Manlius Severus proves that even though the *fictores* of the Vestals and the *pontifices Romae* stayed in the *urbs*, they had connections to neighbouring towns and built their careers in Rome as well as in the municipal communities.[48]

At the end of the third century the disappearance of the designation of *fictor* is notable. It is nevertheless probable that there were still officials who assisted the Vestals and that the baking of the sacrificial cakes continued as well. It is possible that modification was made to the rank order, or that the offices were arranged differently, and that this resulted in the abandonment of old titles during the fourth century CE. Possibly some changes also took place in the cult of Vesta. From the first half of the fourth century onwards the new supervisor of the Vestals was designed as the *pontifex Vestae* instead of *pontifex maximus*.[49] It is not certain how the practical affairs of the Vestals were arranged after the *fictores* disappear from the sources.

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45 See inscriptions for Terentia Rufilla *CIL* VI 2141 in 299 CE and *CIL* VI 2143 in 301 CE.

46 *CIL* VI 10247: '*Monumentum quot est via triumphale / inter miliarium secundum et tertium / euntibus ab urbe parte laeva in clivo / Cinnae et est in agro Aureli Primiani / fictoris pontificum cc(larissimorum) vv(irorum) et appella/tur Terentianorum iuxta monumentum / Claudi quondam Proculi et si qui ali atfine/s sunt et qua quemque tangit et populum / Statia Irene [i]us liberorum habens* […]'. Further on Aurelius Primianus, see Rüpke, *cit*. n. 2, 564 no. 863.

47 *PIR²* M 158. He has paid for his funeral monument – the small marble block (*cippus*) – by his own, and it is dated to the third century, see *CIL* XIV 2413: '*D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Manlio L(uci) f(ilio) Pal(atina) / Severo regi sac/rorum fictori / pontificum p(opuli) R(omani) IIII/viro Bovillensi/um collactane/o dulcissimo et / indulgentissimo / erga se fecit*'. For the interpretations of this inscription, see A. Momigliano, *Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Storia e letteratura 115), Rome 1965, 397. About the identity of Lucius Manlius, see also Rüpke *cit*. n. 2, 784 no. 2347.

48 This case of the *fictor* is certainly not unique, since also other cultic personnel or the officials of the priests, for example the *apparitores*, could pursue career outside the city of Rome and become the leading figures in municipal cities. *Apparitores* outside the city of Rome see Purcell, *cit*. n. 6, 162-3.

49 About the changes in the pontifical college and the relations with the Vestals, see F. Van Haeperen, *Le collège pontifical (3ème s. a. C.– 4ème s. p. C.)*, Brussels 2002, 84-5, 91.

Conclusions

In the late republican testimony of Cicero, the high priest could not perform or act at all without his *fictor*. Similarly, it seems that the third-century chief Vestal virgins had to have their own *fictor*, as throughout the century there were *fictores* closely connected to the cult and its priestesses. Since the Vestals and the *fictores* both excelled in the producing of sacrificial offerings, their participation in cult life had a similar basis which brought them together. Details of the origin and early history of their relationship are lacking but we have striking evidence of it from the third century onwards. By this period at the latest the *fictores* had come to play a significant role in the institution of the Vestal virgins, and there also occur certain features of their office distinctive to the early third century. Firstly, certain members were addressed as *alumnus* or *discipuli*, which indicates that the institution had developed a hierarchical system that determined the advancement of its members. This suggests that a *fictor* advanced in his office only gradually. The different titles of the *fictores* suggest that they had their own apprentice system, perhaps similar to that of the *calatores*, who presumably had their school in the vicinity of the *forum Romanum*. Perhaps the institution of the *fictores* adopted its organisational structure from the other sacral organisations.[50] Moreover, there are strong indications that the appearance of the office of *fictores* is linked to Severan dynastic politics, and, as such, it was possible to use it as a route for social advancement. It is plausible that the rapprochement between the Vestals and the *fictores* occurred simultaneously with the promotion of the cult of Vesta by the Severan dynasty.

The equestrian *fictores* start to appear in the source material from mid-third century onwards. This new turn concerning their social origins and identity was probably connected with the general development of the rank. Already during the second century, the number of equestrians increased and they got more offices, for example, in the field of tax collection and imperial administration. In the course of the third century, the equestrians gained even more opportunities, when the offices in the military organisation were given into their hands.[51] Thus, in general, equestrians of the third century started to achieve more influence in political and military affairs and their rank gave them more opportunities to enter into different offices.

Thus, the duties of the *fictores virginum Vestalium* and of the *fictores pontificum Romae* were radically altered, at least from the early third century onwards, as a hierarchically structured organization seems to have appeared. The *fictores* no longer participated in the physical work of baking the *liba* but played a leading part in cult organization. This development can be compared to the development of the Greek office of the *neocori* although the cultural context is of course different. Originally employees or wardens of the temples, whose task was to sweep clean the temple area, they became high-ranking officials who were responsible for the temple's treasury.[52] Thus, even if the term *fictor* originally signified the baker of the sacral cakes, it had an altogether different meaning in the third century when the men of the equestrian rank took charge of this office.

The adaption of an old and traditional group of cultic participants to a new organization indicates the flexibility of Roman cult life. Although the *fictores* were a relatively small group of actors in the cultic field,

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50 On adopting the organisational structures from other sacral organizations, see Rüpke, *cit.* n. 1, 34-5.

51 Further on the development of the equestrian order, see P. A. Brunt, 'Princeps and the Equites', *JRS* 73 (1983), 42-175, esp. 44 and 66; on the equestrians, see also Alföldy, *cit.* n. 36, 162 (for the slightly earlier period).

52 In the Roman world this term was especially applied to those cities in Asia, which erected temples to the Roman emperors. The *neocori* were, thus, the guardians of the worship of the emperor. The original meaning had apparently changed in the late fourth century when P. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus was addressed as a *neocorus* (*CIL* VI 1779). See *OLD* s.v. *neocori* and *LSJ* s.v. *νεωκόρο-έω* onwards. See also the inscription *CIL* XVI 188. See further M. Kahlos, *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus – A Senatorial Life in Between* (AIRF 26), Rome 2002, esp. 77.

their engagement as the officials of the Vestals and the *pontifex*-priests shows how Roman cult life gave opportunities for individuals to advance socially and to participate in the public life through religious practices. As a result, this successful arrangement gave mutual benefits for the loyal *fictores* and the Vestals, whose honorary inscriptions still exist today.

Textiles as a Means of Female Religious Participation in the Carolingian World

Valerie L. Garver

> Blessed queen Ermengard dedicated to Peter
> This remarkable decoration, this gift of love.
> Through this winding stole let her be worthy to shine eternally
> Taking the unfading palm to heaven.[1]

The poet Sedulius Scottus wrote these verses to accompany the needlework of Ermengard (d. 851), wife of the Carolingian emperor Lothar I (d. 855). They were the last lines of an inscription for a silk *pallium* (cloth or garment) depicting scenes in the life of the Apostle Peter meant for donation to St. Peter's in Rome.[2] Such a cloth constituted a costly and pious gift, for textiles were expensive but necessary items. Churches and monasteries required vestments and decorative and functional cloths both for liturgical use and to adorn the locations of worship. Acquiring such items usually meant looking beyond institutional walls, especially because there is little evidence that religious men carried out textile work in the Carolingian world. References to the textile labour of women, both lay and religious, are relatively abundant, so they almost certainly made or finished the majority of religious textiles. Such pieces reveal much about women and religiosity in Frankish society during the eighth and ninth centuries. In comparison to men, we have few ways of learning about the spiritual life of Carolingian women, especially those in the lay estate. It is therefore useful to consider how the provision of religious textiles gave women a means to express their piety. This essay will examine textile items that women from Carolingian-controlled lands provided to religious houses and churches. I will argue that producing and giving these textiles provided them a means to participate prominently in Christian worship.

Understanding precisely how anyone in the Carolingian world participated in Christian devotions is difficult in light of the available sources for western continental Europe in the period c. 715 – c. 915. Furthermore, the experience of religion varied substantially in this period among individuals depending on their social status, gender, age, level of education, and if they were laity or not.[3] Few descriptions of worship survive, and textual passages concerning religious devotions, such as instructions for prayer, are often prescriptive. Ecclesiastical leaders urged lay Christians to participate in worship, respect the Sabbath, visit saints' shrines, and embrace the cult of saints, but available sources offer little information concerning how often Christians attended church or took communion.[4] Scholars have been able to investigate the Christian

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1 '*Hoc insigne decus, hoc textile munus amoris / Ermingarda Petro felix regina dicavit, / Quo redimita stola valeat splendere perenni / Inmarcescibilem prendens super aethera palmam*.' Sedulius Scottus, *Carmen* 21 (MGH Poetae 3, 188).

2 A. Weis, 'Ein Petruszyklus des 7. Jahrhunderts im Querschiff der Vatikanischen Basilika', *RQA* 58 (1963) 230-70, esp. 252.

3 J. M. H. Smith, 'Religion and Lay Society', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1995, 654-78, esp. 654. See also the essays by F. S. Paxton, R. Meens, P. Horden, L. L. Coon, A. Angenendt, and E. Palazzo in T. F. X. Noble – J. M. H. Smith (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3, Cambridge 2008.

4 Smith, *cit*. n. 3, 660-5.

rituals and practices surrounding birth and death, particularly baptism, burial, and commemorative prayer.[5] Liturgy offers a means of understanding religious participation as do material remains of Christian practice, including manuscripts, church furnishings, reliquaries, buildings, and relevant archeological remains.[6] The bulk of this evidence sheds light on male participation in Christian devotions, though quite a bit of information has emerged concerning women in religious orders. Examining female provision of textiles offers an opportunity to consider the ways women made a difference to religious practice. By providing items displayed, used, or worn in churches, they inserted their presence into spaces normally off limits to them, such as the altar, and when those leading worship or onlookers knew that women had made certain textiles, they were aware of such female contributions.

Women's provision of religious garments and cloths during the Middle Ages is a relatively new area of study, and the evidence for such practices in Carolingian-controlled lands from the eighth to early tenth centuries requires exploration.[7] Textile work in the central and late Middle Ages has been the subject of many studies.[8] These investigations have shown the gendered nature of textile work, which was connected with women and ideas of femininity even after men took over certain aspects of cloth production such as wool weaving in the central and late Middle Ages.[9] Exploring cloth production and textile work in the early medieval West has been more difficult than examinations of later eras, mainly because of the relative paucity of sources.[10] Nevertheless in recent years, quite a few studies on early medieval textiles and their fabrication have appeared, especially for Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia.[11] A few scholars have briefly investigated Carolingian evidence for female production and provision of textiles and the ways this allowed them to demonstrate their piety; this study aims for a more comprehensive examination of this form of female religious participation.[12]

By crafting and giving liturgical textiles, lay and religious women in the Carolingian world made contributions to Christian worship that their contemporaries appreciated. Textiles provided women a means of

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5 J. H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, Princeton (NJ) 1986, 285-304; F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: the Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca (NY) 1990; J. L. Nelson, 'Parents, Children, and the Church in the Earlier Middle Ages', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood*, Oxford 1994, 81-114, esp. 90-9; G. Constable, 'The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages', in J. M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough*, Leiden 2000, 169-95; S. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols, Notre Dame 2002; C. Treffort, *Mémoires carolingiennes: l'épitaphe entre célébration mémorielle, genre littéraire et manifeste politique, milieu VIII^e-début XI^e siècle*, Rennes 2007.

6 G. Muschiol, 'Men, Women and Liturgical Practice in the Early Medieval West', in L. Brubaker – J. M. H. Smith (eds), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900*, Cambridge 2004, 198-216; C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, Cambridge 2001. See also many of the essays in C. Stiegemann – M. Wemhoff (eds), *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, 3 vols., Mainz 1999.

7 For a range of medieval examples, see C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200*, New Haven 1993, 16-30.

8 The bibliography on medieval textile production is vast. Among other works see E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History*, London 1941; G. de Poerck, *La draperie médiévale en Flandres et en Artois: technique et terminologie*, 3 vols., Brughes 1951; N. B. Harte – K. G. Ponting (eds), *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson*, London 1983; D. Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia 1990. See also articles in the journal *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*.

9 R. M. Karras, '"This Skill in a Woman is By No Means to Be Despised": Weaving and the Gendered Division of Labor in the Middle Ages', in E. J. Burns (ed.), *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, New York 2004, 89-104.

10 Certain difficulties of employing textiles span time and cultures, such as the fact that usually only elite and sumptuous pieces survive. B. Lemire, 'Draping the Body and Dressing the Home: the Material Culture of Textiles and Clothes in the Atlantic World, c. 1500-1800', in K. Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture*, New York 2009, 85-102.

11 Among works not cited elsewhere in this article see G. R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., Woodbridge (Suffolk) 2004 [1986]; L. B. Jørgensen, *North European Textiles*, Aarhus 1992.

12 J. T. Schulenburg, 'Holy Women and the Needle Arts: Piety, Devotion, and Stitching the Sacred, ca. 500-1150,' in S. Wells – K. Allen Smith (eds), *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, Leiden 2009, 83-110.

expressing their piety that often also helped them to confirm and convey their social standing. Medievalists, especially literary specialists, have examined the ways in which clothing demarcated gender, social status, and religious estate in the high and late Middle Ages.[13] Few, however, have examined the ways in which other kinds of textiles conveyed similar social messages.[14] Attention to the Carolingian contexts for textiles is highly desirable as it has received little notice before.[15] Here I focus on references to named women fabricating cloth items for a religious purpose.

Before discussing textual and surviving examples of religious cloths and garments made by women, it will be necessary to explain the sources of information for Carolingian female-fabricated textiles and to account for the ways in which religious institutions used textiles. Proof for this form of religious participation among Carolingian women rests upon some surviving and some virtual textiles. By virtual items, I mean objects mentioned in texts that are no longer extant. Many of the textiles discussed below were gifts.[16] Women often received credit for crafting or donating these textiles. Some extant textiles name their female makers and/or donors. Most information concerning this practice, however, comes from texts. Letters sometimes accompanied or were sent in response to gifts of textiles. Because of a desire to bring about Christian reform, many ecclesiastical leaders and kings concerned themselves with the manufacture, use, and meaning of religious textiles in normative texts such as religious tracts, capitularies, and *vitae*. Some of these works instructed clerics on the proper way to employ textiles. Capitularies consisted of lists of acts, edicts, and instructions on a wide range of topics; both kings and bishops issued some that touched upon textile fabrication and use. The main purpose of a *vita* was to demonstrate a person's sanctity, but details in many saints' lives, including those concerning cloth, reveal much about the social expectations and practices. Church and monastic inventories provide evidence that religious institutions kept and valued textiles while offering information on the materials, relative economic value, use, and types of liturgical cloths and vestments. Finally, polyptychs, surveys of estates held by monasteries or other owners, list women of humble status who fabricated cloth and textiles for religious houses.

Although these sources do not provide a female point-of-view, they offer much information about expectations of women's textile work and evidence that women indeed carried out such labour. The vast majority of Carolingian texts provide a male view, which necessarily limits what one can learn about women and their activities. Nevertheless, male-authored sources consistently indicate the value men placed upon the textile work of women, especially when done for religious institutions, and the prominent use of female-

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13 M. Pastoureau (ed.), *Le vêtement. Histoire, archéologie et symbolique vestimentaires au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1989; D. Elliott, 'Dress as Mediator Between Inner and Outer Self: the Pious Matron of the High and Later Middle Ages', *MS* 53 (1991), 279-308; V. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross-Dressing in Medieval Europe*, New York 1996; F. Piponnier and P. Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (transl. C. Beamish), New Haven (CT) 1997 [1995]; S. Gordon (ed.), *Robes and Honor: the Medieval World of Investiture*, New York 2001; E. J. Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture*, Philadelphia 2002; S. Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*, Philadelphia 2002; D. Elliott, 'Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: Rites of Ordination and Degradation', in Burns, *cit*. n. 9, 55-69; S.–G. Heller, 'Limiting Yardage and Change of Clothes: Sumptuary Legislation in Thirteenth-Century France, Lanuguedoc, and Italy', in Burns, *cit*. n. 9, 121-36.

14 The essays in K. M. Rudy – B. Baert (eds), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2007 examine clothing and other textiles in manuscripts.

15 An exception is M. Moore, 'The King's New Clothes: Royal and Episcopal Regalia in the Frankish Empire', in Gordon, *cit*. n. 13, 95-135. M. Müller's *Die Kleidung nach Quellen des frühen Mittelalters. Textilien und Mode von Karl dem Großen bis Heinrich III*, Berlin 2003 focuses more upon reconstructing clothing than examining its social meanings.

16 Other medieval studies examining gifts of textiles include G. R. Owen, 'Wynflæd's Wardrobe', *ASE* 8 (1979), 195-222; K. Ashley, 'Material and Symbolic Gift Giving: Clothes in English and French Wills', in Burns, *cit*. n. 9, 137-46. Study of Carolingian gift exchange has focused on property and goods other than textiles. See especially F. Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving', *Speculum* 81 (2006), 671-99.

fabricated textiles in sacred settings. These men sometimes state that women took initiative and pleasure in the crafting of textiles for religious use.

The Use of Textiles in Carolingian Religious Institutions

Carolingian churches and monastic houses needed and kept textiles, and ecclesiastical leaders wrote about the importance of vestments, church decoration, and liturgical cloths. In his early tenth-century collection of church canons, the so-called *Libellus de ecclesiasticis disciplinis et religione Christianas* the abbot Regino of Prüm recorded a variety of earlier texts in order to aid Archbishop Ratbod of Trier with oversight of the churches in his diocese. The text however achieved wider circulation and survives in eleven manuscripts in two versions.[17] Regino repeated a canon that priests were to wear vestments appropriate to their rank while celebrating mass, including the amice (*amictus*), alb (*alb*), stole (*stola*), maniple (*fanonus*), and chasuble (*casula*). The priest was to store his vestments in a clean location and ensure that the altar was covered with clean cloths (*linteis et paliis*).[18] Some Carolingian normative texts express a desire that monks possess and use clothing appropriate to their vocation. Monks required special clothes as outlined in the *Rule of St Benedict*, whose adoption both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious promoted throughout the Carolingian Empire.[19] The *Capitulare monasticum* (10 July 817) demanded a similar attention to dress with the words: 'Monks also ought not have their rough hoods ripped open.'[20]

Religious institutions held and employed textiles as evidenced by their relatively frequent appearance in inventories. Wealthy monasteries sometimes had large collections of expensive cloths and liturgical vestments. Lavish religious textiles were suitable for worship, and inventories suggest that the richest monasteries could retain many such items. According to an inventory from between 823 and 833, the monastery at St Wandrille had the following textiles: three *pallia* woven with gold, two silks adorned with crosses, four tapestries (*tapetia*), six dalmatics, three tunics, twelve chasubles, two Roman mantles, one towel, nine liturgical cloths, three silk cushions, and two stoles. Many of these items were adorned with or made of precious materials.[21] Similarly the monastery of Saint-Riquier, according to its inventory of 831, possessed a richer set of vestments, decorative cloths, and liturgical textiles, which included 377 mantles, six silk cushions, and 31 dalmatics among many other items, often made with lavish materials.[22] Capitulary evidence suggests that those in religious orders perceived the employment of rich liturgical cloths and vestments as a necessity for worship. When Charlemagne's *Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis* of 811 insisted that virtuous conduct of ecclesiastical leaders was more important than the beauty of their churches, the text recognized that many priests wanted to ensure their houses of worship had an appearance appropriate to

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17 W. Hartmann (ed.), *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, Stuttgart 2004, 3-5.

18 Regino of Prüm, *Libellus de ecclesiasticis disciplinis et religione Christianas* 1.60, 1.81, in Hartmann, *cit*. n. 17, 66, 74. See also Riculf of Soissons, *Capitula* 9, in MGH Capit. ep. 2, 104.

19 *Regula Benedicti* 55 in A. de Vogüé – J. Neufville (eds), *La Régle de Saint Benoît* (Sources Chrétiennes 181-2), Paris 1972, 618-22. See also Hildemar of Corbie's ninth-century commentary on this chapter, R. Mittermüller (ed.), *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita,* Regensburg 1880, 512-21.

20 '*Ut monachi cappas dissutas praeter villosas non habeant*.' *Capitulare monasticum* 170. 61, in MGH Capit. 1, 347. Chapter 22 of this capitulary outlines what monks ought to wear; this document was frequently included in manuscripts containing the *Rule of St Benedict.*

21 *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* 13.4 in F. Lohier – R. P. J. Laporte (eds), *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii (Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium)*, Paris 1936, 102-3.

22 Hariulf, *Chronicon Centulense*, in F. Lot (ed.), *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier (v^e^ siécle – 1104)*, Paris 1894), 88. See also the inventory of Reichenau in B. Bischoff (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, München 1967, no. 80.

worship even as it cautioned those men not to put too much stake in the physical appearance of a building.[23] Many churches, including relatively humble parishes, kept textiles necessary for the liturgy and decoration.[24]

If we knew precisely what the interiors of Carolingian churches looked like, we might better be able to think about how churchmen used textiles and cloths as they carried out the liturgy. Although archaeological excavations and art historical analysis have provided information on the structure of churches and scholars have begun to work to understand the relationship of liturgy to architectural and decorative programmes in Carolingian churches, the placement of furnishings, especially cloth ones, within the interiors of churches remains unclear.[25] A description of the basilica of St Denis near Paris survives in a manuscript now housed in Karlsruhe.[26] Monks at St Denis appear originally to have written this text in 798 or 799 and sent it to the monastery at Reichenau. It concentrates upon architectural details, and while it mentions the 1250 lamps needed to light the church, it provides no information on other portable furnishings such as altar cloths or curtains.[27] Yet similarly to other churches, the basilica at St Denis had textile decorations and liturgical cloths. A ninth-century manuscript from St Denis contains a list of the items that Odo, king of West Francia (888-898), took from the abbey treasury for use at his coronation at Compiègne on 29 February 888.[28] It includes three luxurious mantles two of which were decorated with gold, three patterned and presumably silk *pallia*, and two silk curtains.[29] Even if it is difficult to determine the exact manner in which such items were employed, they appear to have been crucial components of Christian worship in the Carolingian world.

Female Fabrication of Textiles for Religious Use

Carolingian ecclesiastical leaders encouraged women to fabricate textiles for religious use. The *Capitula ecclesiastica* of 810-813(?) contain a chapter reminding priests to urge lay women to make altar cloths for their churches.[30] A number of ninth-century Carolingian female *vitae* depict saints making textiles for

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23 '*Et quamvis bonum sit ut ecclesiae pulchra sint aedificia, praeferendus tamen est aedificiis bonorum morum ornatus et culmen*', *Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis* in F.-L. Ganshof, 'Note sur les "Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis" de 811', *Studia Gratiana* 13 (1967), 2-25, here 24. See also MGH Capit. 1, 164 (no. 72. 11).

24 C. I. Hammer, Jr., 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49.1 (1980), 5-17; V. L. Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World*, Ithaca (NY) 2009, 249.

25 Among the many works on Carolingian church architecture see W. Jacobsen, 'Allgemeine Tendenzen im Kirchenbau unter Ludwig der Frommen', in P. Godman – R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, Oxford 1990, 641-54; C. B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900*, New Haven (CT) 2005, 83-194. On the relationship between architecture and liturgy in the Carolingian world see C. Heitz, 'L'architecture religieuse. Son rôle dans la création des espaces liturgiques', in P. Périn – L.-C. Feffer (eds), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (vii^{e}–ix^{e} siècles)*, Créteil 1985, 147-89; S. A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: the Symbolic Vision of Angilbert*, Philadelphia 1995, 113-37.

26 BLK MS Augiensis CCXXXVIII, fols. 159^{v}-160^{r}.

27 B. Bischoff, 'Eine Beschreibung der Basilika von Saint-Denis aus dem Jahre 799', *Kunstchronik* 34 (1981), 97-103; Heitz, *cit.* n. 25, 165. On the lamps see W. Jacobsen, 'Saint-Denis in neuem Licht: Konsequenzen der neuendeckten Baubeschreibung aus dem Jahr 799', *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983), 301-8, esp. 307-8.

28 BNF Lat. 7230, fol. 117^{v}.

29 P. E. Schramm and F. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, München 1962, 95. On Odo's coronation see K. F. Werner, 'Westfranken-Frankreich unter den Spätkarolingern und frühen Kapetingern (888-1060)', in T. Schieder (ed.), *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1976, 731-83, esp. 735, 744, note 1; R. Schneider, 'Odo (888-898)', in J. Ehlers – H. Müller – B. Schneidmüller (eds), *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters von Odo bis Karl VIII. 888-1498*, München 1996, 13-21, esp. 14-5; O. Guillot, 'Les étapes de l'accession d'Eudes au pouvoir royal', in G. Duby (ed.), *Media in Francia. Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner*, Maulévrier 1989, 199-223, esp. 210; G. Koziol, 'Charles the Simple, Robert of Neustria, and the *vexilla* of Saint-Denis', *Early Medieval Europe* 14.4 (2006), 355-90, esp. 382-3.

30 *Capitula ecclesiastica* 7 (MGH Capit. 1, 178).

religious purposes. For a female audience, they emphasized the virtue of such fabrication. Among the best known examples is that of the sisters Herlindis and Renula, eighth-century abbesses of Aldeneik in modern Belgium. A description of an extraordinary set of textiles in their *vita* match closely a surviving group of textiles now housed at Maaseik and long attributed to the saints.[31] The anonymous late ninth-century cleric who wrote their *vita* made assertions that do not match the historical record of the eighth century; this *vita* appears mainly legendary and therefore reflects ninth-century values and expectations more than it records earlier events. This *vita* demonstrates that a ninth-century audience believed women ought to engage in textile work to the benefit of churches and monastic foundations. In another late ninth-century *vita*, the holy recluse Liutberga taught textile skills to young girls destined for both the lay and religious worlds.[32] *Vitae* portray positively this means for women to express religious piety, thereby encouraging lay women as well as religious women to employ their textile skills to benefit religious institutions.

We know that some elite women, including queens, in the Carolingian world, fabricated and donated cloths and garments to churchmen and churches. According to its inscription, Charlemagne's second wife Hildegard (d. 783) may have crafted a cloth she and her husband gave for use on an altar dedicated to St Peter in the Church of St Anastasius in Olonna.[33] Although this piece no longer exists, the words sewn onto it were recorded for posterity:

> Peter, blameless shepherd keeping watch over the sheep[fold] of God,
> Who gives the holy fodder of Christ to the flocks:
> You, merciful one, receive the offerings of faithful King Charles,
> which he earnestly presented to you.
> With whom faithful Queen Hildegard out of devotion
> Gave [this cloth] through deeds distinguished by her sincerity of purpose.[34]

Could one of Hildegard's 'deeds' been making or decorating this inscribed textile? Evidence for the textile work of queens is relatively abundant. Such labour demonstrated domestic virtue and competence. Based on earlier texts and practices, many Carolingian writers thought that textile work could encourage female morality.[35] It also produced items of economic value and contributed to a household. If Hildegard made this altar cloth, it would have been a sign not only of her faith, devotion, and sincerity, as the inscription states, but it equally underlined the wealth of the Carolingian court. The labour and skill necessary to sew such an inscription represented a significant allocation of resources; the court's wealth freed queens

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31 '*Unde accidit, ut et quaedam palliola, quae propriis manibus contexuerant, et quae multis modis variisque compositionibus diversae artis innumerabilibus ornamentis, Deum Sanctosque eius decentibus, ex auro ac margaritis ornata, composuerant Sanctae, illo in loco post se relinquerent.*' *De sanctis virginibus Herlinde et Reinula seu Renilde abbatissis Masaci in Belgio* 12, in *Acta Sanctorum*, March 3, Antwerp 1668, 388. On the Maaseik textiles see M. Budny – D. Tweddle, 'The Maaseik Embroideries', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984), 65-96, esp. 91-4; M. Budny – D. Tweddle, 'The Early Medieval Textiles at Maaseik, Belgium', *Antiquaries Journal* 65:2 (1985), 353-89.

32 *Vita Liutbirgae Virginis* 22, 28, 35, in O. Menzel (ed.), *Das Leben der Liutbirg* (MGH Deutsches Mittelalter, Kritische Studientexte 3), Leipzig 1937, 26, 32, 44).

33 The inscription has been preserved in the tenth-century BAV Pal. Lat. 833 and came from part of the Lorsch Syllogae concerning Christian inscriptions from various cities in Italy: MGH Poetae 1, 99 and 105 note 2. According to Paul the Deacon, the Lombard king Liutprand had this church and monastery built in 783: *Historia Langobardorum* 6. 58 (in MGH SRL, 185-6). See also *ICUR* 2.1, 13.9; for information on the Lorsch Syllogae see no. 8 and 13, 95-7 and 142-3. For analysis of the manuscript see C. Vircillo Franklin, 'The Epigraphic Syllogae of BAV Palatinus Latinus 833', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Roma, magistra mundi: itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offert au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, vol. 2, Louvain-la-Neuve 1998, 975-90.

34 '*Pastor ovile dei servans sine crimine Petre, / Qui praebes Christi pabula sancta gregi: / Tu Caroli clemens devoti munera regis / Suscipe, quae cupiens obtulit ipse tibi. / Hildegarda pio cum quo regina fidelis / Actibus insignis mentis amore dedit.*' MGH Poetae 1, 106-7 (no. 1.14).

35 Garver, *cit.* n. 24, 225.

such as Hildegard from the more humble tasks that occupied women of lower status and allowed for the leisure to learn textile skills and to produce prestigious pieces, such as this altar cloth. This covering would have been highly visible. Clerics standing on or near the altar could have read Hildegard's name. Perhaps worshippers who came near to the altar could sometimes see her name as well. Efforts to perpetuate one's memory through such a text conformed to ninth-century expectations of elite Carolingian women, who were to stand as moral exemplars and to help commemorate their families.[36]

Other queens participated in the fabrication and donation of religious garments and textiles. In two mid-ninth-century poems the Irish scholar John Scottus Eriugena (d. c. 877), who was active in West Frankish royal and ecclesiastical circles, discusses robes fabricated by Queens Judith and Ermintrud, mother and wife of the West Frankish king Charles the Bald (840-877). Ermintrud made one for her husband. Eriugena praised Ermintrud for her skill in the art of Athena (*Palladis arte*), that is weaving. Working with gold, silk, and gems, she made a mantle (*peplum*) for Charles the Bald.[37] Ermintrud also finished a robe, which her husband gave to a Roman church dedicated to the Apostle Paul during the reign of Pope Nicholas I (858-867). Its dedicatory verses, composed by Eriugena, explain the garment's construction.

> This was once the state robe of the Emperor Louis,
> Which his very happy wife Judith adorned,
> So that the enrobed hero might shine upon his people.
> During the time in which Charles, after him, took up royal sceptres,
> He also dedicated the mantle of his father to honourable Paul.
> Queen Ermintrud worked to bring this all to completion.[38]

Eriugena notes the pleasure or sense of accomplishment Judith felt in constructing the robe for her husband when he described her with the word *perfelix*. Such a costly robe could have served to clothe a churchman. Perhaps when Eriugena wrote that Ermintrud finished the robe, he meant that she converted it for liturgical use. We know from Carolingian church inventories and the lavish descriptions of textiles in the *Liber Pontificalis* that silk vestments and cloths, sometimes decorated with gems and pearls, were thought appropriate to worship. A queen's access to rich materials made her an ideal fabricator of costly religious textiles. In a letter of 864, Nicholas thanked Ermintrud for presents she had sent, noting her virtuous labor and thereby implying that she had fabricated the gifts.[39] The gifts were likely textiles and thereby suitable for her gender, rank, and piety. The robe Ermintrud completed for the Roman church may have been visible to worshippers through use for worship or decoration.

In crafting the silk stole with scenes of the life of the Apostle Peter, mentioned at the beginning of this essay, Queen Ermengard, similarly to Hildegard, Ermintrud, and Judith, demonstrated devotion while demarcating her high status. If she illustrated every scene mentioned in Sedulius' poem, this silk embroidery would have been rather large and quite impressive.[40] Adolf Weis has suggested that this silk item was a pluviale or similar mantle. He noted the similarity of the scenes and their ordering in Sedulius' inscription to the

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36 Garver, *cit*. n. 24, 68-121, 159-69.

37 MGH Poetae 3, 533. P. E. Dutton, 'Eriugena the Royal Poet', in G.–H. Allard (ed.), *Jean Scot Ecrivain. Actes du iv^e Colloque International Montréal, 28 août – 2 septembre 1983*, Montreal 1986, 51-80, at 67-8.

38 MGH Poetae 3, 687-8. This translation is Paul Dutton's with the exception of 'very happy' for *perfelix*. P. E. Dutton, 'Evidence That Dubthach's Priscian Codex Once Belonged to Eriugena', in H. J. Westra (ed.), *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought. Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeauneau*, Leiden 1992, 15-45, esp. 18-20.

39 MGH Ep. 6, 294-5, 387 (no. 28 and 69).

40 P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: the King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*, Athens (GA) 1983, 107; Schulenburg, *cit*. n. 12, 91.

iconography of the early eleventh-century mantle of Kunigunde, another piece said to be made by a queen.[41] This possibility seems reasonable in light of the robes that other Carolingian queens fabricated and gave. Similarly to other lavish ecclesiastical textiles, the stole constituted an enormous expenditure of resources, not least time. Sewing the tituli and scenes into silk must have demanded a high level of skill and many work hours.[42] Therefore Ermengard produced a luxurious item appropriate for worship that demonstrated her status and access to wealth. Sedulius described Ermengard as *felix*, that is blessed or happy. Fabricating this item was ideally a source of pleasure, but more importantly it was a good act, meant to make her worthy to enter the kingdom of heaven, an outcome Sedulius hopes for at the end of his verses.

In places a memory of elite Carolingian women providing cloths for religious institutions persisted. Two high medieval references to the textiles of Carolingian women indicate that centuries later, churchmen kept alive the women's names. According to the 'Cartulary of Guiman' compiled at the monastery of St Vaast around 1150 or earlier, Queen Ermintrud donated the following items to St Vaast: two golden pallia, a golden liturgical towel, and five golden stoles with maniples.[43] According to a thirteenth-century notation in a manuscript of the late Carolingian chronicle *Casus sancti Galli* by Ratpert, Richlin, sister of Abbot Hartmut of St Gall (872-883), had made 'with her own hands' a hanging of great quality that was still set before the crucifixion during Lent in the thirteenth century.[44] What matters is not whether these women actually made these items but the fact that they were remembered in conjunction with them.

Queens were not the only lay women reported to have supplied textiles to religious houses in Carolingian texts. Far humbler women provided cloths to monasteries, as documented in polyptychs, records of the holdings of monasteries that stipulated the dues and labour owed by dependents living on monastic lands. The early ninth-century polyptych of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près, for example, lists dues of certain numbers and lengths of cloth, often counting and at times naming specific women who were to make these pieces.[45] Polyptychs reveal the importance of this lay female labour to the functioning of male religious houses. In fact, Jean-Pierre Devroey has argued that, for their monastic masters, women's textile work mattered more than any other female contributions.[46] Yet, it is difficult to know with any certainty what exactly became of the textiles submitted to monasteries as dues. Because little evidence suggests that monks engaged in textile work, others almost certainly made and supplied even the humblest of cloths used in monasteries. Some of the textiles supplied by female dependents were therefore used in male religious houses. The question of how the monks and these dependent women thought of these items is impossible to determine from available sources. More clear is that their supplying of the cloth confirmed these women's dependent status and that many of the monks using such textiles in their daily lives must have known of the cloth's origins. This fabrication and movement of textiles is quite different from the examples related to elite women. Servile women found the primary motivation for their labours, not in piety as wealthier women may

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41 Weis, *cit.* n. 2, 252-3.

42 On textile-related poetry see also C. Sponsler, 'Text and Textile: Lydgate's Tapestry Poems', in Burns, *cit*. n. 9, 19-34.

43 M. le Chanoine van Drival (ed), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras*, Arras 1875, 111. On the cartulary see A. Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*, Cambridge 1999, 83.

44 Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Cod. Sang. 615, 41. On this manuscript see H. Steiner, *Ratpert. St. Galler Klostergeschichten (Casus sancti Galli)*, in MGH SRG 75, 84-6. On the thirteenth-century notation see MGH SS 2, 72 n. 78.

45 *Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon*, XIII.109; XV.70, 76, 78, 82; XX.39, 40, 41; XXIII.27; XXV.6; fragm. 2.6., in B. E. C. Guérard (ed.), *Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon*, vol. 2, Paris 1844, 150, 174-6, 212, 243, 272, 280.

46 J.-P. Devroey, 'Femmes au miroir des polyptyques: une approche des rapports du couple dans l'exploitation rurale dépendante entre Seine et Rhin au ixe siècle', in A. Dierkens – S. Lebecq – R. Le Jan – J. Sansterre (eds), *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en occident (vi^{e}–xi^{e} siècles): colloque international organisé les 28, 29 et 30 mars 1996 à Bruxelles et Villeneuve d'Ascq*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 1999, 227-49, esp. 249.

have, but in the required dues of their monastic lords. Yet the polyptychs offer evidence that lay women of rather low status supplied textiles to religious houses and that their provision of cloth was a visible sign of their humble status just as elite female gifts of rich textiles could stand as an indication of the donors' high status.

Three Extant Examples

Material evidence points to other elite women as fabricators of religious textiles in Carolingian lands. At least three Carolingian textile inscriptions name probable female fabricators, one of whom was definitely a laywoman. These items support the textual evidence indicating that elite women engaged in such labour and donation as means both of showing their spiritual devotion and of garnering social respect. Inscriptions displaying the names of the makers and/or donors appear on a relatively large number of textiles found in medieval western contexts; some name female fabricators.[47]

One Carolingian example appears on a silk pillow discovered in the seventeenth century at Rheims in the tomb of St Remigius, who died in the sixth century. Its embroidered dedication, now severely damaged, connects it to the West Frankish Carolingian royal family. The complete inscription was recorded in 1647 after the translation of St Remigius' relics in 1646.[48] The inscription reads:

> The renowned Bishop Hincmar ordered Alpais to make and present this humble work. He indeed ordered it so, but she happily carried this out and made the work you see here. By the occasion of the new honour [the translation of the relics and dedication of the new church] she made this little pillow, which will support the sweet and venerable head of Remigius. Through the merits of Alpais everywhere, may her prayers be furthered beyond the stars.[49]

The embroiderer was Alpais, half sister of Charles the Bald, who was born c. 794 and died after 852. At the time of the pillow's construction Alpais was abbess of St Peter's in Rheims, but she had earlier been married to the lay magnate Bego, count of Paris.[50] The inscription also names as donor Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (d. 882), a close advisor to Charles the Bald. This piece therefore was a gift from the highest levels of Carolingian society to one of the most important saints of West Francia. The inscription underlines Alpais's virtue by noting the humility and joy with which she carried out her labour. It also commemorates her through the prayer it offers on her behalf. The reference to Alpais working happily (*laeta*) recalls Eriugena's description of Judith as happy (*perfelix*) when she was adorning the robe for Louis the Pious. Although such descriptors were a means to praise these women and may have been conventional, they nevertheless suggest that ideally women took pleasure in some forms of textile work, especially when making items of luxurious materials destined for prominent use.

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47 E. Coatsworth, 'Text and Textile', in A. Minnis – J. Roberts (eds), *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, Turnhout 2007, 187-207; E. Coatsworth, 'The Embroideries from the Tomb of St Cuthbert,' in N. J. Higham – D. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, London 2001, 292-306, esp. 298-302; W. Coatsworth, 'Inscriptions on Textiles Associated with Anglo-Saxon England', in A. R. Rumble (ed.), *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 2006, 71-95.

48 The pillow measures 63.5 x 26 centimetres. A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, Wien 1997, 90 n. 3, 188-9.

49 '*Hoc opus exiguum praesul clarissimus Hincmar Alphedi iussit condere sicque dare. Ille quidem iussit sed et haec mos laeta peregit protulit et factum quod modo cernis opus. Quae sub honore novo pulvillum condidit istum quo sustentetur dulce sacrarumque caput Remigii meritis Alphedis ubique iuvetur ipsiusque preces hanc super astra ferant*.' MGH Poetae 3, 414.

50 On Alpais, see V. L. Garver, 'Girlindis and Alpais: Telling the Lives of Two Textile Fabricators in the Carolingian Empire', in C. N. Goldy – A. Livingstone (eds), *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, New York 2012, 155-72.

This pillow offers a hint of the religious duties of women and demonstrates that production of textiles was a crucial means for women to express their spiritual devotion. By putting her own name upon it, Alpais underlined her agency in its construction, an act appropriate for an abbess and a means to express her piety. She knew her handiwork and name would lie in a sacred space beside a holy relic. Based on other scholars' analysis of the pillow's remains and from my own study of detailed photographs of the piece, it is clear that the inscribed band was removed from an earlier piece before being attached to this one.[51] Even if the present remains of the cushion result only partially from Alpais' labor, her employment of gold-wrapped thread upon a silk background to create the inscription suited an object destined for holy space. The piece reflected the heavenly riches the saint was meant to enjoy and demonstrated Alpais' access to expensive Mediterranean trade goods.

Another piece that names a female donor and/or fabricator is the tablet–woven band known as Witgar's belt, preserved at the St Afra Cathedral in Augsburg. Named for its recipient, though the names of both donor and receiver appear on the belt, its golden brocading makes its inscription highly visible. It survives as two end pieces sewn together; its middle section would have been covered by other vestments such as a chasuble or dalmatic.[52] For that reason, the central portion may have been made of inexpensive materials and therefore not worth preserving. This belt likely cinched the alb, the main priestly undergarment.[53] The terminals each display an eagle with horizontal stripes, originally decorated with pearls, of which fifteen remain. The terminals' weaving technique (double-faced 3/1 broken twill with brocading weft threads) is quite difficult, time-consuming, and uncommon in medieval tablet-woven bands.[54] This piece therefore comprised a major outlay of resources, especially in labour, time, and materials. The Witgar belt's inscription reads: '*VVITGARIO TRIBVIT SACRO SPIRAMINE PLENVM/HANC ZONAM REGINA NITENS SANCTISSIMA HEMMA* (Queen Emma, shining and most pious, gave this belt to Witgar, a man filled with the Holy Spirit).' This band survived through association with a relic of Mary.[55] The inscription, however, establishes that Witgar's belt was a gift from Emma, wife of the East Frankish king Louis the German, to Witgar the future bishop of Augsburg (861?-887). As Eric Goldberg has convincingly asserted, this gift dates to 858-860.[56] Witgar's belt is rare for making the names of donor and owner visible on an ecclesiastical vestment. Those attending mass, watching a procession, or seeing the bishop in his vestments would have been able to see the names resting next to each other. Unlike Alpais' pillow, the donor of this textile was female, and I believe Emma made the piece, given the evidence that queens engaged in complex textile work employing rich materials.[57] Witgar's belt was apt work for a female member of the Carolingian family, for it demonstrated Emma's piety and status.

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51 On this subject, see Garver, *cit*. n. 50.

52 J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1907, 106, 110.

53 R. Schorta, 'Witgarius-Cingulum', in Stiegemann – Wemhoff, *cit*. n. 6, 825. The belt measures 138 x 3.8 centimetres.

54 Schorta, *cit*. n. 53, 824; N. Spies, *Ecclesiastical Pomp and Aristocratic Circumstance: A Thousand Years of Brocaded Tablet-woven Bands*, Jarrettsville (MD) 2000, 69; L. R. Knudsen, 'Brocaded Tablet-Woven Bands: Same Appearance, Different Weaving Technique, Hørning, Hvilehøj and Mammen', in F. Pritchard – J. Wild (eds), *Northern Archaeological Textiles: Textile Symposium in Edinburgh, 5th-7th May 1999*, Oxford 2005, 36-43, esp. 41.

55 A 1582 inventory by Johann Elsner indicates that Witgar's belt held a piece of the Virgin's belt. Munich Staatbibliothek, Cod. Germ. 2913, f. 3^{r} and 4^{v}; *Suevia Sacra. Frühe kunst in Schwaben.* Augsburg 1973, 196; E. J. Goldberg, '*Regina nitens sanctissima Hemma*: Queen Emma (827-876), Bishop Witgar of Augsburg, and the Witgar-Belt', in B. Weiler – S. MacLean (eds), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800-1500*, Turnhout 2006, 57-95, esp. 57 and 72 note 54.

56 Goldberg, *cit.* n. 55, 81-8.

57 V. L. Garver, 'Weaving Words in Silk: Women and Inscribed Bands in the Carolingian World', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 6 (2010), 33-56, esp. 34-7.

The third example, the Ailbecunda band, whose appellation derives from the name inscribed in it, consists of two fragments of tablet-woven red silk ornamented with narrow yellow-green edges. Attached to the smaller Ailbecunda fragment is another tablet-woven band of probable twelfth- or thirteenth-century Islamic origin, which was believed to be a relic of the Virgin Mary, an association which led to the identification of the Ailbecunda band as 'Our Lady's belt' in early modern cathedral documents.[58] The set of bands (the alleged pieces of the Virgin's belt together with the Ailbecunda fragments to which they are attached) came to be venerated as a relic of the Virgin.[59] The band's inscription of Roman capitals woven in the same red thread as its background reads: '*IN NOMINE DOMINI AILBECUND[AE] VE…VXPI [Christi] IHEV [Jesu] NOSTRI IN NOMINE DOME [domini]* (in the name of the Lord, Ailbecunda VE…V in the name of our lord Jesus Christ)', and '*[n]OMINE DOMINI NO[stri]* (in the name of our Lord)'. This Ailbecunda is not identifiable. Written sources do not provide any information to indicate when the object came to St Afra Cathedral, but onomastic, textual, and technical evidence dates this band firmly to the ninth century and to the region around St Gall and Reichenau.[60] What matters here is that this piece displayed a woman's name. While no one can know if Ailbecunda was lay or religious, it is significant that she need not have been in religious orders. The band's costly materials indicate her access to rich resources. A gift of a silk band would have been a sign of relatively high social status. The band could have been used in various ways, not least as a belt for a cleric. It may also have decorated a liturgical cloth or adorned an altar on its own.[61] However the Ailbecunda band was employed, it may have been visible and served as a reminder of its maker/donor similarly to the ways Witgar's belt recalled Emma, Hildegard's altar cloth brought that queen to mind, and Remigius' pillow reminded one of Alpais.

Conclusion

The three extant pieces as well as textual evidence point to the prominence of the textiles that elite women made and donated to religious institutions. No less important were the contributions of lower status women recorded in polyptychs of Carolingian monasteries. While their work was not as flashy, it constituted a needed and doubtless valued contribution to religious life. Fabrication of liturgical, decorative, and useful textiles was a female form of Christian participation in the Carolingian world. Those using or gazing upon textiles in religious institutions would have known that women crafted them. The women who made them may have been proud of their work, similarly to the way the pillow's inscription mentioned the pride Alpais took in her labour. These pieces gave women opportunities to place their handicrafts in close proximity to the holy, in places normally off limits to them, such as the altar and the resting spots of relics. This form of textile work provided them a way to live up to longstanding male expectations of female domestic virtue and preservation of familial memory.[62]

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58 The belt, referred to as 'unser Lieben Frauen gürttel' among other similar appellations, is mentioned in Augsburg cathedral documents dating to 1622 (Domkapitelsprotokolle/Neuburger Abgabe/Band 5542) and 1719 (Domkapitelsprotokolle/Neuburger Abgabe/Band 5623) now housed in the Staatsarchiv Augsburg.

59 S. Müller-Christensen (ed.), *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters*, München 1955, 14; *Suevia Sacra. Frühe Kunst in Schwaben*, Augsburg 1973, 196-7. The fragments measure 123.5 x 3.8 centimetres and 35.5 x 3.8 centimetres.

60 Garver, *cit*. n. 57, 38-40.

61 Garver, *cit*. n. 57, 50.

62 On Merovingian expectations of female domestic virtue and power see J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women*, Oxford 1978, 31-77, esp. 74-5; L. L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy women and hagiography in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1997, 128-41. On female preservation of early medieval familial memory, see P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton

Supplying such items to religious houses confirmed the status of female fabricators, whether further demarcating the dependent status of the women living on monastic lands or indicating the access to wealth and leisure of a queen. The evidence allows us to understand the contributions of elite women most clearly, but it underlines the major contributions of servile women.[63] This early medieval female labour has not much been appreciated until recently; the textiles of the Carolingian world in particular have received rather little attention. Yet the Carolingian authorities who encouraged, legislated, and patronized the reforms of the Carolingian renaissance saw textiles and textile work as crucial to their efforts to reform society.[64] Remember that they encouraged laywomen to supply textiles for use on the altar.[65] Because of the loss of so many textiles to decay, because textiles lie in the background of the sources, and because such labour was associated with women, historians have been slow to see the importance of cloth to the Carolingian renaissance.

Yet textile work was one means of bringing about virtuous female behaviour and of supplying churches with needed vestments and cloths (which reformers detailed in some sources). Carolingian male leaders expected that women should engage in such labour because of an antique correlation between textile work and female virtue and because women supplied and made cloths and garments for contemporary religious institutions. This work of Carolingian women helped to establish the understanding of female textile labour as a sign of virtue that continued into the later Middle Ages.[66] Working on objects bound for sacred space ensured a virtuous interpretation of women's work on cloth; other forms of textile work did not possess such an immediate connection to piety. The extant textiles I have discussed were aesthetic and technical achievements, no less worthy of our attention than the manuscripts, ivories, and sculptures of the same period. In sum, textile fabrication and donation provided means both to women in the religious life and to laywomen, those with perhaps the fewest means to participate prominently in the religious culture of their day, to make visible, crucial contributions to Christian worship in the Carolingian world.

(NJ) 1994, 49-80; M. Innes, 'Keeping it in the Family: Women and Aristocratic Memory, 700-1200', in E. van Houts (ed.), *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, Harlow 2001, 17-35, esp. 17-25.

63 See also J. Barchewitz, *Von der Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Frau in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zur Entfaltung der Stadtwirtschaft*, Breslau 1937, 75-82; J.–P. Devroey, 'La démographie du polyptyque de Saint-Remi de Reims', in P. Demouy – C. Vuilliez (eds), *Compter les Champenois: colloque du Centre d'études Champenoises*, Reims 1997, 81-94; J.–P. Devroey, 'Men and Women in Early Medieval Serfdom: the Ninth-Century North Frankish Evidence', *Past and Present* 166 (2000), 3-30.

64 Such attention to textiles connects to the work of Maureen Miller who has demonstrated major changes in clerical dress resulting from the reforms of the late tenth century to the twelfth century. M. Miller, 'The Significance of Saint Cuthbert's Vestments', in P. Clarke – T. Claydon (eds), *Saints and Sanctity*, Woodbridge (Suffolk) 2011, 90-102.

65 This form of participation may be usefully compared to other ways women across the Middle Ages used or shaped space in churches in order to confirm their status, confound social expectations, and find means to engage more directly with the holy than may otherwise have been possible. See for example V. C. Raguin – S. Stanbury (eds), *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, Albany (NY) 2005. Material culture provides a critical means of understanding women's roles in sacred space. See especially R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Religious Women*, London 1993.

66 Karras, *cit*. n. 9, 91.

Crusading in the Margins?
Women and Children in the Crusade Model Sermons of the Thirteenth Century

Miikka Tamminen

Introduction

Crusading is an elusive concept; the *crusades* are a term and a phenomenon difficult to define. Popes, kings, crusade ideologists, canonists, chroniclers, and historians, both medieval and modern, have puzzled over the issue. What are the crusades? How to define those who participated to the crusading movement? The crusades appear to have been Christian holy wars fought on behalf of God. These holy wars were waged against various enemies in diverse directions for centuries. The crusading movement was born out of the preaching of Pope Urban II in 1095. The movement was founded on Christian concepts of just and holy wars and traditions of pilgrimage and indulgence. The crusading movement had a great impact on medieval world shaping, reforming, and influencing different areas of life: religion, society, law, politics, economy, art, literature, et cetera. Still, after all the centuries, despite the significance of the movement, the most vibrant discussion in crusading studies is concerned with the definition of the crusades.[1]

Crusading was primarily the intended task of the knights and the soldiers in the Middle Ages. The crusades were envisioned by Urban II as a proper way for the warriors to practise their profession: crusading was penitential warfare agreeable, even desirable to God. By crusading the men of war could wage wars and the consequent bloodshed would not be considered sinful, but as penance for previous sins. Nonetheless, from the very beginning the crusade movement attracted also the attention of other participants besides the warriors. Already in 1096 at the outset of the First Crusade there were bands of townspeople, peasants, and other non-combatants, who formed groups of armies together with knights and journeyed to the East.[2]

Ordinary people from different social strata took invariably part in different kinds of crusades during the following centuries: There was non-noble and non-combatant participation in every major *passagia* to the Holy Land from the first to the last of the large-scale crusades.[3] The so-called popular crusades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – the Children's Crusade of 1212, the *Pastoureaux* or Shepherds' Crusade of 1251 and 1320 – are well-known examples of bursts of religious enthusiasm among the non-noble laity, which were born out of charismatic leadership and had a tendency towards anti-clericalism and

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1 For the most recent studies on crusades and for the discussion on the definition of crusades see, G. Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in A. E. Laiou – R. P. Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington 2001, 1-22; J. Flori, *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien*, Paris 2001; N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, Oxford 2006; C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, London 2006; N. Housley, *Fighting for the Cross. Crusading to the Holy Land*, New Haven – London 2008, and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam*, New York 2008.

2 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London – New York 2003 [1986], 15-35, esp. 28, 35.

3 C. Tyerman, 'Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?', in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, London 1992, 13-26; Housley, *cit.* n. 1 (2006), 93-5.

anti-semitism.[4] There was also a continuous flow of small groups of non-combatant pilgrim-crusaders who made their way to the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5]

The non-combatant crusaders were a mixture of people from different origins, social groups, ages, and gender with one thing in common: the clerics, the women, the children, the poor, the aged, and the ill were regarded as too feeble, too fragile or otherwise unfit to bear arms, but wanted to take part all the same in the expeditions. Some of these groups had their share of combatants as well – there were churchmen, who fought alongside with the warriors in the battlefields, and there were firm women who took up arms in desperate situations, but as a whole the majority of these groups went along the crusade armies as non-combatants or as pilgrims.[6]

This paper will examine the participation of the non-combatants to the crusade movement focusing in two particular groups. How do the crusade model sermons of the thirteenth century describe the participation of the women and the children? I will attempt to further our understanding of what *crusading* may have meant for different members of the society. The study proceeds from the introductory remarks to five main chapters: firstly, I discuss the traditionally marginalized position of the non-combatants in the crusade movement; then, examine how the crusade model sermons portray the participation of the women and the children; and finally, explore the ways these groups may participate, how their participation is viewed, obstructed, approved, or advocated in the sources.

The paper examines various model sermons identified specifically as crusade sermons. These sermons were compiled at different stages of the thirteenth century by eight individual preachers from different backgrounds and origins. Most of the sermons have been edited; six remain for the present unedited.[7] The crusade model sermons studied here differ in form, length, and content: majority of the sermons are from *ad status* collections.[8] Most of the crusade sermons preserved in the *ad status* collections have been reworked by the authors in such a way that if there once was an initial actual sermon the traces of that have now been lost. Some of the sermons are closer to 'live' sermons such as those of Federico Visconti and Philippe le Chancelier, which although reworked can still clearly be linked to historical events.[9]

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4 G. Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West*, Aldershot 2000, 1-27; M. Barber, 'The Crusade of the Shepherds in 1251', in J. F. Sweets (ed.), *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, Lawrence 1984, 1-23, and M. Barber, 'The Pastoureaux of 1320', *JEH* 32 (1981), 143-66.

5 Tyerman, *cit.* n. 3, 13-4.

6 Housley, *cit.* n. 1 (2008), 114-8.

7 C. T. Maier has provided the most recent editions of the crusade sermons of Jacques de Vitry, Eudes de Châteauroux, Guibert de Tournai, and Humbert de Romans. C. T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology, Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, Cambridge 2000. Maier has also edited the three crusade sermons against the Lucera Muslims by Eudes de Châteauroux in C. T. Maier, 'Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera: Eudes of Châteauroux's *Sermones de Rebellione Sarracenorum Lucherie in Apulia*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), 343-85. Federico Visconti's two crusade sermons are edited by N. Bériou *et al*., *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti, archevêque de Pise (1254/1257-1277)*: *édition critique,* Rome 2001; Roger of Salisbury's crusade sermon was transcribed by P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge (MA) 1991, 227-31; The five crusade sermons of Philippe le Chancelier and one of Eudes de Châteauroux have not been edited, but I am profoundly grateful to Christoph Maier for allowing me to make use of his and Nicole Bériou's transcriptions of the sermons. Maier and Bériou are preparing a further study of these sermons to be published in future. I have also consulted the manuscripts of these sermons in the Médiathèque d'Arras containing Eudes de Châteauroux's sermon: Arras MS 137, ff. 88^{vb}-90^{rb}; and Bibliothèque municipal d'Avranches containing Philippe le Chancelier's sermons: Avranches MS 132, ff. 243ra-244^{vb}, 248va-250ra, 250ra-251ra, 251ra-252^{vb}, 272^{rb}-273^{vb}.

8 The *ad status* sermon collections were produced for the benefit of various social groups arranged by the status of the audience rather than a liturgical event. With the *ad status* sermons we know thus the intended audience of the sermon outright, which is not the case with most medieval sermons. C. Muessig, 'Audience and Preacher: Ad Status Sermons and Social Classification', in C. Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, Leiden 2002, 255-76.

9 Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 19-25.

Marginalized crusading groups

The participation of the non-combatants to crusades was a complex and disputed matter all through the crusading period. Already Pope Urban II had taken measures to limit their chances to participate. Urban emphasized in his famous sermon in Clermont in 1095, that the Church did not 'instruct or propose that the old or the weak who are unable to use arms' would partake in the journey. Urban also made some restrictions and conditions to women's and clerics' involvement: women should not be allowed to leave on their own without chaperons and priests should not leave without the consent of their superiors. According to the pope, the participation of the old and the weak or women travelling by themselves would be an impediment rather than assistance to the cause.[10]

The non-combatants created major logistical problems for the crusading armies: large groups of ill-prepared and undisciplined travellers had to be carried along, protected and provisioned during the journeys.[11] As the crusading disasters followed one another during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these groups became the objects of bitter criticism. Noble crusaders often found the non-noble, non-combatants as responsible for the failures.[12] Ecclesiastical commentators also criticized the participation of the weak and incapable.[13] The arbitrary signing with the cross all members of the society was disapproved and condemned by many during the thirteenth century. Crusade preachers were accused of indifferently signing with the cross all sorts of people. In 1213, the preachers had made a great army of the non-combatants while preparing for the Fifth Crusade: the children, the old men, the women, the lame, the blind, the deaf, and the leprous had all been made crusaders.[14]

These different groups had been largely marginalized by the papal crusading policies of the twelfth century. The crusades were regarded as masculine military service suitable for healthy, adult males. The participation of the women, the children, the old and the sick was discouraged; members of these groups were repeatedly viewed as ineligible crusaders, whose participation to the expeditions needed to be restricted. The non-combatants were steered in the fringe of the crusade movement: they were meant to be left behind; their share was to stay at home and wait for the return of the fighting men.[15]

The marginal groups of the crusade movement have remained mostly as it happens in the margins of the crusade studies. Few excursions have been made over the years to the subject. Mostly the attention has

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10 Robert the Monk, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (Historiens Occidentaux III), Paris 1844-1895, 729. Pope Paschal II also wanted to limit the participation of the non–combatants giving exemption for poor crusaders from their crusade vows in 1099 for reasons stemming from poverty. H. Hagenmeyer (ed.), *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1000*, Innsbruck 1901, 174-75; Housley, *cit.* n. 1 (2008), 117.

11 Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem', in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades cit.* n. 10, 235-6, 264-6; W. Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non–combatants on the First Crusade', *Speculum* 21:1 (1946), 1-23, esp. 10. For more information on the logistics of the crusades see, J. H. Pryor (ed.), *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, Aldershot 2006.

12 Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 66.

13 Odo of Deuil, the chaplain of King Louis VII, for example, would have preferred that the non–combatants had been instructed to stay at home rather than joined the Second Crusade. According to Odo, all the participants should have been strong, 'equipped with the sword instead of the wallet and the bow instead of the staff; for the weak and helpless are always a burden to their comrades and a source of prey to their enemies.' Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. & trans. V. G. Berry, New York 1948, 94-5.

14 F. Guizot, *Traduction des chroniques de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton*: *Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, vol. 11, Paris 1825, 320; G. Dickson, *The Children's Crusade. Medieval History, Modern Mythistory*, Hampshire & New York 2008, 126.

15 C. M. Rousseau, 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)', in S. Edgington – S. Lambert (eds), *Gendering the Crusades*, Cardiff 2001, 31-4, esp. 39.

focused on some specific crusades: the poor who participated in the First Crusade and the youths who participated in the Children's Crusade have been dealt with in detail in several studies.[16] However, the crusading women are the first to really rise from the insignificance and scarce notice given by few scholars to the awareness of historians at large. Series of different studies have followed one another over the last decade and we do have a much sharper view of the women's involvement in crusades now than we did twenty or thirty years ago.[17]

There is a problem when studying the non-combatant groups of the crusade movement which partly accounts for the gap in this area of studies. The problem derives from our sources: the crusade chronicles as well as many other crusade related sources were all written by educated men, members of the upper class, usually ecclesiastics, who seldom had any interest in describing the feats of the women, the origin or the end of the destitute, the fate of the children or the infirm. If the sources mention these groups, it is often a passing remark which reveals very little. The chroniclers focus their attention to the heroic deeds of the knights, to the valour of the kings and princes, and to the exploits of the great churchmen.[18]

Nonetheless, both women and children participated in crusades. Married and unmarried women, the old, and the young, all took part. Women and children had important, at times recognized tasks during the crusades: they helped, together with other non-combatants, in various ways building fortifications, tending the sick, guarding the camp, carrying and throwing stones.[19] The scope of the participation of women and children is unclear due to our sources. For example, the ages of those who participated to crusades are seldom told. We have very little reliable evidence from which to draw any conclusions. We also have a problem of clarity with some of the key words. The word *pueri* could mean for instance children or boys but the term was also used to define social status: the word could point to the low social class of those referred to in our sources rather than their age.[20] In recent decades some scholars have viewed the role of the non-combatants more critically urging caution when estimates are made of their input in the crusade movement and careful consideration with the interpretation of medieval terms.[21]

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16 See, for example, Porges, *cit.* n. 11, 1-23; P. Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), 282-9; Dickson, *cit.* n. 14.

17 The groundwork laid by J. Brundage, B. Hamilton, J. Powell and H. Nicholson has bear fruit with recent interest in crusading women. J. Brundage, 'The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary', *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967), 425-41; B. Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States: the Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)', in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women*, Oxford 1978, 143-7; J. Powell, 'The Role of Women in the Fifth Crusade', in B. Z. Kedar, *cit.* n. 3, 294-301; H. Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 335-49. See also R. Finucane, *Soldiers of Faith. Crusaders and Muslims at War*, London 1983, esp. 174-84. The collection of essays edited by Susan Edgington and Sarah Lambert in 2001 was the first extensive examination of women's participation in the crusades, see Edgington – Lambert, *cit.* n. 15. This was followed by three monographs: works by S. Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen*, Darmstadt 2003; C. Dernbecher, *'Deus et virum suum diligens'. Zur rolle und Bedeutung der Frau im Umfeld Kreuzzüge*, St Ingbert 2003; N. R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, Woodbridge 2007, as well as an important historiographical article by C. T. Maier, 'The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 61-82. See also the article by D. Gerish, 'Gender Theory', in H. Nicholson (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, Basingstoke 2005, 130-47.

18 Hodgson, *cit.* n. 17, 3-4. M. R. Evans has studied the non-combatant groups, or the 'rogues' gallery', as he describes them, by viewing different sources from the English Midlands. See M. R. Evans' articles on the non-combatant groups, in M. R. Evans, '"A Far From Aristocratic Affair": Poor and Non-combatant Crusaders from the Midlands, c.1160-1300', *Midland History* 21 (1996), 23-36; M. R. Evans, '"Unfit to Bear Arms": The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade', in Edgington – Lambert, *cit.* n. 15, 45-58; M. R. Evans, 'Commutation of Crusade Vows. Some Examples from the English Midlands', in A. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem. The Crusades and the Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, Turnhout 1998, 219-28.

19 'Gesta Obsidionis Damiatae', in R. Röhricht (ed.), *Quinti Belli Sacri, Scriptores Minores*, Genevae 1879, 111; See also, J. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*, Philadelphia 1986, 162.

20 C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, Leiden 2008, 187-212, esp. 201, 209.

21 J. Riley-Smith has shown that the so-called peasant armies of the First Crusade were in fact led by knights and had as many knights among them as the other armies of the First Crusade. Riley-Smith has suggested that the importance of the non-combatants

Women and children as anti-crusaders

Cardinal of Tusculum, Jacques de Vitry (c.1265-1240), tells a characteristically lively *exemplum* in one of his crusade model sermons of a wife determined to prevent her husband of joining in a crusade. According to Jacques, the wife locked her husband upstairs in their home so he could not go to listen to crusade preaching and would not be signed with the cross. However, the husband, curious of knowing what was preached, listened through an open window. Moved by the preacher's words and hearing about the great rewards offered, the man jumped out of the window and despite the wife's objections took the cross.[22]

Jacques de Vitry's *exemplum* portrays in humoristic terms the traditional role given to women in the crusade movement by preachers. Women were generally accused of being an impediment to crusading.[23] Reluctant wives prevented their inspired husbands of taking the cross. Jacques' *exemplum* provided timid husbands also a pattern of behaviour – they should boldly disregard their wives opposition and follow God.[24] In fact, Jacques rejects the controversial right of the spouse to influence any crusading decisions of her husband by claiming that the crusaders did not take the advice to go to the devil from their wives; why would they wait for advice to go to God?[25] Those who had been signed with the cross or were about to do so should also keep their promises and adhere to their good intentions for according to Jacques the devil often extinguishes a good proposal through the wife or worldly friends.[26] A Franciscan preacher, Guibert de Tournai (c.1200-1284), followed Jacques' lead in his sermon and urged 'the notorious sinners' who had not been signed with the cross not to wait any recommendations. Why would they expect an advice now, for the sinners had not consulted their wives or parents when they had sinned?[27]

With these arguments Jacques de Vitry and Guibert de Tournai wanted to reduce the wives' control over their husbands or parents control over their children. In 1201, Pope Innocent III had decreed, that men could take the cross without their wives' prior agreement.[28] This decision was objected by many. The decree created a confrontation between two different vows – both which were considered to be sacred by the Church – the marriage vow and the crusade vow. The canonists took the new decree with some reservations. The commentators appear to have been uncomfortable with the implications the law had on marital relations, morality, chastity, and parity between the husband and the wife.[29]

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should not be overestimated, however, in the same breadth he advices not to underestimate it either. Riley-Smith, *cit.* n. 2, 35; C. Tyerman has criticized the view that crusading was originally the affair of the poor. Tyerman has also called into question what do the crusade sources mean when they mention 'the poor'. Tyerman, *cit.* n. 3, esp. 24-5.

22 '*…ipse valde compunctus et a Deo inspiratus, timens uxorem, que ostium clauserat et ne exgrederetur, observabat per fenestram, in turbam exilivit et ipse primus ad crucem venit.*' Jacques de Vitry, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 120-1.

23 Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 65.

24 Jacques de Vitry, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 120.

25 '*Non accipiebatis consilium ab uxoribus eundi ad diabolum; quare expectatis consilium eundi ad Deum?*' Jacques de Vitry, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 122-3.

26 '*…diabolus per uxorem vel per seculares amicos bonum propositum frequenter extinguit*.' Jacques de Vitry, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 122.

27 Guibert de Tournai, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 196 : '*Non accipiebatis consilium ab uxoribus, a parentibus eundi ad dyabolum?*'

28 Brundage, *cit.* n. 17, 434-5.

29 Thomas of Aquinas, for example, disapproved the law on moral grounds; Thomas feared that this law might lead to the infidelity of the wife. Hostiensis found away to deal with the disparity of the decree by acknowledging that the wife might also take the crusade vow without her husband's consent. Hostiensis nonetheless wanted to limit the participation of some women: the wealthy, mature women, who could hire warriors, could and should participate to the expeditions in person with or without their husbands' consent; young women, or those of dubious reputation, however, should not be allowed to leave on the expeditions at all. Brundage, *cit.* n. 17, 437-8; Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*. Liber III, Venice 1574, 1132.

Jacques de Vitry and Guibert de Tournai, however, did not concern themselves with questions about disparity between husband and wife or the juxtaposition created between different votive obligations. The relevant question for the crusade preachers was how to get the maximum participation out of possible crusaders. Jacques and Guibert regarded papal decision in this matter correct. Both saw women as obstacles which had to be surpassed: the wives were classed as 'anti-crusaders', who were forestalling or preventing the taking of the cross. The women, in their opinion, were discouraging men from crusading and hence their influence had to be reduced.

Women's negative impact on crusading is described in the model sermons also in another way. Wives, together with children, are portrayed as the underlying reasons for the men of staying at home rather than leaving.[30] In one of his crusade model sermons, Cardinal of Tusculum, Eudes de Châteauroux (c.1190-1273), suggested that men did not want to take the cross because they were reluctant to depart from their loved ones. Eudes invited his audience to ponder upon what makes them happy and find out what makes them sad. The cardinal argued that men should not love women as much as they do for women are more bitter than death.[31] Eudes attempted to explain to the crusaders or intending ones that women would not bring pleasure for the men, nor would the children. According to Eudes, the joy of children is often turned into bitterness and many lose their children with much pain.[32] In another sermon Eudes acknowledged that crusading was not easy or leaving the nearest behind painless. Crusading zealousness was as arduous as hell since it could seem that the crusaders did not care for their loved ones leaving the wives and sons behind for the sake of the Lord. Still, this was only because the crusaders love for God was rightly superior to all other relations.[33]

The pain of separation seems to have been an effective handicap for the promotion of crusades. In the secular sources of the period, the same problem was addressed in a similar way. The crusaders' departure from their homes and from their families is a recurrent motif in the epic *chansons de geste*. The heroes of the crusade songs leave everything behind and travel to the Holy Land, because of their love for Christ.[34] Guibert de Tournai also gave guidance on the subject. He used an *exemplum* of Jacques de Vitry in his crusade sermon, where a noble knight had to leave his small beloved sons behind, when he went crusading. Before leaving the knight had his sons brought before him, so by seeing them and exciting his feelings, the knight could leave them 'with greater anguish of the mind', and this way count for more with God.[35]

The authors of the crusade model sermons thus did not try to dismiss the crusaders' tribulations resulting from the separation of their wives or children, but attempted to soothe the path. The preachers appear sensitive to the feelings of the crusaders. Abandoning loved ones, children and spouse, was difficult, but the crusaders were reminded of their obligations and of the future rewards: the harder the burden was for the crusader, the greater would also be the merit. In the end the affectionate feelings towards wives or children, which seemed to prevent crusading, could also be turned around for the benefit of the crusade preacher.

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30 Jacques de Vitry, Sermo I; Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo III; Guibert de Tournai, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 98, 156, 202.

31 Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo IV, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 162.

32 Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo IV, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 162.

33 Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 156: '*Dura ut infernus emulatio quia, sicut illi qui in inferno sunt non curant de caris suis, sic hii emulatione Dei accensi de caris suis curare non videntur, uxores et filios propter Dominum dimittentes.*'

34 C. Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville*, Aldershot 2006, 65-6; L. Douglas, *Songs of the Women Trouváeres*, New Haven & London 2001, 141. See, for example, Thibaut de Champagne, *Seignor, saichiés qi or ne s'en ira*, in J. Bédier (ed.), *Les chansons de croisade*, Paris 1909, 164-74, esp. 171.

35 Guibert de Tournai, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 202-4.

Guibert de Tournai cleverly emphasised in his model sermon the penitential nature of crusading and pointed out that if the fathers and husbands had perhaps sinned against God by placing too much affection for their wives and sons, they could now do satisfaction by leaving them.[36]

Expulsion of the improper members

For crusade preachers there were several issues to consider with the participants of the crusades. On the one hand, the preachers needed to make the crusades attractive for all the Christians, they needed to rally everyone behind the common cause, and on the other hand, they needed to clear out the obstacles out of the way of possible crusaders, speed up the process of becoming a crusader, and at the same time, consider who were the most valuable participants, who might contribute in other ways, and who could be harmful for the campaigns. While the knights were clearly the most advantageous participants leading the expeditions and taking care of the actual fighting, as several of the model sermons point out,[37] the non-combatants were the ones who could contribute in other ways. The danger of creating large groups of non-combatant armies had to be avoided, which led to a practice of quick vow redemption during the thirteenth century – the preachers made the obviously unfit to redeem their vows *in situ*, immediately after signing them.[38] The one particular group of people, that might do harm for the crusades were the women.

The problem with women crusaders, from the clerical point of view, was their liability to fall to sin and to seduce others to sin, that is, the crusading men. The prevailing medieval clerical view saw women as a danger and as a temptation to the morality and chastity of men. The authors of the crusade model sermons mostly reflect this view in the collections of their sermons.[39] Women's presence in the ranks of the crusade army posed serious dangers for the expeditions. At times these threats were regarded too great to be ignored, which led to drastic situations: During the thirteenth century it became all but a custom to expel the improper members from the crusade host.[40] This could be done before the actual engagement with the enemy in order to reassure the crusaders of their just cause as was done during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The bishops of the army sent all the lewd women, the *foles femmes*, away. According to Robert de Clari, a chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, before Constantinople was attacked all the women were put on a ship and sent far away, after which the crusaders were assured that they were on a righteous path.[41] The expulsion of unsuitable crusaders was also carried out after the first engagement in a time of crises. During the Fifth Crusade in 1218 the army faced difficulties in the siege of Damietta with the

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36 Guibert de Tournai, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 204 : '*Et si peccavit nimio affectu ad uxorem et filios, satisfacit dimittendo eos*…'

37 '*Et Dominus vult ut nobiles sint duces exercitus sui et quod ipsi liberent populum Christianum de manibus Tartarorum*.' Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 146, 148.

38 C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades. Mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century*, Cambridge 1994, 139.

39 For the views of some of the preachers see, for example, C. Casagrande, *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII*, Milano 1978; J. Longere, 'Deux sermons de Jacques de Vitry († 1240), *Ad servos et ancillas*', in M. Rouche – J. Heuclin (eds), *La femme au moyen-âge*, Mauberge 1990, 261-97. See also, J. Longere, 'La femme dans la théologie pastorale', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 23 (1988), 127-52; A. Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants in Thirteenth-Century Pisa', in K. Elm. (ed.), *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin 1981, 19-75, esp. 35-6.

40 Already during the First Crusade, at the siege of Antioch, it was decided that the army needed to be purified: all the women, both prostitutes and married women, were expelled so to avoid sexual licentiousness and impurity. J. Brudage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff 1985, 57-63, esp. 59.

41 '*Et quemanda on que on quesist et que on ostast toutes les foles femmes de l'ost, et que on les envoiast bien loins ensus de l'ost. Et on si fist; que on les mist toutes en une nef; si les envoia on bien loins de l'ost.*' Robert de Clari, 'La Prise de Constantinople', in C. Hopf (ed.), *Chroniques gréco–romanes,* Berlin 1873, LXXIII, 58.

flooding Nile. The clergy decided to cleanse the army – all the prostitutes, drunkards, and dice-players were expelled.[42] The expulsion of the improper elements of the crusade army could also be carried out after defeat. During the Seventh Crusade in 1250 Louis IX expelled a large number of common people from the army, because they had associated with dubious women and kept their brothels close by while the king was the prisoner of the enemy army.[43]

The crusades were theoretically 'armed pilgrimages'. The close link between the crusades and the pilgrimages made it possible for the women and the children to take part in the campaigns. Women were as free to set out on pilgrimages as the men were. Ideologically and legally they had every right to participate to a spiritual, penitential exercise.[44] Children too went on pilgrimages, mostly with their parents. If a woman attended an expedition to the Holy Land intending it to be a pilgrimage, the crusade preachers could not forbid her from leaving. Nor could they reject a child travelling with his or her parents on a crusade meant as a pilgrimage. This would mean that the preachers were denying people access to the company of saints, obstructing salvation, forestalling obligations of pilgrimages and acts of penitence.

The fact that the crusaders were participating to a pilgrimage meant that all acts of indecency were forbidden as they were on a penitential journey, which was supposed to be made modestly in the spirit of abstinence. Humbert de Romans (d. 1277), the fifth master general of the Dominican Order, reminded the crusaders of these basic rules in one of his crusade sermon. Humbert pointed out that the crusaders needed to be even more careful with their conduct than the ordinary pilgrims. They had to be dignified and go about their journey in a sacred manner in order for the crusades to succeed.[45]

The failed crusades and the steady loss of Christian territory in the Holy Land during the thirteenth century increased apprehension among the preachers about an urgent need for moral reform. The theme of the sins of Christians, *peccatis exigentibus hominum*, was applied to explain the crusading losses to the Christian audience.[46] The chancellor of the University of Paris, Philippe le Chancelier (c.1160-1236) argued in one of his crusade sermons, which appears to have been first preached in 1226 against the Albigensians, that the disaster of the Fifth Crusade was God's punishment for the sins of Christians. For Philippe this meant not only the sins of the crusaders but the sins of every Christian. Philippe saw the sins of the faithful, the immorality and the worldliness of Christians, as reasons for the crusading defeats. He, as well as the other crusade preachers, demanded a reform of morals, a higher degree of spirituality, and a greater amount of works of charity from their Christian audience.[47] A strict moral code was also needed in the campaigns, and the improper members of the crusade armies had to be got rid of.[48]

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42 Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettres', in R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry, 1160/70-1240, évêque de Saint-Jean d'Acre*, Leiden 1960, 117-8. See also 'Gesta Obsidionis Damiatae', in Röhricht, *cit.* n. 19, 81-2.

43 Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin, Paris 1995, 94.

44 Hodgson, *cit.* n. 17, 40-1.

45 Humbert de Romans, Sermo I, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 210-3: '*Sed quia multi istorum in huiusmodi peregrinatione frangunt ieiunia et festa et defraudant socios vel hospites vel theolonarios vel exponunt se mulieribus vel alia illicita committunt sub habitu peregrini… Notandum autem quod quanto peregrinatio ista est maioris prerogative, tanto peregrini isti maiorem curam debent apponere, ut eam debito modo et digno faciant. Proinde debent eam facere sancta…*'

46 E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274*, Oxford 1985, 217-8. For Eudes de Châteauroux's use of this theme in other than crusading context, see J. Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, Helsinki 2002, 116-7.

47 Philippe le Chancelier, Avranches MS 132, f. 249^{rb}. For Philippe's sermons against the Albigensian heretics, see N. Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 32 (1997), 85-109; C. T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *JEH* 48 (1997), 628-57.

48 M. Tamminen, 'The Test of Friendship: *Amicitia* in the Crusade Ideology of the Thirteenth Century', in K. Mustakallio – C. Krötzl (eds), *De Amicitia. Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (AIRF 36), Rome 2010, 213-28, esp. 220-2.

Defending the participation of women and children

It would be a mistake to assume that the authors of the crusade model sermons disregarded women and children, or declined to preach the cross to them, or avoided signing them. In a letter written in Palestine in 1216-7, Jacques de Vitry, perhaps the most influential of the authors of the crusade model sermons, relates how he had stayed for many days in the city of Beirut and preached there signing all, both women and men, even children with the cross.[49] Jacques did not hesitate to make the women or the children crusaders, though his use of the word, *etiam*, even, with the signed children suggests that this practice was not wholly conventional.

The fundamental question with regards to women and children crusaders is the level of their intended participation. How were women and children meant to contribute according to the crusade preachers? Pope Innocent III's new policy with regards to crusading women has usually been interpreted by modern scholars as a two-fold approach aiming firstly, to raise more funds through commutation of crusade vows and secondly, to give further military assistance for the Holy Land: wealthy women could hire mercenaries to accompany them on crusades.[50] Innocent III however appears also to have wanted to get everyone more involved with the recovery of the Holy Land. Innocent wished to include all Christians to partake in the movement: everybody had obligations; everyone was to have benefits.[51]

Jacques de Vitry's letter from Palestine conveys a few important points with regards to crusading women. Jacques writes that after he had signed with the cross a good number of women he ordered them to give money for the crusading army according to their means. He also says that he prescribed a moderate penitence upon the women because of their sins.[52] The letter thus asserts that the majority of women who had taken the cross were expected to redeem their vows. The imposed penitence upon the women crusaders is conspicuous, for the *crucesignatae* might also have been freed from all penitence enjoined upon them by papal decision.[53] Did Jacques de Vitry suspect that the women's contribution to crusading was not enough to earn them full pardon or did he feel that they were lacking in devotion, that their intentions were suspicious aiming to gain privileges rather than fulfilling obligations?

It is difficult to answer why Jacques de Vitry felt obliged to ordain penitence on the newly signed women in the view of the evidence. Perhaps, Jacques' letter indicates how loosely people were signed with the cross in these 'preaching tours'. The preachers could perchance anticipate that not all of the signed would follow through their commitment. Jacques may have wanted to impose penitence upon the women just to be on the safe side: If they would not make much of an effort on behalf of the Holy Land, they could at least repent their sins. Whichever the case, Jacques nonetheless seems not to have thought that in the act

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49 '*Postquam autem aliquot diebus moram feci in civitate Berithi et eis verbum dei predicavi, omnibus signatis tam mulieribus quam viris et etiam parvulis, signato domino civitatis cum militibus eius…*' Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettres', in Huygens, *cit.* n. 42, 92.

50 A. Derbes – M. Sandona, 'Amazons and Crusaders: The *Histoire Universelle* in Flanders and the Holy Land', in D. H. Weiss – L. Mahoney (eds), *France and the Holy Land, Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, Baltimore & London 2004, 187-229, esp. 207.

51 Pope Innocent III decreed in the encyclical *Quia maior* of 1213 that, anyone who so wished might take the cross, except the religious who had vowed otherwise (PL 216, 817-22).

52 '*Ego vero signum sancte crucis fere omnibus dedi iniungens eis ut arma et alia ad succursum sancta terre pertinentia prepararent, mulieribus vero crucesignatis iniunxi ut secundum facultates suas ad opus exercitus de pecunia sua darent: nichilominus tamen iniunxi eis mediocrem pro peccatis suis penitentiam*.' Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettres', in Huygens, *cit*. n. 42, II, 88.

53 In the *Quia maior*, Innocent III promised 'full remission of sins' to all who did not personally go on a crusade, but sent others in their stead, and to all those who gave up a suitable quantity of their resources 'a proportion' of the remission of sins in accordance with their devotion and the amount of subsidy they donated (PL 216, 817-22). This new policy provided Christians a chance to acquire plenary indulgence instead of the partial indulgence they used to gain by financing the crusades.

of taking the cross the penitential requirements of crusading were already fulfilled for the non-combatants. Penny Cole has suggested, while viewing Roger of Salibury's crusade sermon, that such possibility may have existed: during the thirteenth century people may have perceived crusading for the non-combatants as a primarily penitential act which did not necessarily mean that one had to go somewhere or to do much of anything. The act of taking the cross with a contrite heart in a proper spirit of repentance was enough.[54]

Roger of Salisbury's sermon does emphasize the penitential nature of crusading. The bishop of Bath and Wells makes few direct remarks about crusading in his crusade model sermon.[55] Roger concentrates wholly on moral issues dividing people into two categories as members of the schools of Christ and Devil. He guides Christians to follow the teachings of Christ, to decline from evil, to resign from the wicked doctrine of 'the liar', and to do good works and penitence for their sins. Roger advises people to ascent to a ship, which may be conceived as a vessel transporting crusaders across the sea or as a symbolic concept, a penitential expedient with many steps, which leads to salvation. All that Christians need to do, as it seems, is to take care that they belong to the right school and duly repent their sins.[56]

There are approximately thirty years between Jacques de Vitry's letter and the crusade sermon of Roger of Salisbury.[57] During this period crusade ideology developed: Innocent III's new policies were put to the test by Pope Gregory IX. In the *Rachel suum videns* in 1234, Gregory IX ordered specifically crusade preachers to grant the full remission of sins also to those who sent others in their stead, or gave money, or advices for the benefit of the Holy Land.[58] In fact, also Jacques de Vitry later on during the 1230s, when he composed his sermon collection, emphasized in two separate occasions, that those who could not go themselves on crusades would nevertheless obtain the indulgence or other rewards. Jacques included both the crusader's offspring as well as his spouse in the group of possible beneficiaries of crusading in his crusade sermon. The wives and the children of the crusaders could in the light of their commitment and contribution earn the indulgence or profit otherwise from crusading.[59] There was no mention made of further penitence necessary for the non-combatants signed with the cross or for those involved somehow in the promotion of crusades.

This may indicate a development of thought on Jacques de Vitry's part. He may have changed his view to a more favourable one towards the non-combatants, especially women, after the Fifth Crusade. Jacques took part in the crusade to Egypt in 1218-1221. During the crusade women fought and killed the Muslims who made their retreat through the crusaders' camp after a failed attack. The women had proved as an important backup force, manly defeating the enemy.[60] The experiences of the crusade may have affected Jacques' attitude towards women fighters. In the *Historia orientalis*, a historical account of the East which Jacques wrote during the crusade, he portrays both the Amazons and the Georgian noble ladies as admirable women with masculine, 'good' qualities. The Amazons particularly had overcome their natural weaknesses; they were as strong as men, as experienced in battle, and wisely abstinent in their sex life.[61] Thus, they

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54 Cole, *cit.* n. 7, 172-3.

55 Penny Cole offers an edited version of Roger's sermon titled '*Ascendente Ihesu in naviculum, et cetera. Istud potest esse thema ad crucesignatos vel in die Parasceves*' in the Appendix of her book *The Preaching of the Crusades.* Cole, *cit.* n. 7, 227-31.

56 Roger of Salisbury, 'Ascendente Ihesu in naviculum', in Cole, *cit.* n. 7, 228-31.

57 Jacques de Vitry's letter was written between November 1216 and February 1217. Roger of Salisbury's sermon was probably composed during his episcopacy: Roger served as the bishop of Bath and Wells between the years 1244-1247. Cole, *cit.* n. 7, 168.

58 Matthew Paris, 'Chronica majora', vol. III, ed. H. R. Luard, London 1876, 283.

59 '*Uxores autem et filii sicut participes sunt expensarum ita particeps sunt meritorum.*' Jacques de Vitry, Sermo II, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 112, 122.

60 'Gesta Obsidionis Damiatae', in Röhricht, *cit.* n. 19, 110; See also, Powell, *cit.* n. 19, 161.

61 Jacques de Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', LXXX, XCII, ed. J. Donnadieu, Turnhout 2008, 322, 384. '*Et quoniam ex frequenti usu libidinis multi spiritus consumuntur, quanto rarius coeunt, tanto prefate viragines fortiores sunt et magis idonee ad pugnandum.*'

ably controlled their feminine predisposition to sin. The female bodies of the Amazons were no longer the generators of destructive powers or a threat to the chastity of men. The story of the Amazons appears to be a positive signal for women involvement in battle, an example of how and in which circumstances women could assist the crusading efforts with arms. Thomas de Cantimpré, for one, interpreted Jacques' story to mean that the Amazons already assisted the crusaders.[62]

However, the Amazons or other warlike women are not to be found in the crusade model sermons. This suggests that the stories were too radical or too inconvenient to be incorporated into the sermons. In the model sermons the preachers had to take into account the conditions, the expectations, and the attitudes of the intended audience. The preachers who composed the model sermons had to use imagery familiar and language digestible for the audience. Too controversial ideas or too far-fetched images would work against the intentions of the preacher and doom the model to perpetual oblivion. To gain popularity and to attain the widest possible audience the authors of the model sermons had to operate in a rather general level. The themes presented in a model sermon were meant to be valid everywhere inside Western Christendom.[63]

This explains to some extent the way in which women and children are discussed in the model sermons. Their participation is not the focus of the crusade preachers. Nonetheless, the participation of the non-combatants is encouraged in several of the sermons in various ways. Eudes de Châteauroux, for example, explained in his crusade sermon what others should do when they saw 'the older deer', the crusaders, leave on their journey. 'The young deer' should follow them in person if possible or if unable to leave, they should participate in crusading at least in heart.[64] Eudes used the biblical metaphor of the deer from Genesis throughout his model sermon.[65] The references to older and younger deer appear to point to social status, the *iuniores* being the common people, who should follow the example provided by the *maiores*, that is, the king and the nobility. The metaphor suited also to explain how the weaker or younger people could participate in the crusade movement. If prevented from leaving by impeding circumstances, poverty, age, gender, or health, one should take part in the movement in spirit, and offer perceptible aid in the form prayers or financial support.[66]

Eudes de Châteauroux makes the strongest appeal on behalf of the participation of the women and children of all the preachers in another sermon preached during the preparations of the Seventh Crusade. Eudes' sermon was delivered during the feast of Saint George, possibly in 1246 or 1248. In the sermon, Eudes, the legate of the coming expedition, defended the personal participation of both women and children to the crusade with biblical examples. According to Eudes, many people did not want their children, relative's or friend's children, to follow them on a pilgrimage.[67] These people, however, did not understand religious reform and were not like the great leaders of the Old Testament. In Eudes' opinion children could

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62 Thomas de Cantimpré, 'Liber de natura rerum', XXVI, in H. Boese (ed.), *Thomas Cantimpratensis Liber de Natura Rerum*, Berlin & New York 1973, 31.

63 J. Hanska, *'And the Rich Man also died; and He was buried in Hell' – The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*, Helsinki 1997, 15, 21-2; Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 17-31.

64 Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 158.

65 Eudes builds the sermon on Jacob's words to his son Nephtali: '*Nephtali, a hart let loose, and giving words of beauty*' (Gen. 49:21). Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 154, 158.

66 Eudes de Châteauroux, Sermo III, in Maier, *cit.* n. 7 (2000), 158. '*Sed vos alii, quid deberetis facere? Deberetis facere sicut faciunt iuniores cervi: quando vident maiores cervos iter arripere, vadunt post eos et eos sequntur. Sic deberetis et vos facere, et si non vultis eos sequi corpore, saltem corde et oratione et subsidio debetis eos sequi, et si non modo saltem in alio passagio.*'

67 Eudes de Châteauroux, 'De sancto Georgio', in A. Charansonnet (ed.), 'L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans Les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?-1273)', Unpublished dissertation, Universite de Lyon 2 – Louis Lumiere 2001, vol. 2, 702: '*Sunt enim quamplurimi qui nolunt quod parvuli sui, consanguinei vel amici, sequentur eos in religionem vel peregrinacionem*.'

be taken to the expeditions, just like Moses had taken the children along, when the Israelites travelled from Sinai to the Promised Land.[68] Noah was another example utilized by the legate. Noah had taken his wife, his sons, and his sons' wives, with him to the ark during the Flood. Lot also took his wife and daughters along with him, when he fled from Sodom, another example used by Eudes in the sermon to convince his audience that the non-combatants, particularly wives and children, both sons and daughters, could be taken to the expeditions with the crusaders.[69]

Being the legate of the Seventh Crusade, Eudes de Châteauroux's support for the participation of the women and children is significant. This was not just an opinion of one crusade preacher, but the view of the spiritual leader of the whole expedition. Eudes' strong apology for the women's and children's participation may suggest that Louis IX's intent was early on to occupy and populate the land, which the crusaders would potentially conquer. Louis' crusade seems to have had additional goals, apart from liberating the Holy Land and defending Christendom, such as a permanent occupation of Egypt and an attempt to populate the conquered land.[70]A famous passenger list which has survived from the Seventh Crusade proves that women also participate to the expedition. They did not just accompany their husbands or parents on the crusade, but left by themselves, in considerable numbers, and without chaperons. It is difficult to know the specific intentions of the women in the list, but it is probable that many of them were travelling as new settlers and as pilgrims to the East.[71]

Also the other non-combatants participation is encouraged in the crusade model sermons. Particularly the contribution of the clergy is discussed by several of the authors. Philippe le Chancelier and Federico Visconti (d.1277) emphasized in their sermons the clergy's role in the crusade movement. The clergy, together with the rest of the congregation, was liable for the raising of funds for the crusades. According to Federico, the warriors were 'the mountains' who fought against the enemy with their weapons; the clergy and other members of the flock were 'the other mountains', who had 'gold, not to store up, but to lay out, at a time of a crisis'.[72]

Both Philippe le Chancelier and Federico Visconti also illustrated in their sermons how everyone could easily participate in the movement. Innocent III's reform brought all the non-combatants, who had been left behind from the margins to the centre of the crusade movement in the home front.[73] As Federico explained it, the help of the saints was available for all pious Christians; they needed only to call on them sincerely and with a contrite heart: 'for the weapons of the just are their tears and prayers'.[74] Philippe le

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68 Eudes de Châteauroux, 'De sancto Georgio', in Charansonnet, *cit.* n. 67, 702: '*Sic debemus parvulos nostros nobiscum ducere, ut Moyses parvulos suos et pecora. Timebat enim ne amore parvulorum redirent, ex quo propter amorem cepum et alliorum redire voluerunt*.' (cf. Num. 11:1-5, 32:26).

69 Eudes de Châteauroux, 'De sancto Georgio', in Charansonnet, *cit.* n. 67, 702: '*Non sunt sicut Noe qui ingressus est archam cum uxore et filiis et uxoribus filiorum … Et Loth exiuit cum uxore et filiabus de Sodomis …*' (cf. Gen. 7:7, 19:15-17).

70 Louis IX brought with him to Egypt ploughs and other farming equipment by which the soil could be cultivated. P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254. Sources and Documents*, Aldershot 2007, 69, 92.

71 B. Z. Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: towards the History of Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade', *Studi Medievali* 12 (1972), 267-79. The passenger list of the ship *St. Victor* indicates that several women were travelling from Messina to Acre in 1250. On the ship there were 453 crusaders of which a total of 42 were women. 15 of these were accompanied by their husbands; one travelled with her father; two with their brothers; two, whose relations are ambiguous; and 22 had no male travelling companions. There was also one father and a married couple travelling with their sons. The original destination of the ship was Damietta in Egypt, not the Holy Land. The ship had to change course after Louis IX's crusade to Egypt had failed. The passengers on the list are generally referred to as *peregrini*. For more information on the Seventh Crusade see, Jackson, *cit.* n. 70.

72 Federico Visconti, 'Quando idem dominus predicavit respondendo nuntiis Tartarorum in clero Pisano', in Bériou, *cit.* n. 7, 554.

73 Rousseau, *cit.* n. 15, 39-40.

74 '*Arma enim iustorum sunt lacrime et orationes ipsorum.*' Federico Visconti, 'Quando idem dominus predicavit respondendo nuntiis Tartarorum in clero Pisano', in Bériou, *cit.* n. 7, 554.

Chancelier stressed in his crusade sermons the importance of the intercessory means by which the crusade movement could be supported. Philippe explained in his sermons how the different intercessory 'tools' worked; how people should pray; how the fasting, the donations, and the processions could help the crusade movement. By these actions the different non-combatant groups, particularly the clergy, could help the crusaders far away.[75]

Conclusion

The crusade model sermons sparsely mention women or children. Often times, when women and children are specifically referred to it is with a negative tone. The general viewpoint of the crusade sermons is that of an adult male crusader – how women or children might affect him. The crusade preachers intended to clear out the obstacles posed by these 'anti-crusaders' out of the way of the male crusaders. The premise of the model sermons is to take into account the male audience's expectations, wishes, and duties – the women and the children fell outside the main focus of the attention. In the first case, thus, the participation of the women and the children is regarded as unprofitable, adverse, 'anti-participation' in the crusade movement.

The crusades were a fusion of holy war and pilgrimage. Pilgrimages were open to both men and women during the Middle Ages. This gave ultimately access to all Christians to the movement. The women however could be regarded as a peril which might prevent the crusades to succeed. During the thirteenth century special emphasis was placed on the conduct of the crusaders and on the morality of the participants – the women were seen as a liability, a risk group, which might lead the other participants to sin or ruin the expeditions. The sins associated to women enhanced the need to control their involvement in the movement and women could be expelled from the campaigns. In the second case, the women and the children were accepted as pilgrims to the crusade movement, but particularly the women's participation might be discouraged and disapproved.

The crusade preachers wanted to reach especially the knights with their sermons. The preachers did nonetheless acknowledge the large groups of people outside the nobility and warrior classes who wanted to participate in the movement and whose contribution was needed. The women and the children were invited to participate by referring to the rewards and benefits awaiting them in proportion to the contribution they were willing to make. The non-combatants were encouraged to offer financial support – they could redeem their vows with money, a warrior could participate on their behalf in a crusade, or they could hire mercenaries. In the third case, the participation of the women was vicarious and consequential – the weak and the fragile could participate to the movement by arranging strong and suitable substitutes who participated in their place.

The papal policies of thirteenth century increased the involvement of the non-combatants in the crusade movement. This change has usually been interpreted by modern scholars as an attempt to gather more funds for the crusades: the non-combatants were encouraged to participate so they could offer financial support for the movement. However, the crusade sermons describe various different ways on how the unarmed could participate: they could help others by praying, fasting, or by doing charitable works. In the home front, women and children were no longer a minority group and their participation was not marginal: the non-combatants special task was to support the crusades from afar. The women and the children belonged to the larger groups referred to by the authors of the sermons with concepts such as 'the young deer', 'the congregation of the faithful', or 'the unarmed', amongst whom there were women and children as well as

75 Philippe le Chancelier, Avranches MS 132, f. 251^{rb}; Maier, *cit.* n. 47, 649-57.

men. Members of these groups were urged to participate either in person or in heart to the crusades. The non-combatants' wish to take part in the campaigns was also defended. The women and the children had the right to participate to the military expeditions. In this final case, women's and children's participation was active and personal. This feature of women's and children's involvement to crusades has been previously largely ignored.

Polluted by Sacrifices
Christian Repugnance at Participation in Sacrificial Rituals in Late Antiquity

Maijastina Kahlos

> So immense is idolatry. It pollutes those who practice it; it pollutes those who live nearby; it pollutes those who see it. It infiltrates those who are involved in it; it infiltrates those who are aware of it; it infiltrates those who keep quiet.[1]

This is how Maximus, the bishop of Turin (c. 380-465), describes the contaminating influence of the traditional Graeco-Roman religions. The present article explores fourth- and fifth-century Christian perceptions of the pollution that traditional religions were thought to bring about in the surrounding community. For many Christian leaders in Late Antiquity, one of the most essential boundaries between Christianity and traditional Graeco-Roman religions lay in the participation in sacrificial rituals, especially animal sacrifices. Revulsion to animal sacrifices is commonplace in early Christian literature, in which they are usually depicted with great loathing as blood, flesh and smoke.[2]

Sacrifice and pollution in Late Antiquity

The study of participation in traditional sacrificial rituals has recently been augmented by the scholarly discussion on the decline of sacrifice in Late Antiquity. In his *The End of Sacrifice*, Guy Stroumsa has analysed the transformation of religious ideas and practices in late antique religious systems (Judaism, Christianity and Graeco-Roman religions): the end of public animal sacrifices and their replacement with other kinds of rituals is one of these alterations.[3] Stroumsa explains the decline of sacrifice during the later Roman Empire as deriving from the developments in Second Temple Judaism after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE: the consequent Jewish abandonment of sacrifices also influenced polytheistic and Christian ideas, ultimately resulting in a gradual diminution in the significance of sacrifice. However, as Stroumsa himself concedes, 'sacrifice would remain present even after its official death', 'official death' here referring to the fourth- and fifth-century imperial legislation against animal sacrifices.[4] Maria-Zoe

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1 Max. Taur. 107. 2: '*Grande igitur est idolatria: polluit exercentes polluit habitantes polluit intuentes; penetrat ad ministros penetrat ad conscios penetrat ad tacentes*'. My translations of Maximus of Turin's sermons are modified from *The Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin*, transl. B. Ramsey (Ancient Christian Writers 50), New York 1989.

2 E.g., Prudentius (*c. Symm.* 1. 8) describes the togas of senators as stained with smoke and blood: '*togas procerum fumoque et sanguine tingui'*. The anonymous writer of *Poema ultimum* (Ps. Paul. Nol. *Poema ultimum* 27) depicts sacrifice as bloodshed: '*Quid petit ignosci veniam qui sanguine poscit*'? For the Christian revulsion to sacrifices and blood sacrifices in particular, see S. Bradbury, 'Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century', *CP* 89 (1994), 120-39: esp. 129 and M. Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue. Christian and Pagan Cultures, c. 360-430*, Aldershot 2007, 119-23.

3 G. G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice. Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity*, trans. by S. Emanuel, Chicago 2009 [orig. 2005], 56-83.

4 Stroumsa *cit.* n. 3, 58. Furthermore, Stroumsa (p. 57) writes that the imperial legislation could not eradicate an institution as profoundly embedded as sacrifice.

Petropoulou analyses animal sacrifice within Greek religion, Judaism and Christianity in 100 BCE – 200 CE, arguing for the prominence of animal sacrifice in Greek religion. Unfortunately, her discussion does proceed further than the late second century.[5]

Different kinds of traditional rituals were forbidden in the imperial legislation enacted in the course of the fourth century and prohibitions were frequently repeated in the fifth century. Nonetheless, sacrifices were not systematically banned until the 390s, during the reign of Theodosius I. In their legislation, Christian emperors also differentiated between licit and illicit sacrifices, thus following the religious policies of the early Empire. These imperial prohibitions of sacrifice have been meticulously analysed by Nicole Belayche.[6] Pierre Chuvin has argued that the prohibitions were issued when animal sacrifice was less in favour among the polytheists.[7] Scott Bradbury dates the decline of sacrifice to the fourth century, explaining it with the decline and redirection of euergetism, private benefaction, which had a significant role in funding traditional cults.[8]

Public sacrifices in the cities seem to have ceased by the early fifth century, but private sacrifices, despite all the severe-sounding prohibitions, are attested to have persisted, especially in the countryside, as late as the ninth century. F. R. Trombley has surveyed the survival of traditional cults and rituals in the Eastern Mediterranean world in Late Antiquity. He has also analysed the Christianization of traditional rituals in Asia Minor and Greece, finding interesting cases of Christianized forms of sacrifices. One of the Christian variants of sacrifice is the celebration sponsored by Nicholas, the hegumen of Hagia Sion (d. 565) in Lycia.[9] The Christianization of animal sacrifice is under scholarly dispute: it is debated whether the ritual slaughter in honour of Christian saints is to be regarded as animal sacrifice. Dennis Trout interprets the ritual in honour of Saint Felix described by Paulinus of Nola as a sacrifice, whereas Cristiano Grottanelli regards the ritual as a slaughter reinterpreted as and redirected into proper Christian behaviour by Christian leaders.[10] I am inclined to regard the dispute on the essence of the rituals of slaughter as redundant hair-splitting: local population probably invested the rituals with different meanings than the ecclesiastical elite.

As we can deduce from the prohibitions and reinterpretations, the theme of sacrifice was essential and significantly present in the late antique religious world. The theory, allegorical meanings and spiritualization of sacrifices were keenly discussed by polytheist, Christian and Jewish authors alike, as has been shown, for example, by Belayche, Bradbury, Everett Ferguson and George Heyman.[11]

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5 M.-Z. Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC–AD 200*, Oxford 2008, 37-106. Similarly to Stroumsa, Petropoulou suggests that the abandonment of sacrifice by Christians might be due to the fall of the Temple in Jerusalem.

6 N. Belayche, '*Realia versus leges?* Les sacrifices de la religion d'état au IVe siècle', in S. Georgoudi – R. Koch Piettre – F. Schmidt (eds), *La cuisine et l'autel. Les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*, Turnhout 2005, 343-70. For the imperial legislation against traditional cult practices, see P. Garnsey – C. Humfress, *The Evolution of the Late Antique World*, Cambridge 2001, 154 and D. Hunt, 'Christianising the Roman Empire: the evidence of the Code', in J. Harries – I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, London 1993, 143-58.

7 P. Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens: la disparition du paganisme*, Paris 2009 [1990], 237-44.

8 S. Bradbury, 'Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice', *Phoenix* 49 (1995), 331-56, esp. 347-55.

9 F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529* vol. I, Leiden 1993, 10-4, 34, 95. F. R. Trombley, 'Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece', *HThR* 78 (1985), 327-52, esp. 331, 339.

10 Paulinus of Nola describes the ritual in honour of Saint Felix in *carmen* 20 (in 407). D. Trout, 'Christianizing the Nolan Countryside: Animal Sacrifice at the Tomb of St. Felix', *JECS* 3 (1995), 281-98. C. Grottanelli, 'Tuer des animaux pour la fête de Saint Felix', in Georgoudi – Koch Piettre – Schmidt, *cit*. n. 6, 387-407.

11 N. Belayche, 'Sacrifice and Theory of Sacrifice during the "Pagan Reaction": Julian the Emperor', in A. I. Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifice in Religious Experience*, Leiden 2002, 101-26; Bradbury *cit.* n. 2; G. Heyman, *The Power of Sacrifice. Roman and Christian Discourses in Conflict*, Washington D.C. 2007, 95-218; for earlier periods, see also Petropoulou, *cit.* n. 5 and E. Ferguson, 'Spiritual Sacrifice in Early Christianity and its Environment', *ANRW* II.23.2, Stuttgart 1980, 1151-89.

In this article my principal interest is in late antique Christian ideas of sacrifice and its contaminating influence. In her classic study *Purity and Danger* Mary Douglas connects pollution with guarding the ideal order of society and threatening the transgressors of this order. Purity and impurity are symbols upon which a community projects its fears and concerns of social character.[12] Judith Perkins interprets the disgust over and fear of pollution is a reaction to disrupted boundaries.[13] Consequently, the sense of pollution can be seen as construing and maintaining boundaries and hierarchies in communities, as Judith Lieu suggests.[14] Robert Parker, who has analysed the Greek concept of pollution, *miasma*, also regards fear of pollution as a product of the urge for order and control.[15]

Systems of purity and pollution also produce and maintain boundaries between religious groups, as we will see in the discussion on the contaminating influence of traditional cults. Christian writers represent the Christian participation in traditional rituals such as sacrifice as a polluting transgression. I survey the insights of ecclesiastical leaders such as Maximus of Turin, Gaudentius of Brescia (d. 410) and Augustine of Hippo (354-430). The sermons and tractates of Maximus and Gaudentius represent early fifth-century Italy and Augustine's sermons and his letter to Publicola in 398 represent the situation in Northern Africa. I will also examine fourth- and fifth-century legislation in which Christian emperors echo the Christian loathing of blood sacrifices.

I begin by examining how Maximus of Turin and Gaudentius of Brescia deal with the continuing participation in traditional practices in Northern Italy and describe the polluting influence of these practices. I then survey the discussion on participation in festivals and eating sacrificial food from the Apostle Paul to Augustine. The next section examines how Augustine replies to anxious inquiries about sacrificial food and pollution in his correspondence with a Roman Christian, Publicola. Finally, I discuss the role of pollution in imperial legislation against traditional cults and in interreligious conflicts.

Maximus of Turin and defilement

I return to Maximus, the bishop of Turin, whose words of warning I quoted at the beginning of my article. In a number of his sermons, he discusses the pollution of non-Christian religious practices. In the above quoted passage from sermon 107, he dec*lares* that idolatry defiles the whole community, not only those perform the rites (*exercentes*), but also those who live nearby (*habitantes*) and those who watch (*intuentes*). Thus, neighbours and mere bystanders are endangered by idolatrous practices. Furthermore, he states that the contaminating influence infects everybody: those who are involved in idolatry, those who are aware of idolatry and those who keep quiet.[16] Here Maximus refers to three different levels: first, idolatry pollutes the performers of rituals. Second, the pollution includes those who do not take part but are aware of what is happening in their neighbourhood. And third, even though people are aware of and watch what is happening, they just keep quiet, that is, they do not raise their voice against idolatry.

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12 M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London 1978 [1966], 3-11, 104, 122-39.

13 J. Perkins, *Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era*, London – New York 2009, 90.

14 For pollution in the construction and maintenance of boundaries, see J. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford 2004, 110-1.

15 R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 10-9; 62-3. Parker, however, does not see all pollutions as products of category violations.

16 Max. Taur. 107. 2. For traditional practices in Maximus' sermons, see also A. Merkt, *Maximus I. von Turin. Die Verkündigung eines Bischofs der frühen Reichskirche im zeitgeschichtlichen, gesellschaftlichen und liturgischen Kontext*, Leiden 1997, 111, 139, 198.

Maximus' description of the polluting influence of traditional practices is connected with his exhortation to Christian landowners to wipe out these practices on their estates. Maximus states that if a tenant makes sacrifices, the master is polluted as well.[17] The same argument appears in another sermon in which Maximus urges Christian landlords to put an end to idolatry on their properties. He states that just as many are sanctified by the holiness of one, many are polluted by the sacrilege of one. Thus, the transgression of one member of the community is seen to defile the whole community. Maximus argues against landlords who – according to him – pretend to be unaware of what their tenants have been doing on their estates and claim that this is none of their business.[18]

Similarly, in another sermon, Maximus returns to the issue, stating that a landlord who does not tolerate (*non patitur*) the performance of sacrileges on his property does not have a defiled conscience. However, one who knows that sacrifices are made to idols on his land and does not prohibit this is touched by dreadful pollution (*pollutio ... nefanda*). Maximus stresses that, even though it may be the peasant, not the landlord, who takes part in rituals, the horrendous contamination touches the landlord. The landlord becomes a participant – if not because he agrees with idolatry, then certainly because he knows it is happening (*si non conscientia certe notitia*).[19]

Maximus describes the polluting influence of traditional practices with a number of terms, such as *pollutio, polluere, inquinamenta, inquinare, maculare, contaminatio, contagio*.[20] In contrast to the contamination of idolatry, he depicts how Christianity purifies people and places of this pollution. For example, Maximus constructs a dichotomy of the religion of truth (*religio veritatis*, that is, Christianity) and diabolical impiety (*diabolica inpietas*, that is, Graeco-Roman religions). This impiety is purified by the radiance of baptism.[21] When appealing to the conscience of the landowners, Maximus uses several expressions to stress the purity of a Christian landlord who has prohibited sacrileges in his estates: he is a pure man, and his property is clean: *mundi viri, munda possessio, vir mundus, vir purus, sinceris et pura, pro ipsa puritate*. His property is free from filth and clean and untainted by any contagion of the devil.[22]

Maximus of Turin takes great pains to wake up the Christian landowners in his congregation and make them concerned about the traditional local rituals performed on their properties. It is precisely during this period that many temples were ordered to be closed and public sacrifices ceased. Private sacrifices nonetheless continued, often on private estates with the consent of landowners. Both emperors and bishops tried to put pressure on landowners, as repeated imperial decrees and bishops' sermons indicate. What happened in rural shrines on private properties was difficult to control.[23] As we have seen, in order to persuade

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17 Max. Taur. 107. 2: '*Immolante enim rustico inquinatur domnedius*'.

18 Max. Taur. 106. 2: '*sicut unius sanctitate sanctificantur multi, ita unius sacrilegio plurimi polluuntur.'; 'Nescio, non iussi; causa mea non est, non me tangit*'.

19 Max. Taur. 108: '*Pollutam autem conscientiam non habet qui exerceri sacrilegia in sua possessione non patitur. Ceterum qui scit in agro suo idolis immolari nec prohibit, quamvis ipse longe in civitate consistat, pollutio tamen illum nefanda continget; et licet aris adsistat rusticus, ad domnedium contaminatio exsecranda regreditur. Particeps enim eius efficitur si non conscientia certe notitia*'.

20 Max. Taur. 105. 2; 106. 1-2; 107. 2; 108; 22a. 2.

21 Max. Taur. 22a. 2: '*posteaquam enim ecclesia baptismi nidore purgata est, diabolicae inpietatis non meminit religione veritatis exultati*'; cf. *sermo* 108. 1 in which Maximus wishes to purify the hearts of his parishioners from all the contamination of idols: '*ab omni idolorum inquinamento corda vestra purgavimus*'.

22 Max. Taur. 108: '*Dicimus enim ut christiani hominis, hoc est mundi viri, sit munda possessio. Ait autem Salamon: Possessio praetiosa vir mundus* [Prov. 12:27]. *Si ergo vir purus possessioni praetiosissimae conparatur, quanto ipsa possessio maioris est praetii, si sit sinceris et pura nec aliqua diaboli contagione vilescat'!*

23 For the state of affairs concerning sacrifices, see Trombley *cit.* n. 9, 14-6. For the legislation see, e.g. *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 12. 3-4 in 392, referring to neglect and corruption.

the uninterested landlords, Maximus evokes the image of contamination. The same concern and argument about pollution is present in the tractates of Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia (d. 410), who repeatedly warns his congregation of the dangers of idolatry.[24] In one of his tractates, Gaudentius urges his listeners to avoid becoming violated by the contagion of idolatry (*idolatriae … contagio*).[25]

In another tractate Gaudentius warns recently baptized Christians not to become involved in traditional rituals. He contrasts the meal of the spiritual Easter (*ad beatae huius ac spiritalis paschae epulas*) with the mortifying food of demons (*a mortifero daemonum cibo*). A Christian should keep away from all polluted food that 'pagan superstition' has poisoned.[26] This is a reference to the food and drink that was dedicated to the traditional gods and thus in Christian eyes contaminated as the food of demons.

The issue of sacrificial food and participation

What should we make of the considerable attention devoted to the maculation caused by sacrifices, sacrificial meals and traditional rituals in general? What was meant when a community, a people, a landlord or a place were said to be defiled? How real was this pollution thought to be?

Sacrificial food – which Christians called *eidolothyton*, food offered to idols, and which Greeks called *hierothyton*, holy food, meals offered to the gods – was an important issue, and it was treated with the utmost seriousness.[27] We know, for example, that in the council of Elvira in the early fourth century it was decreed that Christian landowners could not accept payment in the form of products that had been dedicated to idols, that is, to the Graeco-Roman gods.[28] We know that in their abhorrence of traditional sacrifices, some Christians refused to eat sacrificial food. Some Christians nonetheless ate sacrificial meat without scruples. This could be turned into a polemical weapon against theological rivals in disputes between Christian sects: rival groups were sometimes condemned for eating sacrificial meat.[29]

Eating meat was traditionally connected with animal sacrifice because much of the meat sold and consumed came to the market from sacrificial ceremonies.[30] In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, this changed as the number of sacrifices decreased. Meat was by no means the only article of alimentation

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24 See also R. Lizzi, 'Legislazione imperiale e reazione pagana. I limiti del conflitto', *CrSt* 30 (2009), 385-409: 403 on Maximus' and Gaudentius' complaints about the *coniventia* and *dissimulatio* of landowners.

25 Gaudentius was the bishop of Brescia in 387-c. 410. Gaudent. *serm.* 9. 2: '*Unde cavendum nobis est, omni genere dilectissimi, ne aliquo rursus idolatriae violemur contagio et non solum repudiari, sed et damnari in perpetuum mereamur'…* Gaudentius refers here to 1 Cor. 3:17.

26 Gaudent. *serm.* 4. 13: '*Vos igitur, neophyti, qui estis ad beatae huius ac spiritalis paschae epulas invitati, videte, quomodo ab omni pollutione escarum, quas superstitio gentilis infecerit, vestras animas conservetis. Nec sufficit, ut a mortifero daemonum cibo vitam suam custodiat Christianus*'…

27 As A. Yarbro Collins, 'Insiders and Outsiders in the Book of Revelation and Its Social Context', in J. Neusner – E. S. Frerichs – M. McCracken-Flesher (eds), '*To see ourselves as others see us', Christians, Jews, 'others' in Late Antiquity*, Chico (CA) 1985, 187-218, esp. 211 points out, the currency of the word *eidolothyton* implies that eating sacrificial food had been censured by a number of Diaspora Jews.

28 *Concilium Eliberitanum*, can. 40 (PL 84 col. 306B): '*Prohiberi placuit, ut cum rationes suas accipiunt possessores, quidquid ad idolum datum fuerit accepto non ferant. Si post interdictum fecerint, per quinquennii spatia temporum a communion esse arcendos*'. The council was probably held between 306 and 312, but the exact date is still under dispute.

29 The writer of *Revelation* (2:14-15 and 2:20; 2:24-25) castigates some Christian groups for eating food sacrificed to idols and being unchaste. For a discussion, see Yarbro Collins *cit.* n. 27, 210. Iren. *haer*. 1.6.3 censured Gnostic Christians for frequenting spectacles and eating sacrificial meat.

30 For the essential connection between eating, especially meat, and sacrifice, see J. Scheid, 'Manger avec les dieux. Partage sacrificial et commensalité dans la Rome antique', in Georgoudi – Koch Piettre – Schmidt, *cit*. n. 6, 273-87 and J. Rüpke, 'Gäste der Götter – Götter als Gäste: Zur Konstruktion des römischen Opferbanketts', in Georgoudi – Koch Piettre – Schmidt, *cit*. n. 6, 227-39.

that was dedicated to the gods – grain, vegetables, wine, milk, honey and other products were too. During the late Roman Empire, bloodless rituals such as pouring libations, burning incense and lighting lamps seem to have become more important in ritual life than in earlier periods. Therefore, it seems that animal sacrifice was not the only prominent ritual in the time of the Late Empire.[31] Nonetheless, most of the Christian polemic against traditional rituals was directed at meat and animal sacrifice. In Christian literature, traditional cults were emphatically labelled with the gore and smoke of animal sacrifice. According to Christian authors, sacrifices were performed to gratify bloodthirsty demons, that is, the old gods. These demons were believed to long for gory offerings because they fed on the gore and smoke of meat.[32] This had several implications, one being the comparative evaluation made between animal sacrifice and the sacrifices of Christ and martyrs.[33]

It is worth remembering that Christians were not the only group in Graeco-Roman antiquity to show their repugnance for blood sacrifices. It is, however, difficult to estimate how common this repugnance was.[34] In the late third and fourth centuries a number of Neoplatonists were involved in mutual disputes about the benefit and detriment of animal sacrifices. For example, Porphyry of Tyre (c. 233–c. 305) criticized traditional blood sacrifices, denouncing animal sacrifice in his *Letter to Anebo* and *On Abstinence from Animal Food*.[35] Furthermore, in fourth-century mystical lore on the first-century sage Apollonius of Tyana, he was said to have condemned blood sacrifices and refused to participate in them.[36]

The question of eating the food offered to the gods had been debated among Christians since the Apostle Paul. Paul's approach in the *First Letter to Corinthians* seems practical: he stresses the unity of the Corinthian Christian community.[37] This is why he does not make sacrificial food too great an issue. The problem of sacrificial food had already divided the Christian community in Corinth. For a number of Christians who had attained the *gnosis*, eating sacrificial food was not a problem. They were aware that idols were not real gods. However, Paul remarked, not everyone had yet attained the *gnosis*. Therefore, eating food sacrificed to the gods could defile their uncertain conscience. The apostle assured Christians that

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31 P. Veyne, 'Une evolution du paganisme gréco-romain: injustice et piété des dieux, leurs ordres ou "oracles"', *Latomus* 45 (1986), 259-83, Bradbury, *cit.* n. 8, 335-7, Garnsey – Humfress, *cit.* n. 6, 154 and I. Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity. Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch*, Cambridge 2007, 74. Petropoulou, *cit.* n. 5, 23-4 insists upon the prominence of animal sacrifices during the period 100 BCE – 200 AD, but her survey does not cover the later Empire. R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, London 1986, 70-2 points out that a bloodless cult such as the burning of incense was as old as the historical cult in Greek temples and stresses that animal sacrifice and bloodless sacrifice did not exclude each other.

32 For the nourishment of demons, see in earlier apologetics, e.g., Athenag. *leg.* 26; Orig. *Cels.* 7. 35; 8. 60; Tert. *apol.* 22. 6; the turn of the fourth century: Eus. *praep.* 5. 2; Arnob. *nat.* 7. 23; Lact. *inst.* 2. 16-7; Firm. *err.* 13. 4.

33 For the comparison between animal sacrifice and the Christian sacrifices, see Kahlos, *cit.* n. 2, 123-6 and Heyman, *cit.* n. 11, 95-218. In fact, Christian discourse with its sacrificial vocabulary was wound around sacrifice. See Stroumsa, *cit.* n. 3, 72-3.

34 For the debates on sacrifice during the imperial period and in Late Antiquity, see L. Pernot, 'Le sacrifice dans la literature grecque de l'époque impériale', in Georgoudi – Koch Piettre – Schmidt, *cit*. n. 6, 317-28, esp. 323-4 (for Lucian of Samosata), Belayche, *cit.* n. 6, 348; Trout, *cit*. n. 10, 282, Bradbury, *cit.* n. 8, 332-41, Ferguson, *cit.* n. 11, 1155-6; G. Clark, 'Translate into Greek. Porphyry on the new barbarians', in R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, London 1999, 112-32, esp. 128; K. V. Harl, 'Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Bysantium', *P&P* 128 (1990), 7-27, esp. 12-3.

35 Porph. *abst.* 2. 34; 2. 61; Porphyry in Eus. *praep.* 4. 8 and in Aug. *civ.* 19. 23. Porphyry (*abst.* 2. 5-9) regarded animal sacrifices as a distortion of the original offerings of plants and herbs to the gods.

36 Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 31-32.

37 1 Cor. 8. For a discussion of Paul's attitudes here and a survey on the extensive scholarly literature on the issue, see J. Woyke, 'Das Bekenntnis zum einzig allwirksamen Gott und Herrn und die Dämonisierung von Fremdkulten: Monolatrischer und polylatrischer Monotheismus in *1. Korinther* 8 und 10', in J. Rüpke (ed.), *Gruppenreligionen im römischen Reich* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 43), Tübingen 2007, 87-112, esp. 104-9; P. Lampe, 'Die dämonologischen Implikationen von I Korinther 8 und 10 vor dem Hintergrund paganer Zeugnisse', in A. Lange – H. Lichtenberger – K. F. D. Römheld (eds), *Die Dämonen. Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, Tübingen 2003, 594-9; Petropoulou *cit.* n. 5, 240 stresses that issues pertaining to idol-meat continued to be discussed by Christian leaders until very late.

eating sacrificial food as such could not pollute them, but warned that weaker brothers might fall back into idolatrous practices. Thus the stronger brothers who freely consumed sacrificial food might lead the weaker ones to return to idolatry.

Despite this pragmatism, the Apostle Paul is worried about the gods, whose existence he does not deny and whom he regards as demons. What is significant for him is *koinonia* – communion, connection, participation or sharing. In Christian rituals, *koinonia* stands for participation in the blood of Christ. The term *koinonia* was also in use in Greek cultic contexts, in which its meaning ranges from the association or communion of the participants offering sacrifice to the mystical union between the worshippers and the deity. In the Christian interpretation of the rituals of Graeco-Roman cults, sacrifice also achieved *koinonia*, but this communion was formed with demons. Christians were free to eat anything as long as the context did not imply any cultic communion with alien gods.[38]

Christians were puzzled about the levels of participation: what was to be counted as mere presence at public traditional celebrations and what was actual participation? The Carthaginian Christian writer Tertullian (c. 160 – c. 220) writes that ideally a Christian should not even see an idolatrous act. However, because Christians cannot avoid living in the middle of a pagan world, their presence in these celebrations should be considered a service to a host, not to any idol (*homini, non idolo*). Nonetheless, in regard to animal sacrifice, there is no compromise: Tertullian insists that even the slightest indirect contribution, such as the utterance of a word (*verbo ... aliquo*), is to be understood as participation in a sacrifice.[39]

Fourth- and fifth-century writers sometimes refer to the Apostle Paul's ideas in the *First Letter to Corinthians* when defining the boundaries of good Christian conduct. Augustine of Hippo discusses Christians eating sacrificial food in traditional urban festivals. He takes a similar line to Paul's, appealing to the stronger Christians. There is a risk that the weaker Christians who see their stronger brothers participating in feasts may start eating the sacrificial food and even end up themselves performing sacrifices, thus falling back into idolatry.[40]

Furthermore, John Chrysostom (c. 347 – 407) speaks of sacrificial food in his homilies on the *First Letter to Corinthians*. For him the issue of sacrificial food is a means to discuss the boundaries of good Christian behaviour in general,[41] for instance, to condemn the Christian participation in races. John Chrysostom writes that people think that it is harmless to attend the races – in the same way as the Corinthians in the Apostle Paul's day thought that eating food sacrificed to idols was harmless. John Chrysostom states: 'If a man sees you who have knowledge of piety passing the day in those foolish and harmful associations, will not the conscience of this weak man be given the excuse to pursue such actions with more enthusiasm?'[42]

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38 For *koinonia*, see F. van Straten, 'Ancient Greek animal sacrifice: gift, ritual slaughter, communion, food supply, or what? Some thoughts on simple explanations of a complex ritual', in Georgoudi – Koch Piettre – Schmidt, *cit*. n. 6, 15-29, esp. 24, Woyke *cit.* n. 37, 102-4 and Heyman *cit.* n. 11, 113-8.

39 Tert. *idol.* 16-17. Tertullian's advice deal with everyday life situations in which Christians, as members of Roman households, were expected to participate in many different rituals. For a discussion on Tertullian's views, see Petropoulou *cit.* n. 5, 251-4.

40 Aug. *serm.* 62. 4. 7 (in 399). For a discussion, see Kahlos, *cit.* n. 2, 122-3.

41 E.g., Ioh. Chrys. *in epist. ad I Cor. hom.* 24. 3-5 (PG 61, 201-205). I follow the discussion of Sandwell *cit.* n. 31, 79.

42 Ioh. Chrys. *catech.* 6. 16 (in Jean Chrysostome, *Huit Catéchèses baptismales inédites* (Sources Chrétiennes 50), ed. A. Wenger, Paris 1957, 223). Translation by Sandwell, *cit.* n. 31, 79. John Chrysostom (*in epist. ad I Cor. hom.* 20. 11 (PG 61, 168)) also uses the passage to reinforce a sense of responsibility and community among Christians: see Sandwell, *cit.* n. 31, 192-3.

Augustine, Publicola and the issue of contamination

The contaminating influence of sacrifices is under consideration in the correspondence between Augustine of Hippo and Publicola, a Roman Christian.[43] In their discussion, pollution appears as a concrete issue. On this occasion Augustine's attitude differs in a significant way from what he preached in his above-mentioned sermon on weaker and stronger brothers. It is the circumstances that influence the argumentation in each individual case. In this case Augustine writes in reply to Publicola's anxious inquiries on pollution. Publicola is concerned about everyday issues – food, drink and baths. He wants to know whether he can eat meat, wheat or beans that have been offered to the old gods, whether he can drink water from a fountain into which something from a sacrifice has been cast or whether he can use the baths in places where sacrifices have been offered to idols. Similar anxieties are known from the eastern part of the Empire: John Chrysostom writes that breathing the air filled with sacrificial smoke caused the Christian soldiers serving in Emperor Julian's army to suffer. They complained: 'Everything groans with the smoke of sacrifice, we cannot even breathe pure air'.[44] Ambrose of Milan (c. 337/340-397) also shows revulsion for sacrifices in his reply to the famous petition of Symmachus for the restoration of the Victoria altar. Ambrose complains of the ubiquitous presence of traditional ceremonies that infiltrate the senses of Christians even against their will – smoke in their eyes, music in their ears, ashes in their throats, incense in their nostrils and dust stirred up from hearths in their faces.[45] Comparable discussions revealing similar anxieties about pollution are also known from Rabbinic Judaism, in *Mishnah,* during the late Empire.[46]

In his reply, Augustine tries to appease the troubled Publicola by a *reductio ad absurdum*, by taking Publicola's unease to the most unreasonable conclusion. He explains that one cannot avoid everything as one cannot avoid breathing the air: it is into the air that the sacrificial smoke and incense ascend from altars. One cannot avoid being in the light of the sun that sacrilegious people worship with sacrifices. Thus, Augustine tries to calm Publicola with rational argumentation. However, after all this reasoning Augustine insists that, in some cases, if it is certain that the meat placed in a shrine has been offered as a sacrifice to an idol, that is, a deity, it is better to keep one's Christian integrity and refuse to eat it.[47]

Augustine states that when a Christian knows that anything is taken from his threshing area or wine press – grain or wine – and offered to the old gods, he commits a sin (*peccat*) if he permits this and it is in

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43 Publicola's letter in Aug. *epist.* 46; Augustine's reply in Aug. *epist.* 47. Publicola is usually identified with the son of Melania the Elder, see e.g. 'Publicola 1', in A. H. M. Jones – J. R. Martindale – J. Morris (eds), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* vol. I, *A.D. 260-395*, Cambridge 1971, 753; 'Publicola', in A. Mandouze (ed.), *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* 1, Paris 1982, 932-3; P. Brown, 'The Problem of Christianization', *PBA* 82 (1993), 89-106, esp. 100 and M. Moreau, 'Sur un correspondent d'Augustin: qui est donc Publicola?', *REAug* 28 (1982), 225-38 (although with some hesitation).

44 Ioh. Chrys. *hom. de Iuven. et Maximin* 2 (PG 50, 574); worked up by Theodoret *hist. eccl.* 3. 15. 4-9. Translation and discussion by R. Tomlin, 'Christianity and the late Roman army', in S. N. C. Lieu – D. Montserrat (eds), *Constantine. History, historiography and legend*, London 1998, 21-51, esp. 33, 48 n. 93. Theodoret *hist. eccl.* 3. 16. 3, 146 tells us a similar story about the future emperor Valentinian I, who was a military officer during the reign of Emperor Julian. As a Christian Valentinian was horrified by having purifying water sprinkled upon him and said that he was not purified, but polluted. For a discussion, see M. Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ. Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 2005, 256.

45 Ambr. *epist.* 18. 31 (= *epist.* 73, *CSEL* 82.3). Similarly John Chrysostom describes with disdain 'the smell of the sacrificial victim, the filth of blood, and the smoke'. Ioh. Chrys. *catech.* 1. 5 (*cit*. n. 42, 111). Translation by Sandwell, *cit.* n. 31, 68.

46 A. Yarbro Collins, *cit.* n. 27, 210-1 and T. Rajak, 'Jews and Christians as Groups in a Pagan World', in Neusner – Frerichs – McCracken-Flesher, *cit.* n. 27, 247-62, esp. 251-3 discuss the fear of pollution in the Jewish context (with references to Jewish sources).

47 Publicola in Aug. *epist.* 46. 6-18; Augustine in Aug. *epist.* 47. 3-4. Cf. Gaudentius of Brescia (*serm*. 15. 21), who warns his listeners against polluting themselves with the food offered to the devil ('*ne vel sacrificatis diabolo cibis profanemur immundis*').

his power to prevent it.[48] But if it is not in his power to prevent this from happening, he can use it in the same way as the rest of the clean grain or wine from which the sacrificed items were taken. Thus, Augustine's idea is that if a Christian cannot prevent sacrifices from happening, or if sacrifices have already happened, a Christian may use the items as if they were uncontaminated. Furthermore, he explains that in the same way, Christians can use fountains from which they certainly know that water is taken for the use of sacrifices. The same principle applies to the use of baths. Moreover, Christians do not hesitate to breathe the same air into which they certainly know that the smoke rises from all the altars and incense of demons.[49]

For Augustine, it is the *intention* that counts here. He writes that what is forbidden is to use anything in honour of alien gods, or to appear to do so.[50] The rationale is similar to the Apostle Paul's. Augustine also instructs Christians not to steal anything from shrines and temples for themselves, for their personal and private use, even when a shrine is torn down with permission from the authorities. Christians should not appear to be inspired by greed when they demolish the shrines, but by piety. Augustine's word of warning is related to the private spoliation of decoration and construction materials that were taken from polytheistic temples.[51]

The views of the ecclesiastical leaders and their parishioners discussed above remind us of Greek and Roman perceptions of purity and contamination and concepts such as *miasma* and *pollutio*.[52] Consequently, Publicola's nervousness in the face of pollution has sometimes been interpreted as representing particularly Roman perceptions *versus* the new Christian ideas.[53] However, the concept of pollution is by no means a Graeco-Roman idiosyncrasy. Nor is it a Christian or Jewish particularity. As mentioned earlier, the fear of pollution can be seen a response to disrupted boundaries and hierarchies that communities aim to maintain. As Mary Douglas states, whenever the boundaries are felt to be precarious, ideas of pollution emerge for their support.[54] Participation in traditional cults outside the boundaries of proper Christian behaviour caused contamination. A transgressor, a polluter, is doubly deserving of reprobation, first for crossing the boundary and second for endangering others by causing contamination to the whole community.

The sense of pollution and the need for purification emerged in the mutual relations between religious groups in Late Antiquity. For example, Emperor Julian insisted that converts from Christianity to Hellenism had to purify themselves, the soul by supplications and the body by customary purification rituals, before they could take part in the traditional sacrifices.[55] Systems of purity and pollution thus create and reinforce

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48 Aug. *epist.* 47. 3: '*Item si de area vel torculari tollatur aliquid ad sacrificia daemoniorum sciente christiano, peccat si fieri permittit, ubi prohibendi potestas est*'. In his obsessive anxiety Publicola reminds us of the superstitious man whom Theophrastus depicts in his *Characters* (16); the superstitious man manages his life with continuous precautionary measures against the pollution that threatens him from everywhere.

49 Aug. *epist.* 47. 3: '*Quod si factum comperit, aut prohibendi potestatem non habuit, utitur mundis reliquis fructibus unde illa sublata sunt; sicut fontibus utimur, de quibus hauriri aquam ad usum sacrificiorum certissime scimus'; 'Eadem est etiam ratio lavacrorum*'; '*Neque enim spiritum deducere de aere dubitamus, in quem scimus ire fumum ex aris omnibus et incensis daemoniorum*'.

50 Aug. *epist.* 47. 3: '*Unde apparet illud esse prohibitum, ne in honorem alienorum deorum aliqua re utamur, aut uti existimemur, sic eam accipiendo, ut quamvis animo contemnamus, eos tamen qui nostrum animum ignorant, ad haec honoranda aedificemus*'.

51 Aug. *epist.* 47. 3: '*ut appareat nos pietate ista destruere, non avaritia*'. Private spoliation nonetheless was not limited to polytheistic temples; secular buildings also suffered from robberies.

52 For the Greek perceptions, see, e.g., Parker, *cit.* n. 15, 10-9.

53 C. Lepelley, 'La diabolisation du paganisme et ses conséquences psychologiques: les angoisses de Publicola, correspondant de saint Augustin', in L. Mary – M. Sot (eds), *Impies et païens entre Antiquité et Moyen Age*, Paris 2002, 81-96, esp. 89 represents Publicola's conception of becoming polluted as characteristically Roman.

54 Douglas, *cit.* n. 12, 139. As P. Hershman, 'Hair, Sex and Dirt', *Man* 9 (1974), 274-98, esp. 290 writes, 'Pollution is essentially that which cannot be controlled'.

55 Iul. *epist.* 114. 436c-d (Bidez-Cumont = 41 Wright). For a discussion, see Belayche, *cit.* n. 11, 118-9. Likewise converts to Christianity were thought to purify themselves from idolatry in the rite of baptism.

boundaries between religious groups. Albert de Jong analyses the relations between Jews, Zoroastrians, Mandaeans and Christians in the cultural mix of Sasanian Babylonia and Iran and remarks that 'virtually all religious communities banned the eating of meat from animals killed by "others"'.[56] The sense of pollution with strict codes of avoidance can sometimes even protect religious groups from each other.[57] In addition, the sense of pollution can be used against other religious groups.

Pollution, prohibitions and conflicts

In fourth- and fifth-century imperial legislation, the idea of pollution was directly stated in the prohibitions against various polytheistic practices. For instance, in 391 Emperor Theodosius I declared that, among other things, no one was allowed to pollute himself with sacrificial animals and no one was permitted to kill an innocent victim. The rulings against polytheistic practices are accompanied by terms referring to contamination.[58] In their rulings against sacrifice, Christian emperors customarily declared their revulsion at sacrifices in harsh language. In a law from 393, for instance, sacrifices are depicted as abhorrent (*abominanda*).[59] The imperial prohibitions of 'the condemned sacrifices' and 'the accursed immolations of victims' were occasionally accompanied by the order to cleanse traditional cult places by the sign of cross. For example, in 435 Emperor Theodosius II commanded all groves, temples and precincts to be destroyed and purified (*expiari*) by the erection of 'the venerated sign of the Christian religion'.[60] Pollution could be utilized in rhetoric of social exclusion, as a law of 416 shows: 'those people who are polluted (*polluuntur*) with the profane error or crime of pagan rite, that is, heathens,' were not to be admitted to the imperial service.[61]

As mentioned above, it is difficult to delineate how tangible the pollution caused by sacrifices and other polytheistic practices was thought to be.[62] In imperial legislation, emperors refer vaguely to the injury that the adherents of traditional cults with their contaminating practices cause to the Empire. Some clues are also provided by conflicts that arose between Christians and polytheists in various parts of the Empire, including Northern Africa and Northern Italy, where our writers Augustine of Hippo and Maximus of Turin worked and had an influence.

Augustine reports several disruptions between religious groups in Carthage and its surroundings. Some of these upheavals were connected to imperial legislation that was published in 399 and the special

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56 A. de Jong, 'Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Zoroastrianism: A Ritual and its Interpretations', in A. I. Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifice in Religious Experience*, Leiden 2002, 127-48, esp. 141.

57 Brown, *cit.* n. 43, 100.

58 *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 10 (in 391): '*Nemo se hostiis polluat, nemo insontem victimam caedat, nemo delubra adeat, templa perlustret et mortali opere formata simulacra suspiciat, ne divinis adque humanis sanctionibus reus fiat*'. E.g., *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 11 (in 391): *polluta loca*; 16. 10. 12pr: *secretiore piaculo larem igne*; 16. 10. 12. 1: *polliceri*; 16. 10. 12. 2: *violatae religionis reus*.

59 E.g., *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 13 in 393: *abominanda sacrificia*. Even Emperor Constantine did not hide his personal hostility towards blood sacrifices in his orations and letters (e.g., Const. *or. sanct.* 11 and in Eus. *v. Const.* 4. 10). For the scholarly debate on Constantine's personal aversion and laws against sacrifices, see T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (MA) 1981, 210, 269, 377 n. 11 is on the side of Constantine's ban against sacrifices, whereas Bradbury, *cit.* n. 2, 120-39; H. A. Drake, [Review of T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 1981], *AJPh* 103 (1982), 462-6; J. Curran, 'Constantine and the ancient cults of Rome: the legal evidence', *G&R* 43 (1996), 68-80, esp. 72, 76-7 and Averil Cameron, 'Constantinus Christianus' [review of T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*], *JRS* 73 (1983), 184-90, esp. 189 have presented more sceptical views on Constantinian legislation on sacrifices.

60 *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 25 in 435: '*venerandae christianae religionis signi expiari praecipimus*'.

61 *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 21 in 416: '*qui profano pagani ritus errore seu crimine polluuntur, hoc est gentiles*'.

62 In early twentieth-century religious studies, some scholars favouring 'medical materialism' (e.g. E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, London 1903 [1871]) attempted to show that the ideas of pollution focused around real danger and aimed to preserve proper hygiene. For a survey on scholarship, see Parker, *cit.* n. 15, 57.

delegation that was sent to Carthage to oversee the closure of temples. Augustine forcefully supported imperial religious coercion in his preaching. His listeners demanded that the Roman gods should be destroyed in Carthage in the same way as they had already been destroyed in Rome.[63]

Furthermore, in Northern Italy we have evidence of clashes between Christians and polytheists. In 397, in the region of Val di Non, three clergymen who had been sent by Vigilius, the bishop of Trent, to Christianize the surrounding countryside were killed in a riot by peasants. The three clergymen had rebuked the locals for their traditional practices and tried to prevent them from carrying out their purification ritual.[64] It was bishops such as Maximus of Turin who vehemently preached against traditional celebrations and thus exacerbated religious tensions. Maximus refers to these customary practices, which local peasants called purification (*lustrum*) and the bishop calls a sacrilege (*sacrilegium*). With this sacrilege, Maximus dec*lares*, they wanted to pollute all places.[65]

The fear of pollution could be used deliberately to provoke religious rivals. During the conflict between polytheists and Christians on the relics of the martyr Babylas and the shrine of Apollo at Daphne, Christians transferred the relics of Babylas to Daphne, near Antioch in the early 350s. In the eyes of Christians, the relics of Babylas purified the traditional cult places, whereas from the traditional Graeco-Roman perspective, the martyr's corpse polluted Apollo's oracular shrine. In his counter-offensive in this conflict, Emperor Julian (reigned 360-363) had the relics of Babylas moved away from Daphne. Furthermore, he deliberately aimed to irritate Christians with 'polluted' water and food. He had a portion of sacrificial meat thrown into the springs of Daphne. Moreover, he ordered that all the food in the market was to be sprinkled with lustral water.[66] It is worth noting that Julian's zeal for sacrifices and anxiety over cultic purity was disapproved of as superstitious exaggeration by contemporary polytheists. For example, Ammianus condemned Julian as practising rites in a superstitious rather than a correct way.[67] It is ironic that Julian's excesses in sacrifices simply reflected the stereotypes that Christian writers had of traditional cults.[68]

In the rivalry between religious groups, Christian monks are reported to have taken advantage of traditional Graeco-Roman ideas according to which corpses defiled places: they consciously effected the ritual contamination of polytheistic shrines by bringing the relics of the deceased there.[69]

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63 Aug. *civ.* 18. 54 on the imperial delegation in 399; Aug. *serm.* 24. 6 supporting the imperial legislation. P. Brown, 'St. Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion', *JRS* 54, 107-16 = repr. in P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, London 1972, 260-78, esp. 302 considers Augustine's preaching as indirectly responsible for the conflict between polytheists and Christians in Sufetula in 399 (Aug. *epist.* 50).

64 Vigil. Trid. *ad Ioh* and *ad Simplic.*; Max. Taur. *serm.* 105-6. For the incident in Val di Non, see R. Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', *JRS* 80 (1990), 156-73, esp. 169-72.

65 Max. Taur. 105: '*et eius regionis homines, apud quos christianum nomen cognitum antea non fuisset, adsueto sacrilegio quod lustrum dicunt loca vellent universa polluere*'. Ironically, for peasants *lustrum* is a purification rite, while for ecclesiastical leaders and the Christian elite, it represents contamination.

66 S. N. C. Lieu (ed.), *The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic* (Translated Texts for Historians 2), Liverpool 1989, 48-52.

67 Amm. 25. 4. 17: '*Superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator*'. Julian (*misop.* 346c) reports that he was blamed for 'disturbing the gods'. The Antiochian rhetorician and Julian's former teacher Libanius (*or.* 12.80; 18.170) admits that in sacrificing every day the emperor did not follow the cultic conventions. For the Roman conception of *superstitio* as exaggerated religiosity, see M. Kahlos, '*Religio* and *superstitio* – Retortions and Phases of a Binary Opposition in Late Antiquity', *Athenaeum* 95.1 (2007), 389-408.

68 This is pointed out by Garnsey – Humfress, *cit.* n. 6, 154-5. Julian, the convert from Christianity into Hellenism, thus fulfilled in himself the stereotype of a 'pagan'. For Julian's paradoxical situation, see Kahlos, *cit.* n. 2, 29-30 and for an up-to-date interpretation of Julian's 'pagan reaction', see Belayche, *cit.* n. 11, 101-26.

69 Trombley, *cit.* n. 9, 156. For the Christianization and purification of polytheistic shrines, see H. Saradi-Mendelovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries', *DOP* 44 (1990), 47-61, esp. 54, and H. Saradi, 'The Christianization of Pagan Temples in the Greek Hagiographical Texts', in J. Hahn – S. Emmel – U. Gotter (eds), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2008, 113-34.

Pollution as a concept was a useful weapon in the interreligious struggles. In a notorious incident preceding the Tetrarchic persecution of Christians in 303, Emperor Diocletian made sacrifices and the *haruspices* were to ascertain the divine will from the inspection of the entrails of the victims. According to the Christian writer Lactantius, some Christians attended the sacrificial ceremony. They made a Christian sign on their foreheads, which, from the Christian viewpoint, drove demons away. However, in the eyes of polytheists, this annulled the ritual. Finally the leader of the *haruspices* announced that the rites were disturbed because of the presence of profane persons (*profani homines*).[70] During the Tetrarchic persecution of Christians, sacrifice was utilized to distress and isolate Christians: Emperor Maximinus Daia (reigned 305-313) commanded all Roman citizens to offer sacrifice, pour libations and eat 'the polluted sacrifices', as Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea puts it. Furthermore, the emperor ordered that everything that was sold in the market should come from the sacrifices – in Eusebius' account, all polluted with the libations and the blood of the sacrifices.[71]

In Graeco-Roman antiquity, not only alien religions and rituals, but even alien groups of people were often thought to bring forth pollution to the whole community. For instance, in the attacks of Greek and Roman writers, Christians had been regarded as a blemish (*miasma* or *macula*). In the late third century the Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre labelled Christians as polluted and entangled in error.[72] In the famous letter of Pliny the Younger to Emperor Trajan (reigned 98-117) Christians were described with the metaphor of infection. And vice versa: Christian writers, in their turn, depicted polytheistic cults as polluted and stained. In the mid-fourth century the Christian polemicist Firmicus Maternus described traditional religions as the dreadful pollution of superstition, strongly reminiscent of Pliny's words.[73] In the rivalry between Christian sects the competing Christian groups were branded as polluting heresies. For mainstream Christianity, 'heretics' were contaminating transgressors who endangered the purity of the church. And vice versa, the minority Christian groups regarded the mainstream church as an abomination. Optatus of Milevis mentions Donatist Christians, who even wanted to sprinkle salted water and wash the walls of the churches that had previously been used by mainstream Christians.[74]

The idea of pollution spread by people who perform false religion or have a false interpretation of Christianity is even seen in imperial legislation. In a decree from 425 Emperor Theodosius II announces that genuinely religious people shall not be harmed by superstitions. Therefore, he decrees that Manichaeans, all heretics, schismatics and *mathematici*, and all sects inimical to *catholici*, must be expelled from towns in order to prevent people from becoming stained by the contagious presence of these criminal sects.[75]

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70 Lact. *mort.* 10.2-3. Lactantius attributes the beginning of the persecution to the disruption of these rites and the instigation of *haruspices*. For modern interpretations of the incident, see Barnes, *cit.* n. 59, 18-9. For the purifying sign (of the cross) on the forehead, see D. Briquel, *Chrétiens et haruspices. La religion étrusque, dernier rempart du paganisme romain*, Paris 1997, 55.

71 Eus. *mart. Pal.* 9. 2. Eusebius adds that even non-Christians detested Maximinus Daia's actions. As Bradbury, *cit.* n. 8, 346-7 remarks, communal feasting on sacrificial meat that had earlier reinforced the community's solidarity was now used as an instrument of discrimination.

72 Porphyry in Aug. *civ*. 19. 23.

73 Plin. *epist.* 10. 96. 9: '*superstitionis istius contagio*'; Firm. *err.* 12. 1: '*superstitionis istius metuenda contagio*'.

74 Optat. 6. 6. 1 (Optat de Milève, *Traité contre les Donatistes*, in M. Labrousse (ed.) (Sources Chrétiennes 413), Paris 1996, 182).

75 *Const. Sirmond.* 6 (in 425): '*Sane quia religiosos populos nullis decet superstitionibus depravari, Manichaeos omnesque haereticos vel schismaticos sive mathematicos omnemque sectam catholicis inimicam ab ipso aspectu urbium diversarum exterminari debere praecipimus, ut nec praesentiae quidem criminosorum contagione foedentur*'. The term *mathematici* probably refers to magi. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 16. 7. 3, in which Judaism is also described as a polluting thing: '*iudaicis semet polluere contagiis*'.

Conclusions

This article takes part in the scholarly discussion on the role of sacrifice in Late Antiquity, aiming at a more nuanced view on the decline of sacrifice. I have examined late antique Christian ideas of the pollution that participation in traditional religious practices, especially in sacrificial rituals, was believed to cause to the whole community. Christian bishops such as Maximus of Turin, Gaudentius of Brescia and Augustine of Hippo vehemently told their parishioners not to take part in traditional celebrations. Maximus of Turin used the sense of pollution as an argument against participating in traditional feasting and performing sacrifices.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, traditional sacrifices, public and private alike, were gradually prohibited by Christian emperors. Nonetheless, private sacrifices are attested to have continued as late as the ninth century. In the countryside, the role of landowners consenting to the continuance of sacrifices on their estates seems to have been significant. This is why bishops tried to appeal especially to their sense of pollution.

Systems of purity and pollution create and reinforce boundaries between religious groups. Christian leaders such as Augustine of Hippo discussed the confines of proper Christian behaviour. Augustine's Christian correspondent Publicola was anxious to know which things caused pollution and which were regarded as safe for a Christian. Late antique bishops were in the position of authority in defining what caused contamination and what was harmless action.

The idea of pollution caused by sacrifices and rituals is still pervasive in the fourth and fifth centuries. The sense of pollution could from time to time protect religious groups by keeping them away from one another. However, in interreligious conflicts, the fear of pollution could be directed against religious rivals, with devastating results. With their intense sermons against traditional religious practices, bishops undoubtedly aggravated relations between religious groups. In the fourth- and fifth-century legislation of Christian emperors pollution was also utilized in rhetoric of exclusion and isolation. Similar examples of the use of pollution are found in the Tetrarchic persecution of Christians in the early fourth century.

From Collective to Individual Commemoration of the Dead: Case Studies in Early Medieval Religious Practice

Eva-Maria Butz and Alfons Zettler

Introduction

Memoria in the Middle Ages has been characterized as 'totales soziales Phänomen,'[1] and, in terms of liturgical commemoration, *memoria* is a universal concept covering the living as well as the dead.[2] The foundation of the development of *memoria* in the liturgical context is the oblation as part of the Eucharistic service, together with an increase in literacy.[3] The practice of commemorating the dead in liturgy invokes their presence, as Christ is present at the celebration of the Eucharist, and so the community of the living and the dead is established.[4] The recitation of the names of the commemorated during liturgy, together with the permanent transcription, guarantees their eternal *memoria* until the Last Judgement.

Although individual commemoration of the dead played a minor role in early Christianity – resurrection was certain for a baptized Christian – it does have ancient origins.[5] According to Augustine of Hippo (†430) God knows the names of all the faithful. Still, it is beneficial if the living bury their dead close to a saint. Intercessions for the deceased addressed to a saint could be beneficial for the living Christian. The Church would pray for all deceased members of the community, but without naming the individual members.[6] However, starting in Late Antiquity and continuing through the early Middle Ages, uncertainty about the salvation of the deceased was growing. In his Ecclesiastical History (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*), the Venerable Bede (Beda Venerabilis, †735) clearly recommends that the living pray for the dead, donate alms and fast, and he emphasizes the role of celebrating masses.[7]

Dating back to the first half of the eight century, the *Canones Theodori* mention the custom of the Roman Church to celebrate a mass for the deceased monks and ascetics on each of the first, third, ninth and thirtieth day after their death. Masses for faithful laymen were also celebrated, but only on the third or the seventh day after their death.[8] The hitherto private commemoration of the dead thus became increasingly

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1 O. G. Oexle, 'Memoria als Kultur', in O. G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 121), Göttingen 1995, 9-78, esp. 39.

2 K. Schmid – J. Wollasch, 'Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967), 365-405. O. G. Oexle, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', in H. Braet – W. Verbeke (eds), *Death in the Middle Ages*, Leuven 1983, 19-77.

3 J. Wollasch, 'Die mittelalterliche Lebensform der Verbrüderung', in K. Schmid – J. Wollasch (eds), *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48), München 1984, 213-32.

4 A. Angenendt, 'Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Toten-Memoria', in Schmid – Wollasch, *cit*. n. 3, 79-199.

5 G. Constable, 'The commemoration of the dead in the Early Middle Ages,' in J. H. M. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of A. Bullough*, Leiden 2000, 169-95, esp. 171-6.

6 Aug. *cur. mort*. 4. 6 and 6. 8.

7 C. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae historia ecclestiastica*, Oxford 1896, 306.

8 'Canones Theodori Cantuariensis D 130', in P. W. Finsterwalder (ed.), *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen*, Weimar 1929, 249; 'Canones Theodori Cantuariensis U, liber secundus 5', in Finsterwalder, *cit*., 319.

prominent in liturgy, which can also be traced to the concept of donations where churches and monastic communities are pledged to commemorate the benefactors by reciting their names during mass.[9] Both prayers and liturgical commemoration served as atonement to wash away sins remaining at the time of death.[10] Increasing implementation of commemoration in Roman and Gallic liturgies[11] was accompanied by the monastic movement of confraternity and the appearance of new forms of literacy.[12] Libri memoriales, martyrologies, necrologies and orbituaries were used to organize and perpetuate the names of those to be commemorated.[13] This set the stage for 'bookkeeping for heaven' in the High Middle Ages.[14]

Despite intensive research during the last decades on the sources of liturgical and historical commemoration, little attention has been paid to the early written records and their historical content.[15] The intensification and the extent of the commemoration of the dead in the Carolingian Empire are reflected in these new forms of pragmatic literacy. We will demonstrate that this change is particularly apparent in the early necrologies. We will try to identify the origins and the functions of these early obituaries for the religious communities that created them, the changes in the practice of commemoration and the extent of the involvement of groups of commemorated persons.

This paper is divided into four parts. The first chapter will introduce the principal forms of medieval *libri vitae* correlating with the different forms of commemoration: *libri memoriales*, confraternity books and necrologies. The second and third parts are concerned with the origins and the development of the practice of commemoration, and the last chapter will focus on the necrologies in the *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont. Three separate calendars for the dead have been added to this book in the course of the ninth century. They stand out among the eldest documents of their kind, and they provide, as our examination will show, ample evidence for substantial changes in religious and liturgical practice during the early Middle Ages.[16]

Carolingian *Libri memoriales* and Necrologies

Eight *libri memoriales* have come down to us from the early medieval period – the books of Brescia in Italy, of Pfäfers and Saint Gall in Switzerland, of Reichenau in Germany, of Salzburg in Austria, and of Remire-

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9 A. Angenendt, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmesse', *FMS* 17 (1983), 153-221, esp. 198.

10 A. Angenendt, 'Buße und liturgisches Gedenken', in K. Schmid (ed.), *Gedächtnis, das Gemeinschaft stiftet*, München 1985, 39-49.

11 Constable, *cit.* n. 5, 177-86.

12 L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur altchristlichen Bildersprache* (Theophaneia 8), Bonn 1952, 100-9; A. Angenendt, *cit.* n. 4, 193-4; A. Angenendt – G. Muschiol, 'Die liturgischen Texte', in D. Geuenich – U. Ludwig (eds), *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia* (MGH Libri mem. N. S. 4), Hannover 2000, 28-55; Wollasch, *cit.* n. 3, 216.

13 Cf. N. Huyghebaert, *Les documents nécrologiques* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 4), Turnhout 1972; E. Freise, 'Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria', in K. Schmid – J. Wollasch, *cit*. n. 3, 502-44; J.-L. Lemaître (ed.), *L'église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale*. Communications présentées à la table Ronde du C.N.R.S., le 14 juin 1982 (Études augustiniennes), Paris 1986; J. Wollasch, 'Necrolog', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VI, Stuttgart – Weimar 1999, 1078-9.

14 F. Neiske, 'Funktion und Praxis der Schriftlichkeit im klösterlichen Totengedenken', in C. M. Casper (ed.), *Viva vox und ratio scripta. Mündliche und schriftliche Kommunikationsformen im Mönchtum des Mittelalters*, Münster 1997, 97-118; J. Wollasch, *Synopse der cluniacensischen Necrologien*, München 1982; J. Wollasch, *Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt*, München 1973; J. Wollasch, *Cluny – Licht der Welt*, Zürich – Düsseldorf 1996, 128-33; cf. M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France*, Ithaca – London 1994, esp. 98-100.

15 F. Neiske, 'Rotuli und andere Quellen zum Totengedenken (bis ca. 800)', in U. Ludwig – Th. Schilp (eds), *Nomen et Fraternitas. Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65. Geburtstag* (Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Ergänzungsband 62), Berlin 2008, 203-20, esp. 203.

16 F. Neiske, *cit.* n. 15, 203.

mont in France.[17] These books contain, for the most part, long rows and columns of personal names. All of these people had their names inscribed in such a book because it was regarded as *liber vitae*, an earthly copy of the Book of Life, mentioned in the Bible. The Book of Life is a heavenly book, of course, God's book, containing the names of the elect. The idea of the heavenly Book of Life became linked with the recitation of diptychs in the early Christian church, that is, with the lists of those who were to be remembered in prayer in the liturgy. As a consequence, it was believed that the names in the liturgical Book of Life which lay on the altar, with prayers offered for those listed in it, would also be inscribed in God's heavenly Book of Life.[18]

The *libri memoriales* contain different types of entries that can be shown to have different origins. Confraternity lists are the witnesses of the movement of prayer associations with their roots in the 762 Act of Attigny which constituted a frame within which the organized confraternity had to take place.[19] Most of the Frankish monasteries and communities sent lists of their monks and clerics to other religious communities. In particular, the monks of Reichenau abbey filled close to 100 pages of the so-called *Confraternity Book of Reichenau* with lists of monks from a total of more than seventy Frankish monasteries. Other communities may have collected such lists in boxes on the altar.[20]

A second type of entry is the lists of benefactors, mainly laymen. Often laid out in the form of diptychs, these contain the names of the rulers and members of the royal family as well as leading figures grouped according to their *ordines*. It was the obligation of Royal Abbeys to pray for the emperor and his family as well as for the welfare of the Empire. Both confraternity lists and diptychs were in some cases amended and updated at later time. Another type of entry is the so-called 'ad-hoc-entry.' On the occasion of donation the names of the people present as well as their relatives and family, living and dead, were written into the book. The books served as a reminder of the duty to commemorate collectively during the liturgy, not individually, all the persons recorded.[21]

Necrologies are by definition memorial calendars exclusively designed for the memory of the dead, and they seem to have been an invention of the Carolingian Age. Necrologies in the form of calendars do not appear in the Frankish Empire before the reign of Charlemagne (768-814),[22] and the practice of liturgical commemoration of individual persons seems to have been rather sporadic and unsystematic at that time.[23] But by the eleventh century there was hardly any religious community on the Continent, monastic or clerical, that did not dispose of such a calendar for the dead.[24] Eventually the proper use of *libri memoriales*

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17 *Libri memoriales* have been addressed, most recently, by D. Geuenich, 'A Survey of the Early Medieval Confraternity Books from the Continent', in D. Rollason – A. J. Piper – M. Harvey – L. Rollason (eds), *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context,* Woodbridge 2004, 141-7; cf. also H. Schmenk, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Gedenkbücher des Bodenseeraums*, Marburg 2003; H. Schwarzmaier – A. Zettler, 'Karolingerzeit. B. Alemannien im fränkischen Reich im Lichte der urkundlichen Quellen und der Memorialüberlieferung', in M. Schaab – H. Schwarzmaier (eds), *Handbuch der baden-württembergischen Geschichte*, Vol 1.1, Stuttgart 2001, 357-80; A. Zettler, 'Gedenkbücher und Nekrologien als Quellen zur monastischen Welt', in Ch. Stiegemann – H. Westermann-Angerhausen (eds), *Schatzkunst am Aufgang der Romanik. Der Paderborner Dom-Tragaltar und sein Umkreis*, München 2006, 28-40.

18 Koep, *cit.* n. 12, 100-9; Angenendt, *cit.* n. 4, 188-95.

19 K. Schmid – O. G. Oexle, 'Voraussetzungen und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny', *Francia* 2 (1974), 71-122.

20 *Ekkehard IV, Casus S. Galli – St. Galler Klostergeschichten* 51, ed. H. Haefele (Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 10), Darmstadt 1980, 115.

21 Schmid – Wollasch, *cit.* n. 2, 365-405.

22 See note 13.

23 J. Wollasch, 'Neue Methoden der Erforschung des Mönchtums im Mittelalter', in *HZ* 225 (1977), 529-71; J. Wollasch, 'Zu den Anfängen liturgischen Gedenkens an Personen und Personengruppen in den Bodenseeklöstern', in R. Bäumer *et al*. (eds), *Kirche am Oberrhein*. *Festschrift für Wolfgang Müller*, Freiburg i. Br. 1980, 59-78; J. Wollasch, *Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 7), München 1973; J. Dufour (ed.), *Recueil des rouleaux des morts (VIIIe siècle – vers 1536)*, *Volume premier: VIIIe siècle – 1180* (Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires 8/1), Paris 2005.

24 Cf. Wollasch, *cit.* n. 23 (1973), 53-135; cf. Wollasch, *cit.* n. 14 (1982), passim; Wollasch, *cit.* n. 14 (1996), 156-67.

decreased, and some of them began to attract texts like inventories of relics, treasury catalogues, charters and summary notices rather than name lists. A prominent example is the *Liber Viventium Fabariensis*.[25]

Libri memoriales and necrologies were used in churches and monasteries to commemorate the living and dead, and were regarded for a long time as purely liturgical documents. Thus, these books did not attract much attention among historians before the second half of the last century.[26] Recent research, however, notably by the 'Freiburg school', has yielded evidence touching on the history and the personnel of monasteries in the Frankish realms, and the network of spiritual and written communications between them. 'The entries witness to connections, stretching across Europe as well as local bonds,'[27] as Rosamond McKitterick has put it, and it might be added that strong links must have been created between the living and the dead by means of such organised commemorative prayer. Commemoration was designed to incorporate the souls of the living and the dead into the community of the blessed in the other world, and therefore the *libri memoriales* also act as witness to the creation of a liturgical community on earth.[28]

Furthermore, *libri memoriales* seem to provide data on the structure and kinship of noble families. Examining the entries of the later Carolingian and Ottonian periods, Gerd Althoff has suggested that these books might even reflect alliances of the early medieval élites.[29] Moreover, recent work has established that *libri memoriales* 'can be understood as different ways of writing history and creating an historical record which functioned on many different levels'.[30] Evidently, the cultural assumptions underneath the creation of such books, and their implications, need further investigations which are, however, beyond the scope of this essay. Here we would like to focus on the primary function of *libri memoriales*, that is, on collective and individual liturgical commemoration.

Memory and Confraternity

There is some evidence that the practice of commemorating the dead by name during the liturgy was established in Gaul in the seventh century.[31] In the same period, the practice of praying for the Empire and the King extended over Merovingian Gaul.[32] In particular, the Anglo-Saxon missionary Saint Boniface (†754)

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25 I. Müller – C. Pfaff (eds), *Thesaurus Fabariensis. Die Reliquien-, Schatz- und Bücherverzeichnisse im Liber Viventium von Pfäfers* (St. Galler Kultur und Geschichte 15), St. Gallen 1986; M. Parisse, 'Les notices de tradition de Remiremont', in G. Althoff *et al.* (eds), *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Karl Schmid zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen 1998, 211-35.

26 G. Tellenbach, *Zur Bedeutung der Personenforschung für die Erkenntnis des früheren Mittelalters* (Freiburger Universitätsreden NS 25), Freiburg i. Br. 1957; G. Tellenbach, 'Liturgische Gedenkbücher als historische Quellen', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (Studi e testi 235), Città del Vaticano 1964, 389-99; K. Schmid, 'Zum Quellenwert der Verbrüderungsbücher von St. Gallen und Reichenau', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 41 (1985), 345-89; K. Schmid, 'Das liturgische Gebetsgedenken in seiner historischen Relevanz am Beispiel der Verbrüderungsbewegung des früheren Mittelalters', in K. Schmid, *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Beiträge*, Sigmaringen 1983, 620-44.

27 R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2004, 156-7.

28 McKitterick, *cit.* n. 27, 157.

29 G. Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta. Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert* (MGH Schriften 37), Hannover 1992; cf. U. Ludwig, 'Krise des Karolingerreichs und Gebetsgedenken. Anmerkungen zum Problem der ‚großen Personengruppen', in den frühmittelalterlichen Libri vitae', in F. Bougard – L. Feller – R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites au Haut Moyen Age – crises et renouvellements*, Turnhout 2006, 439-56; E.-M. Butz, 'Eternal amicitia? Social and political relationships in the early medieval libri memoriales', in K. Mustakallio – C. Krötzl (eds), De Amicitia. *Frienship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (AIRF 36), Rome 2010, 155-72.

30 McKitterick, *cit.* n. 27, 157; cf. E.-M. Butz – A. Zettler, 'Two early necrologies: the examples of Remiremont (c. 820) and Verona (c. 810)', in *Pecia* 14: *Texte, liturgie et mémoire dans l'église du Moyen Age* (2011), 211-56.

31 Constable, *cit*. n. 5, 179; Neiske, *cit.* n. 15, 209.

32 E. Ewig, 'Die Gebetsklausel für König und Reich in den merowingischen Königsurkunden', in M. Balzer *et al.* (eds), *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalter*, Bern 1982, 87-99; E. H. Kantorowicz,

spread the habit of asking friends *(amici*) to pray for the dead.[33] His letters give vivid evidence of reciprocal inclusion in the prayer for salvation. Also, like Bede and Archbishop Lul of Mainz (†786), he not only asked for prayers for others who died, but also for his own person.[34]

The idea of commemoration through confraternities was quickly adopted on the Continent. In 762, at the synod at Attigny, Archbishop Chrodegang of Metz organized the founding of a confraternity consisting of 27 bishops and 17 abbots, including Lul, the archbishop of Mainz.[35] The signatories committed themselves to sing 100 Psalters and 100 masses and to celebrate personally 30 masses in case one of the contractual partners should die. If illness or other difficulties hindered the fulfilling of these obligations, the duties were to be performed by another bishop, and similarly for abbots who were not bishops.[36] The agreements made at the synod of Dingolfing (about 769/770) are very similar.[37] The Bavarian bishops agreed to reciprocal prayers in 100 masses and as many psalters, and all bishops agreed to celebrate 30 masses personally. For the salvation of each deceased priest or monk they would read 30 masses and 30 psalters in church. The essential passage of the text clarifies that also priests and monks are covered by this agreement.

The Frankish church increased its stake in the confraternity movement at the end of the eight and in the early ninth century. Alcuin (†804), a prominent advisor at the court of Charlemagne, asked in numerous letters not only for prayers for himself but also for his king, Charlemagne.[38] Even the king himself requested prayers for his family and the Empire in replacement of war duties, in times of famines and natural disasters, and in case of domestic crises.[39]

The movement of confraternity generated various types of written records. The prayer associations of Attigny and Dingolfing stress individual commemoration most of all. In case of death the name of the deceased was sent to all confraternities in the form of death notices or death letters. These notes also included the request to pass on the notes to neighboring monasteries.[40] We may assume that the names of the deceased were added to the individual fascicles only in rare cases during the eight century. The letters themselves may often have served as an aid to the memorization of the prayers and masses to be delivered, and after the service the letters would have been collected in the sacristy together with other memorial notes. The liturgical *memoria* of the deceased individuals would then be included in the collective commemoration of the dead.

The movement of confraternity was not limited to the members of the associations of Attigny and Dingolfing, however. Monasteries exchanged name lists of their convents, and a number of these lists have survived in the *libri memoriales*. The most prominent collection may well be the Confraternity Book of Reichenau

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Laudes Regiae. *A Study of Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Rulership*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1958; L. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Kirche und Staat*, Paderborn 1937; G. Tellenbach, *Römischer und christlicher Reichsgedanke in der Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 1934/1935, 1. Abhandlung), Heidelberg 1934.

33 Cf. J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachse*n. *Mit einem Katalog der 'libri vitae' und Necrologien* (Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 20), Berlin 1988, 8-84.

34 Angenendt, *cit.* n. 4, 160.

35 Schmid – Oexle, *cit.* n. 19, 71-122; K. Schmid, 'Bemerkungen zu Synodalverbrüderungen in der Karolingerzeit', in K. Hauck – K. A. Kroeschell (eds), *Sprache und Recht. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Ruth Schmitt-Wiegand zum 60. Geburtstag,* Berlin & New York 1986, 693-710.

36 'Concilium Attiniacense', in MGH Capitularia I, 72-3 no. 13.

37 'Concilium Dingolfingense. B. Notitia de pacto fraternitatis episcoporum et abbatum Bawaricorum', in MGH Conc. karol. 1, 96-7 c. II/1.

38 MGH epist. 4, no. 7, 28; M. Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit dem Abbasiden und den Patriarchen von Jerusalem,* München 1976, 63-4, 75.

39 Schmid – Oexle, *cit.* n. 19, 72-5.

40 '*Valete et ad contigua vobis monasteria intimate*', Dufour, *cit.* n. 23, no. 10-1, 15-9.

(laid out *c.* 822 – *c.* 825) that records this abbey's long-lasting tradition of collecting such name lists.[41] This book contains the names of more than fifty religious and monastic communities and, in addition to those, the names of the living and deceased benefactors of the Reichenau community. Thus, the concept behind this *liber memorialis* is universal monastic confraternity including all realms of the Frankish Empire.

Collective and individual Commemoration of the Dead

There can be little doubt that prayer associations amended and intensified the liturgical commemoration celebrated by the monastic communities for their members.[42] Records of commemorating the deceased members of religious communities have come down to us from the early medieval period since *c*. 750. The necrological annals (*Totenannalen*) of Fulda are the most famous example. Their origins can be traced back to the year 779.[43] Recording the names of the deceased monks of Fulda in chronological order of their death, the original version of the *Totenannalen* must have included the dates of those persons' deaths.[44] The layout of the Necrological Annals of Fulda was chosen to suit the purpose of collective liturgical commemoration. Eckhard Freise assumes that the names were first written on separate strips of parchment before they would have been added to the annals at some later stage.[45]

There are examples of similar lists from other Carolingian monasteries. The nunnery of Remiremont (Lorraine) seems to have disposed of a long list of the dead of their community in 821 when they took a copy of this list for the *Liber memorialis*.[46] The monastic community of Reichenau disposed of a chronological list of their deceased members as early as 775[47] which was obviously re-shaped into a necrology before 856/ 858.[48]

The Alsatian monastery of Weißenburg commemorated the deceased members of the convent with masses, psalters and prayers on a fixed day, on November 28th every year. The periodical commemoration of the deceased was a regular practice, as the monks commemorated the deceased brothers after the reading of rules during the office of prime.[49] Similar customs are known from Fulda, as well as from the confraternity contract between Reichenau and St. Gall, dating back to the year 800.[50] The *Libellus* of the Monastery of Fulda from 812 contains a description of how the monks be commemorated by following old traditions.[51]

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41 K. Schmid, 'Wege zur Erschließung des Verbrüderungsbuches', in J. Autenrieth – D. Geuenich – K. Schmid (eds), *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau* (MGH Libri mem. N.S. 1), Hannover 1979, LXIIIf–LXV; cf. A. Zettler, 'Visio Wettini und Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch', in P. Erhart – J. Kuratli (eds), *Libri vitae. Bücher des Lebens – lebendige Bücher*, St. Gallen 2010, 59-69.

42 J.-L. Lemaître, 'Liber Capituli. Le livre du chapitre des origines au XVIe siècle. L'exemple français', in K. Schmid – J. Wollasch, *cit*. n. 3, 621-48.

43 'Die Fuldaer Totenannalen', in K. Schmid (ed.), *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im frühen Mittelalter 1. Grundlegung und Edition der fuldischen Gedenküberlieferung*, München 1978, 271-364.

44 O. G. Oexle, 'Memorialüberlieferung und Gebetsgedächtnis in Fulda vom 8.–11. Jahrhundert', in Schmid, *cit.* n. 43, 136-77.

45 Freise, *cit.* n. 13, 505-6; cf. J. Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, *c. 744–c. 900*, Cambridge 2012, 61-8.

46 E. Hlawitschka – K. Schmid – G. Tellenbach (eds), *Der Liber Memorialis von Remiremont* (MGH Libri mem. N.S. 1), Dublin 1970, fol. 35.

47 Wollasch, *cit.* n. 23 (1980), 63-4.

48 R. Rappmann – A. Zettler, *Die Reichenauer Mönchsgemeinschaft und ihr Totengedenken im frühen Mittelalter* (Archäologie und Geschichte 5), Sigmaringen 1998, 38-65.

49 M. Borgolte, 'Eine Weißenburger Übereinkunft von 776 / 77 zum Gedenken der verstorbenen Brüder', in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 123 (1975), 1-14.

50 Oexle, *cit.* n. 44 (1978), 140.

51 K. Hallinger (ed.), *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum. 1: Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae: consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, Siegburg 1963, 321; J. Semmler, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816', in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963), 15-73; Oexle, *cit.* n. 44 (1978), 140-2.

This included a daily prayer in the office of prime for the king, his children and all Christians, a prayer for all benefactors each Monday in front of the altar, the commemoration of the deceased members of the convent each morning after the *laudes* and each evening after vespers, a vigil and 50 psalters for the deceased monks on the first day of each month, and a vigil and a psalter for the first abbot, Sturmi, and the founders of the monastery on the anniversary of their death. The monks of the monastery could be certain that they would be commemorated collectively twice a day during prayer and intensively during evening prayers with a psalter. Individual commemoration was reserved for Abbot Sturmi and the founders of the monastery.

A few years before, the abbots of St. Gall and Reichenau agreed on a prayer association to intensify the commemoration of the deceased brothers. In both abbeys a vigil for each deceased *frater* would be celebrated, and a common memorial for all *defuncti* of Reichenau and St. Gall would be held once a year (14 November).[52] In addition to such intense collective commemoration the monks had to say prayers for the dead of associated communities because the prayer associations required the performance of a fixed number of masses and psalters within 30 days.[53] But there is no hint at individual commemoration of the brethren in form of an anniversary in the text of the agreement.

In the first half of the ninth century we can identify a desire for even more prayers in favour of the dead but also for individual commemoration on a continuing basis. The basis for this could only be a *calendarium*, which allows annual commemoration for all people deceased on a particular day, including the recitation of their names. The first known examples of martyrologies and calendars for necrological purposes appeared in Anglo-Saxon contexts, as for example the fragment of a calendar that ended up in Ilmmünster.[54]

As the examples above show: The collective commemoration of the brethren became part of the office of prime. It was held after the reading of the Rule and after the recitation of the saint of the day from the martyrology. From the eight century on clerics and monks began to add the names of *defuncti* next to the saint's names in some of these calendars.[55] Thus, the individual commemoration of the dead was closely linked to the veneration of the saints. But at first it was reserved for dignitaries. The martyrology of the monastery of Weißenburg of 772 includes almost solely bishops and abbots, and for the monks it has a collective memorial.[56] The Aachen synods of 816 to 819 required all monks to live according to the Rule of St. Benedict, and they established guidelines for the liturgical observances of the Frankish monastic communities. In this context it was stipulated that all abbots and abbesses be entitled to an annual liturgical commemoration (*anniversarium officium*).[57] As a consequence, all clerics, monks and nuns strove to get included. Thus, the

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52 'Confratermitatum syngraphae. E cod. 915', in P. Piper (ed.), *Libri confratermintatum sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis* (MGH Necrologia Germaniae, supplementum), Berlin 1884, 140. Such commitments gave rise to the multiplication of masses in the monasteries and the bishop's see. Abbot Theodomar of Monte Cassino (778-797) moans about the overwhelming number of prayers which could hardly be managed, cf. *Theodomari abbatis Casinensis epistula ad Theodoricum Gloriosum* 33, 34, in Hallinger, *cit.* n. 51, 125-36; R. Busch, 'Die vielen Messen für das Seelenheil', in *Regula Bendiciti Studia* 19 (1997), 141-73; Angenendt, *cit*. n. 4 (1984), 177-9.

53 Cf. Oexle, *cit.* n. 44, 150-4.

54 Freise, *cit.* n. 13, 513.

55 Wollasch, *cit.* n. 23 (1973), 59.

56 28. November: '*commemoratio fratrum nostrorum qui in nostra congregatione obiti sunt*.' A. Hofmeister, 'Weissenburger Aufzeichnungen von Ende des 8. und Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 79 (1919), 401-21; Freise, *cit.* n. 13, 518-23.

57 Cap. 41: '… *ut pro abbate defuncto anniuersarium fiat officium*', in Hallinger, *cit.* n. 51, 481; *Regula S. Benedicti Anianensis* 69, in Hallinger, *cit.* n. 51, 532; A. Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter. Die abendländische Christenheit von 400 bis 900,* Stuttgart 1990, 366-9.

rise of necrologies in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries can be regarded as one of the results of the ecclesiastical legislation of Louis the Pious.

Only a very small number of ninth-century necrologies have survived. An early example is a Veronese calendar or martyrology preserved in the context of the so-called *Orazionale dell'arcidiacono Pacifico*.[58] This book was once used by the Carolingian bishops and clergy of Verona. Among the few surviving pages[59] the martyrology has a death note of King Pippin of Italy (*obitus domni pip*[ini]) who died in 810. This is probably one of the earliest entries of its kind in the calendar (**fig. 1**).[60]

The majority of entries refer to deceased officials of the church of Verona, they were added from the second decade of the ninth century onwards. Another example is the so-called *Necrologium vetustissimum* of Saint-Gall Abbey dating back to the years between 800 and 830 (**fig. 2**).[61] The scribe who laid out the martyrology also entered 32 death notes mainly of St. Gall monks. At least 100 names were entered in the next decades. But these necrological notes witness to a largely unsystematic commemoration,[62] whereas the calendars or necrologies in the *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont provide ample evidence for the alteration in memorial practice at the turn of the eight to the ninth entury, that is, the transition from collective to individual commemoration of the dead.[63]

Calendars and Necrologies of the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont

The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont was compiled shortly after the community had been reformed to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict in 817. Remiremont, a nunnery situated close to the Vosges (Arrondisment d'Épinal), was founded in the early seventh century by the nobleman Romarich after he had taken holy orders in the monastery of Luxeuil. Romarich is said to have introduced the rule of Saint Columbanus to the nunnery.[64] The community of Luxeuil appointed Amatus and afterwards Romarich abbots of Remiremont while at the same time the nunnery was also ruled by an abbess. This may have been the reason for some scholars to suggest that Remiremont would have been a monastery for monks and nuns at that time ('Doppelkloster').[65] Obviously, some monks of Luxeuil served the nuns as clerics during the early period of the nunnery's existence (*c*. 620 – *c*. 820), but they did not run a male religious community at Remiremont.

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58 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare MS CVI; T. Venturini, *Ricerche paleografiche intorno all'arcidiacono Pacifico di Verona*, Verona 1929, 29-72; C. G. Meersseman – E. Adda – J. Deshusses (eds), *L'orazionale dell'arcidiacono Pacifico e il carpsum del cantore Stefano. Studi e testi sulla liturgia del duomo di Verona dal IX all'XI sec.*, Fribourg 1974.

59 Cf. Butz – Zettler, *cit.* n. 30, 224-31.

60 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare MS CVI, fol. 5^{r}; A. Zettler, 'Zur Ablösung der Langobardenherrschaft in Verona – eine Spurensuche', in U. Ludwig *et al*. (eds), *Nomen et Fraternitas. Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65. Geburtstag* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 62), Berlin 2008, 606-8.

61 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 914, 279-85, online in http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0914/279/medium/; E. Dümmler – H. Wartmann, 'St. Galler Todtenbuch und Verbrüderungen', in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte* 9 (1869), 1-124.

62 Cf. Wollasch, *cit.* n. 23 (1980), 69-78.

63 Neiske, *cit.* n. 15, 203, 215.

64 'Vitae Amati, Romarici et Adelphii abbatum Habendensium', in B. Krusch (ed.), *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquroum aliquot (II)* (MGH SRM 4), Hannover 1902, 215-28; R. Folz, 'Remiremont dans le mouvement colombanien', in M. Parisse (ed.), *Remiremont, l'abbaye et la ville.* (Actes des journées d'études vosgiennes), Nancy 1980, 15-27.

65 S. Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster – Enstehung und Organisation*, Münster 1928; F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich*, München & Wien 1953; Jakobi doubts, however, that the Mons Habendum ever accommodated two monasteries, cf. F.-J. Jakobi, *Der Liber Memorialis und die Klostergeschichte von Remiremont: Zur Erschließung und Auswertung der frühmittelalterlichen Gedenk-Aufzeichnungen einer geistlichen Frauengemeinschaft* (Habil. thesis, unpublished), Münster 1983, 188-9.

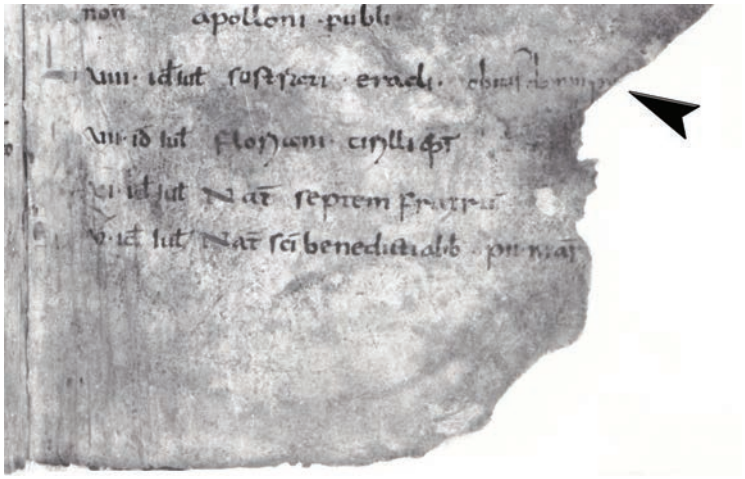

Fig. 1: Necrological notes in a Veronese calendar, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare ms. CVI, fol. 5r.

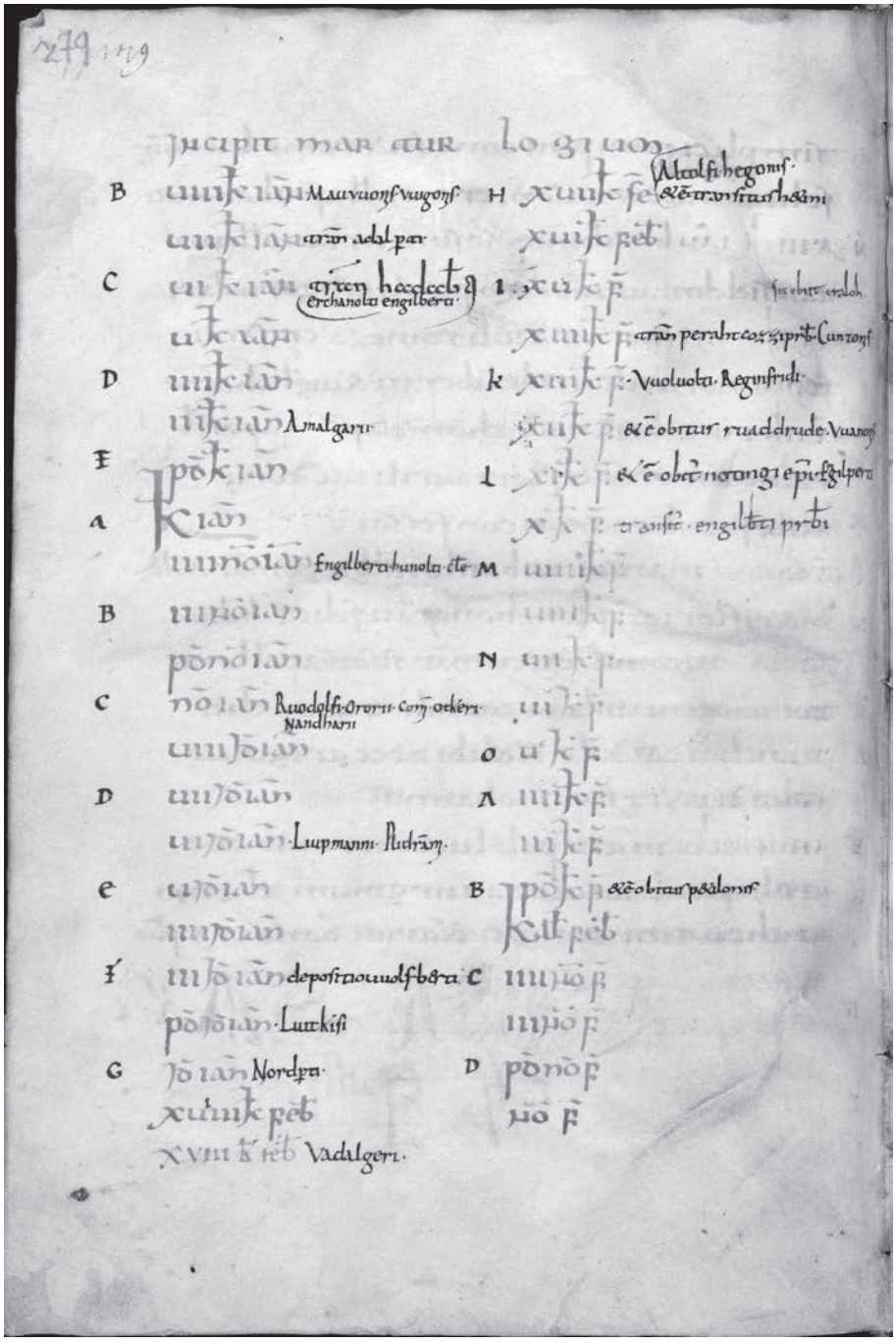

Fig. 2: Necrological notes in a St. Gall martyrology, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek ms. 914, 279.

The *Liber Memorialis* was first laid out as a consequence of the Aachen reform synods in 816/819, when the nuns adopted the rule of Benedict.[66] Thus the practice of liturgical commemoration had to be arranged according to the measures of Aachen. The memorial book contains two agreements made by *pater dominus* Theoderich († b. 870) and Abbess Theothild († c. 862/865) in the seventh year of Emperor Louis the Pious, that is, in 820 or 821. Similar to Fulda, the nuns committed themselves to organise a special diurnal mass for the benefactors of Remiremont who had been entered in the book so far and even those benefactors whose names would be written in the book in the future (fol. 3^{v}). The other agreement concerns the abbots and brothers of the nunnery.[67] The names of the abbots were to be read out aloud on Sundays and certain other feast days. Both the abbots and the deceased brethren whose names are mentioned in the *Liber Memorialis*, were to be commemorated after the prayer *Memento … in somnis pace*.[68] Additionally, abbots and brethren would be entitled, as the text has it, to an annual day of commemoration, i. e. an anniversary. There are also forms for special masses in the book, one of which was to be celebrated in memory of the nuns resting in the cemetery.[69] Another *missa* was designed for the deceased nuns.[70]

The actual *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont consists of nine gatherings. Gatherings I–IV were laid out in 862/863, they are based upon the first *liber vitae* made in 820 or 821. The oldest portions taken from the earlier book are now the core of gathering VI. These pages contain a calendar for the dead nuns, and *nomina sororum que ante regula fuerunt* (i.e. before 817), a list of the nuns under Abbess Theothild and lastly a calendar for the dead benefactors of the abbey.[71] In 862 or 863 large portions of the old memorial book of 820 were copied into the new one (gatherings I-IV). Among other elements, the new book contains another list of Remiremont nuns (fol. 4^{v}-5^{r}) and a copy of the elder calendar of the dead nuns (fol. 10^{v}-19^{r}). These components of the actual *Liber Memorialis* allow, to a certain extent, the reconstruction of the practice of liturgical commemoration at Remiremont during the eight and ninth centuries.[72]

The oldest text of the actual *Liber Memorialis* is the prayer to be said at the nuns' graves.[73] The *missa in cymiteriis* established, as it were, a spiritual community of all nuns of Remiremont, dead or alive, from the beginning of the monastery, and it sheds light on the oldest customs of the community that, according to tradition, was founded in the early years of the seventh century. We do not know the details of how the community managed to record and keep the names of more than 300 nuns from the period of *c*. 620-817. The list of the abbesses and nuns of Remiremont that died before 817 (fol. 35) in its actual form pretends to be an obituary. But it prompts one to ask how this list was compiled and what kind of original document it might have come from. We cannot be certain that the monastery's authorities kept records of the nuns from the beginning of the community. There is very little evidence as to the structure and character of the original

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66 E. Hlawitschka, 'Zur Klosterverlegung und zur Annahme der Benediktsregel in Remiremont', in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 109 (1961), 249-69.

67 *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, *cit*. n. 46, fol. 19^{r}.

68 *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, *cit.* n. 46, fol. 19^{r}: '*sed [abbatum] et fratrum quorum nomina in hoc memoriali subter scripta sunt*'.

69 *Missa in cymiteriis cottidie celebranda pro defunctis sororibus*; *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, *cit* n. 46, fol. 19^{v}.

70 *Missa pro defunctis sororibus nostris*; *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, *cit* n. 45, fol. 21^{v}. Cf. K. J. Merk, *Die messliturgische Totenehrung in der römischen Kirche, zugleich ein Beitrag zum mittelalterlichen Opferwesen*, Stuttgart 1926, 33-108; D. Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne*, Münster 1978; McLaughlin, *cit.* n. 14.

71 *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, *cit* n. 46, fol. 32^{r}-34^{v}; fol. 35^{r}-36^{v} and fol. 42^{v}-47^{r}, respectively).

72 For a detailed analysis cf. Butz – Zettler, *cit* n. 30, 213-24; E.-M. Butz, 'Der Liber memorialis von Remiremont', in P. Erhart – J. Kuratli (eds), *Libri vitae. Lebendige Bücher – Bücher des Lebens*, St. Gallen 2010, 96-107.

73 E. Beck – M. Strotz, 'Kloster Reichenau zur Entstehungszeit des Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuchs', in P. Erhart – J. Kuratli, *cit.* n. 72, 170-80, esp. 175-7.

nuns' list, but it is not very probable that it was continuously kept from as early as the years around 620.[74] But its copy in the *Liber Memorialis* was, at any rate, designed to document the old tradition of the memory of the dead at Remiremont from the first days of the nunnery at the beginning of the seventh century.[75]

Obviously, the liturgical commemoration of the members of the Remiremont community was modified and 'modernized' as a consequence of the reform synods of Louis the Pious at Aachen. In fact, the practice of liturgical commemoration of the dead underwent radical change at Remiremont at that time. The old nuns' list was replaced with two calendars for the dead inserted in the *Liber Memorialis*. This was necessary because the decrees of Aachen had stipulated that all abbots and abbesses were entitled to an annual liturgical commemoration (*anniversarium officium*).[76] The official introduction of the *anniversarium officium* for the ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Frankish Empire – even if it was only arranged for the higher ranks – paved the way for the general diffusion of such practice in the course of the Carolingian period. Obviously, the *anniversarium officium* was also granted to the single members of the Remiremont community by and by. Eventually, even benefactors and friends of the nunnery benefited from this practice, one of the calendars being reserved exclusively for them and their memory (**fig. 3**).

Comparing the entries of the earlier nuns' calendar (820/821) with Abbess Theothild's list of the living nuns (862/863), we can observe that the nuns who died within this period were recorded in the calendar. Later on, their names were deleted from Theothild's list by means of erasure.[77] On the occasion of death, the nuns were conveyed from the collective memoria of the living to the individual memoria of the dead. It was this kind of bookkeeping that caused a complete corruption of Theothild's list. The comparison also reveals that the list of the living nuns was not continuously updated.[78] About 40 per cent of the names recorded between 821 and 862/863 in the older calendar of the nuns are missing in the list of the living nuns. Obviously, the liturgical commemoration of the dead was taken more seriously than the updating of the list of the living nuns.

An entry in the necrology of the *Liber memorialis* seems to have granted an individual annual commemoration (*anniversarium officium*) to all nuns of the abbey. A close look to the older calendar reveals that more than 50 names have been deleted. These erasures cannot be explained as mistakes of the scribes or even as a result of something like *damnatio memorie*. When the old calendar was copied in 862 or 863, every single name legible to the scribe was entered in the new necrology. A possible explanation might be that the elder necrology was not initially used as a means of permanent annual commemoration. Instead, it may rather have been used as a means of remembering those prayers, masses and psalmodies for the dead that would be due within the first year after death. Probably, after this period the liturgical commemoration of the single deceased nuns was transferred into the collective memory of the Remiremont community, documented by the erasure of the name. About 50 nuns' names of 127 in the older necrology have been erased. After two or three decades it became common practice to retain the names in the calendar permanently. This indicates that in relation to liturgical practice the commemoration of the dead in Remiremont changed at some time in the 840s. Thereafter all of the Remiremont nuns seem to have been entered into the calendar receiving an *anniversarium officium* like their abbesses.

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74 Rappmann –Zettler, *cit.* n. 48, 508-11.

75 E.-M. Butz – A. Zettler, 'The Making of the *libri memoriales*: Exploring or Constructing the Past?', in E. Brenner – M. Cohen – M. Franklin-Brown (eds), *Memory, Commemoration and Medieval Europe* (in print).

76 Hallinger, *cit.* n. 51, 481; Angenendt, *cit.* n. 57, 366-9.

77 Jakobi, *cit.* n. 65, 46-131.

78 Butz, *cit.* n. 72, 100-4.

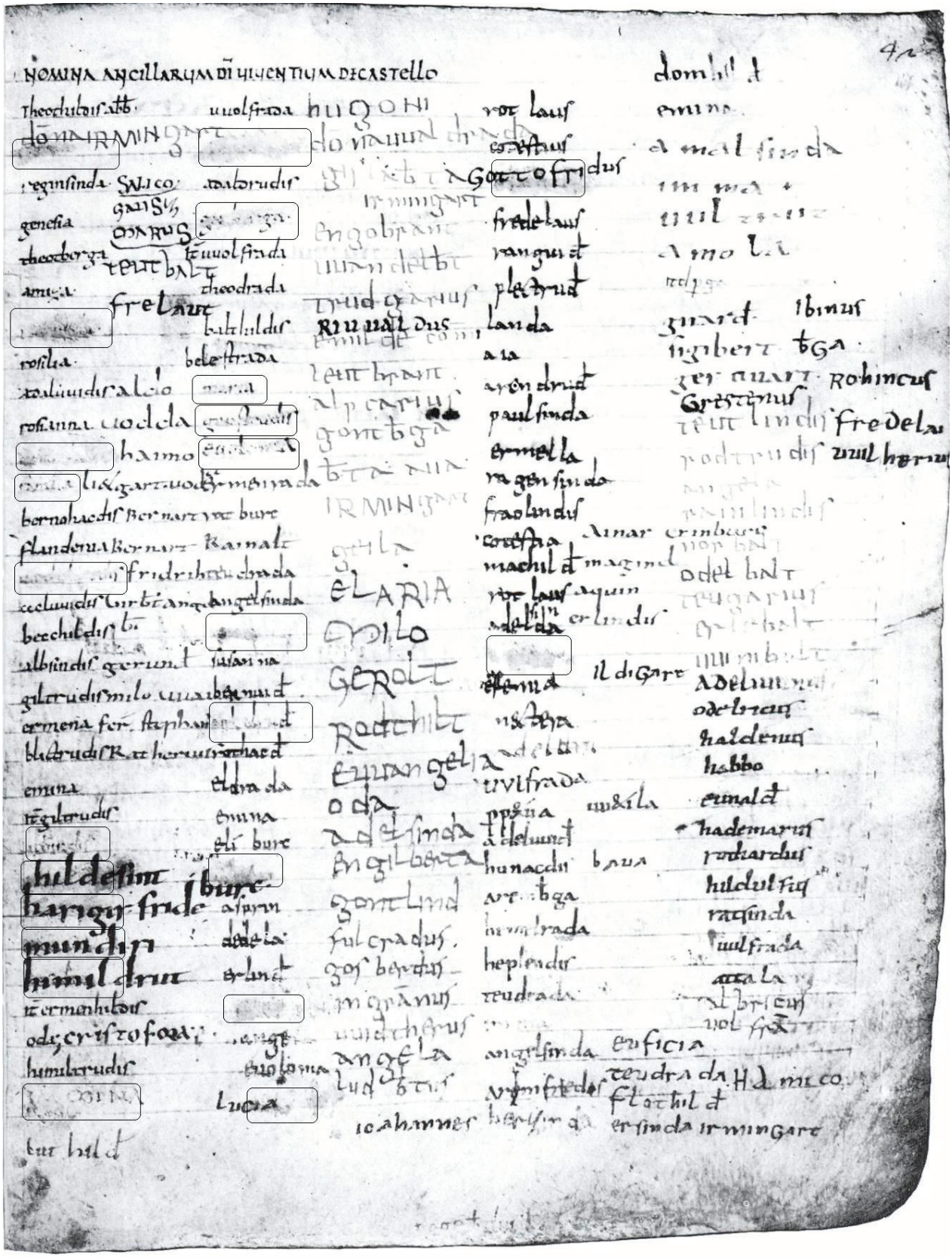

Fig. 3: List of the nuns of Remiremont Abbey, in E. Hlawitschka – K. Schmid – G. Tellenbach (eds), *Der Liber Memorialis von Remiremont* (MGH Libri memoriales 1), Dublin 1970, fol. 42r. Erasures marked by the authors.

In accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, we would expect that the nuns used the calendars together with the martyrology during the office of prime. It was there that the martyrs and the saints of the day as well as the names of the dead were read aloud to the convent. For this reading the nuns would have needed a martyrology along with the necrologies. However, since the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont does not contain a martyrology, it is unlikely that they used it at prime. The nuns' lists in the *Liber Memorialis* as well as the lists of the abbots, brethren and benefactors were all required for collective memoria during mass. Therefore this book was principally and, as we suggest, mainly used on the altar.[79] This leads one to wonder whether the nuns kept another necrology, perhaps attached to a martyrology. However, there are no traces of other calendars of the dead before the middle of the tenth century at Remiremont.[80]

Conclusion

The examination of the calendars and necrologies of the *Liber memorialis* in the context of liturgical texts and similar contemporary documents provides evidence for substantial changes in religious practice during the early Middle Ages, namely the liturgical commemoration of the dead. As a consequence of the ecclesiastical legislation of Emperor Louis the Pious, the *anniversarium officium* for the *defuncti* was introduced by the religious and monastic communities throughout the Frankish Empire. In practice, it completed and partly substituted older forms of liturgical commemoration. And this process is reflected by the rise of the necrology from the middle of the ninth century onwards as well as by the decline of the *libri memoriales* and *libri vitae*.[81]

The oldest necrology of Reichenau Abbey, for example, dates from 856/858. At the same time Usuard, monk of Saint-Germain-dès-Prés, fabricated a necrology to enter the names of the deceased *fratres de congregatione sancti Germani* from the time of Abbot Lantfrid († after 772) onward.[82] During the tenth century extracts of necrologies and even copies of complete calendars were sent from one religious community to another. The nunnery of Gandersheim, e. g., founded by Duke Liudolf of Saxony, an ancestor of Emperor Otto I., established a special liturgical commemoration of the founder and his dependents. In 932 the nunnery sent extracts of their calendar to the monks of St. Gall and to the clerics of the cathedral of Merseburg to intensify and extend the liturgical commemoration of the imperial family and the benefactors of Gandersheim.[83] The St. Gall monks deposed these name lists in the confraternity book of the abbey without the indication of dates whereas the clerics of Merseburg entered the names according to the relative dates into their necrology.[84] By the eleventh century, the practice of individual commemoration of the dead by means of anniversaries had spread out far into lay society and the old *libri memoriales* finally let their place in liturgy to necrologies and anniversary books.[85]

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79 K. Schmid, 'Auf dem Weg zur Erschließung des Gedenkbuchs von Remiremont', in K.R. Schnith (ed.), *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag*, Kallmünz/Opf. 1993, 59-96, esp. 91, n. 141.

80 M.-O. Boulard, *Documents nécrologiques de l'abbaye de Remiremont. Présentation et édition des documents nécrologiques du manuscript nouv. Acq. Lat 349 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Nancy 1982.

81 C. Treffort, *L'église carolingienne et la mort. Christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives* (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales 3), Lyon 1996, esp. 85-116.

82 A. Molinier, *Obituaires de la Province de Sens I/1* (Recueil des Historiens de la France, Obituaires 1902), 246; J. Dubois, *Martyrologes – d'Usuard au martyrologe romain*, Abbeville 1990, 35-48, 121-49.

83 G. Althoff, 'Unerkannte Zeugnisse vom Totengedenken der Liudolfinger', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 32 (1976), 372-404; Butz, *cit*. n. 29, 169-72.

84 K. Schmid, 'Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der St. Galler Verbrüderungsbücher des 9. Jahrhunderts', in M. Borgolte – D. Geuenich – K. Schmid (eds), *Subsidia Sangallensia I: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen,* St. Gallen 1986, 169 (St. Gallen B 7^{r} = pag. 86).

85 Wollasch, *cit.* n. 14, 58-9; Neiske, *cit.* n. 14, 97-118.

God as a Court Witness – Oaths in a Medieval Court

Rainer Opitz

During the Middle Ages religion affected virtually every facet of social life. This is why religious participation in the Middle Ages did not only take place in spheres of social life as it still does today, but also in spheres in which we are rather astonished to find it. Before the rediscovery of Roman law made secular jurisdiction more rational, in archaic Germanic law ordeals and oaths of purgation were widely-used methods of delivering a judgement in a lawsuit. In other words, the decision about guilt or innocence was committed to an assumptive divine intervention. To a modern observer this practice seems too illogical and haphazard to produce just and rightful judgements. This paper tries to find out how oaths were used in practice, and whether they really fulfilled the requirement of keeping social peace by producing commonly acceptable judgements. In order to achieve this, an analysis of the contents and statistical data of the court records of the court of Ingelheim from the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century will be made.

The general importance of oaths in medieval social and political life has been researched many times. However, there are few studies dealing with the role of oaths in jurisdiction and none that use statistical information to estimate the frequency of oaths of purgation in a medieval court. The literature that is found here is primarily in German, not only because the source is from Germany, but also because oaths remained in use longer there than in other medieval western European countries.[1]

In order to understand the way in which oaths combine religion and social participation, the paper will begin with an explanation of their religious character and their role in Germanic judicature. Following this, the court of Ingelheim and its record books are introduced to the reader, before taking a look at how oaths were used there in practice.

Religious aspects of oaths

Oaths are defined as promises or statements whose observance or truth is guaranteed by a supernatural being. They are based upon the idea of an omniscient higher power who is willing to avenge falsehood. In a way the oath-bearer curses himself, by submitting himself to punishment that will strike him in this world or the afterlife should his statement be false. In fact, oaths are a kind of oral magic similar to curses and evocations.[2]

Oaths are not peculiarly European, medieval or Christian, but can be found in many cultures all around the world. In Graeco-Roman culture as well as in Judaism they were widely accepted as a means

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1 To give only one example of literature about this subject in English: G. R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages*, London – New York 2002.

2 A. Holenstein, 'Seelenheil und Untertanenpflicht. Zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion und theoretischen Begründung des Eides in der ständischen Gesellschaft', in P. Blickle (ed.), *Der Fluch und der Eid. Die metaphysische Begründung gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens und politischer Ordnung in der ständischen Gesellschaft* (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung Beiheft 15), Berlin 1993, 11-36, esp. 12.

to regulate political and social life under the supervision of the gods or God. In the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 5:33-37) Jesus demands not to swear oaths, but to keep a given word without swearing. This commandment is repeated by the apostle James (James 5:12). But when Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire this attitude to the swearing of oaths changed. Theologians from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas acknowledged the importance of oaths and sanctified their use.[3]

The medieval church even adopted oaths into its own procedural law. At the third Council of Orleans in 538 it was decided that evident perjury of a cleric should be punished with excommunication.[4] In effect, perjury was judged to be blasphemy and thus one of the severest misdeeds, because it was regarded as lying to God. As oaths belonged to the sphere of religion, perjury was not punished by secular courts before the later Middle Ages.[5]

Thomas Aquinas divided oaths into promissory and assertory oaths. Promissory oaths are made to guarantee that a given promise will be kept, for example oaths of office, oaths of allegiance or peace-oaths. Assertory oaths are made to ensure the truth of a given statement, such as oaths of testimony or oaths as proof in a trial.[6] The last were also called oaths of purgation (*iuramentum purgationis*), because they cleared the oath-bearer from the accusation. This paper will examine the use of this kind of oath in late medieval German judicature.

Assertory oaths in medieval German judicature

In traditional Germanic customary law oaths and ordeals have played important roles in determining the outcome of a court trial. In the warrior societies of the early Middle Ages oaths were an alternative to a violent solution of a conflict. The convenience with which an accused person could clear himself of the accusation by swearing an oath would motivate him to appear in front of the court instead of relying on combat. Usually the oath-bearer had to bring a number of oath helpers or compurgators with him. Their number varied according to the social status of the litigants, but could be as high as seventy-two in the case of a serf accused by a nobleman. Their function was not to act as witnesses, but to testify to the good reputation and credibility of the oath-bearer, as well as their general support for him. The power and self-confidence demonstrated by bringing this group of armed men to the court trial may have convinced the opposing party to refrain from taking violent revenge themselves.[7] In cases that could not be decided by an oath, or when one of the litigators lacked the esteem to be allowed to swear an oath, an ordeal was instituted to decide the outcome of the trial. Whereas ordeals were repressed by the Church in the High Middle Ages, particularly after it was forbidden for priests to give their blessings to ordeals in canon eighteen of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215[8], oaths maintained their importance until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In pre-Christian times oaths had a magical character. It was common to swear on an object like the oath-bearer's beard, or in many cases his sword. It was believed that the sword as a fetish would turn against

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3 Aug. *serm*. 180*;* Thomas de Aquino, *Summa theologica 2,2, q. 89, a1*.

4 *Concilium Aurelianense A. 538*, c. 9, ed. F. Maassen, *Concilia aevi merovingici* (MGH Legum sectio III Concilia 1), Hannover 1893, 76.

5 K. Haller, *Der Eid im Strafverfahren. Instrument der Wahrheitsfindung oder anachronistisches Requisit?* (Wissenschaftliche Schriften. Abhandlungen zum Strafrecht und Strafprozeßrecht), Bonn 1997, esp. 30-1.

6 L. Kolmer, *Promissorische Eide im Mittelalter* (Regensburger historische Forschungen 12), Kallmünz 1989, esp. 52.

7 S. Esders, 'Der Reinigungseid mit Helfern. Individuelle und kollektive Rechtsvorstellungen in der Wahrnehmung und Darstellung frühmittelalterlicher Konflikte', in S. Esders (ed.), *Rechtsverständnis und Konfliktbewältigung. Gerichtliche und außergerichtliche Strategien im Mittelalter*, Köln 2007, 55-77, esp. 59-61.

8 J. Wohlmuth (ed.), *Konzilien des Mittelalters. Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512-1517)* (Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien 2), Paderborn 2000, 244.

its master and kill him in case of a false oath.[9] Later the role of the fetish was assumed by a reliquary, replacing the pagan-magical character of the oath with a Christian one. Unlike the sword, it was not the relic itself that would make sure that the oath was truthful, but the saint who was venerated through the relic. Many reports of saints' miracles give examples of how numerous saints interfered in order to punish or openly mark perjurers. One such example is the case of a man who died in agonizing pain when he touched the grave of a saint just before speaking a false oath. The saint in question was Eligius († 659), who was popular for surveilling oaths as he had refused to swear oaths while he was alive.[10]

To make the oath, one hand was placed on a reliquary casket and the other had to be raised with the thumb and index and middle finger erect and the ring and little fingers bent. This gesture was regarded as a symbol of the body and soul of man (ring and little finger) in submission to the Trinity (the three other digits).[11] The gestures and the spoken formula of the oath had to be conducted without any irregularity, otherwise the oath would be declared void and the incorrectly acting oath-bearer would lose the trial. The later secular penalties for perjury mirror the importance of the spoken and gestic elements in oaths. A convicted perjurer would have the hand that he had raised for the oath cut off or his tongue torn out.

Contrary to ordeals, oaths did not necessarily have to be taken in a sacred place like a church or in the presence of a priest. It was, however, mandatory that the judge and the opposing party were present. The opposing party monitored the performance of the oath carefully, as any mistake in the words or the gestures were regarded as a flaw that would render the oath invalid. Oaths of purgation were usually sworn in front of the court. Court sessions were conducted in the open air under the village tree, in an open bower or later in a building with open windows. It was popular superstition that in this way God could witness the trial and react to it. It would also allow the devil to recognize any perjurer and claim his soul.[12] From a more mundane perspective, it also allowed a large number of the village community to witness the oath and remember it. Usually the whole village community, or at least a large part of it, was present at the court sessions, as the judgements were theoretically subject to a communal consensus and every bystander could influence a court judgement if he knew the legal practice or the circumstances of the case better. The presence of these community members at court, called the *Umstand*, was a vital element, without which no session could take place.

Theological scholars acknowledged the role of oaths in courts. In his *Summa Theologiae* Thomas Aquinas states that when calling upon God to witness, God will reveal the truth in two ways, either by unveiling the facts or by punishing the lying witness.[13] Belief in the power of the oath was not only conveyed in theological writings and hagiography, but also by folk tales. There were numerous tales of people who allegedly committed perjury and died soon afterwards, or of others who turned into a dog or a goat. There were tales of hands that had been used for swearing a false oath rotting while their owner was alive, or growing out of graves after the person had died. Others who swore falsely were taken directly to hell by the devil.[14] Court authorities reminded people of the omnipresence of the divine judge with the help of images that implied the connection between earthly and heavenly judgement.[15] Images of Christ as heavenly judge

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9 Haller, *cit.* n. 5, 25.

10 *Vitae Eligii Noviomagensis libri duo*, liber II, c.58, in MGH SRM 4, 663-741, esp.730.

11 Holenstein, *cit.* n. 2, 34.

12 Haller, *cit.* n. 5, 34.

13 Thomas de Aquino, *cit.* n. 3.

14 Haller, *cit.* n. 5, 39.

15 Holenstein, *cit.* n. 2, 34.

of the last judgement were well known to the common people. The combination of this image along with a secular court scene reminded them that it was not only an earthly judge that judged them and admonished them to speak truthfully.

In the early modern period popular superstition provided several methods for evading the results of perjury, and in all probability these are much older. One of the simplest ways to reduce the dangers of perjury was to close the windows and doors before taking an oath, as if the omniscient God could not hear through a closed door. Other superstitious practices included putting earth into shoes, carrying the bones of a deceased child or the eyes of a hoopoe in the pocket, or wearing shirt or stockings turned inside out. Another method was to put a coin or small stone into the mouth and spit it out after having spoken the oath.[16]

The requirement for the exact gestures and spoken words and the superstitious practices which originated from popular culture indicate the magical nature of oaths. Oath-taking was, however, more a religious than a magical action. This is emphasised by the submission of the human being to the judgement of God and the lack of human control over the sanctions the oath will bring. The enforcement of a potential punishment depended only on the discretion of the divine judge. It could take place instantly, much later, or never, and humans might not observe it at all.[17] This explains why oaths were used much longer in judicature than ordeals. The rulings resulting from ordeals, including erroneous ones, were revealed at once. It was thus more difficult to explain the result of an ordeal that later proved to be false than it was to explain the delayed result of obvious perjury.

The idea that any accused person could clear himself of all accusations simply by swearing an oath is quite startling from the modern perspective. In the later Middle Ages perjury was punished harshly by secular law, but in many cases the truth would never be established. Any criminal could get away unpunished, simply by committing another crime, that of perjury, unless, that is, everybody's faith was so strong, that the fear of damnation or immediate intervention by God would prevent them from swearing false oaths. Did this system really work? In order to search for an answer to this question, we will examine the everyday use of oaths of purgation in the late medieval court of Ingelheim.

The late medieval court of Ingelheim

Ingelheim is a town in Rheinland-Pfalz in western Germany, close to the River Rhine between the cities of Mainz and Bingen. In the Middle Ages the town consisted of three different settlements, Upper Ingelheim, Lower Ingelheim and Winternheim. Charlemagne had a palace in Lower Ingelheim and the land surrounding it remained royal property until the fourteenth century. In 1375 the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV pledged it to the Count Palatine of the Rhine in return for giving his vote for the election of Charles' son Wenceslaus as king. The Counts Palatine gained fiscal and administrative rights, but the inhabitants of the pledged territory remained Imperial immediates and kept their own communal jurisdiction.[18] The three villages formed an administrative and jurisdictional unity, which they called *Ingelheimer Reich* but outsiders called *Ingelheimer Grund.*

The central institution of the jurisdiction was the college of the *Schöffen*. A *Schöffe* (lat. *scabinus*, *scheffe* in the manuscript sources of Ingelheim) was a member of a council of lay experts on customary law,

16 Haller, *cit.* n. 5, 37.

17 Kolmer, *cit.* n. 6, 230.

18 P. Classen, 'Die Geschichte der Königspfalz Ingelheim bis zur Verpfändung an Kurpfalz 1375', in J. Autenrieth (ed.), *Ingelheim am Rhein. Forschungen und Studien zur Geschichte Ingelheims*, Stuttgart 1964, 87-146.

responsible for finding the right judgement. The *Schöffen* held their office for life and a deceased *Schöffe* was replaced through cooption. Seven of them came from Upper Ingelheim and three from each of the other two villages.[19] Most of them were noblemen, and this prestigious office was often held by different members of the same prominent families, but at various times two to three *Schöffen* might be common men.[20] The court sessions were presided over by the *Schultheiss* (lat. *scultetus*), an executive official appointed by the Count Palatine, one for each of the three villages.

Every day of the week except on Sundays a varying number of members of the college of the *Schöffen* gathered in one of the three villages. The *Schultheiss* of that village presided over the court in his municipality. By 1366 at the latest[21] the sessions included a court writer who took short notes of the legal actions in all the three villages. However, his assignment was not to make a complete record of every trial, but to record the legal consequences of the trials and to administer the enforcement of the judgements.[22] Most legal actions were registered on only one line, giving only the names of the two litigants, the kind of legal transaction and possibly the amount of money in dispute. In total twenty-three books and six fragments of those legal records have remained, covering the period from 1387 to 1534. They are written in medieval German, in the local (Rhenish Hesse) dialect, the language used in court.

Because of its high esteem, imperial tradition and continuity,[23] other courts, and until 1418 private persons, asked the court of Ingelheim for legal advice. Thus it became the superior court for approximately seventy other courts,[24] some of them serving as superior courts for other courts in turn. The judgements the court of Ingelheim made for other courts were recorded in a *Fremde Urteilbuch*. The court sessions in the three villages were recorded in different books, called *Haderbücher*, one for each village. The only preserved *Fremde Urteilbuch*, today part of the inventory of the British Library in London[25], covers the years from 1398 to 1430. It has been extensively interpreted as a source by Hugo Loersch, Adalbert Erler and many others.[26] The eighteen *Haderbücher* did not receive much attention until recently, when the *Institut für Geschichtliche Landeskunde* of the University of Mainz published an edition of one of the later *Haderbücher*[27] and Marita Blattmann of the University of Cologne published two articles about the court books of Ingelheim.[28]

To find out more about the way oaths were handled at the court of Ingelheim, the book of the superiour court judgements will be reviewed for general references the *Schöffen* gave for the use of oaths. The

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19 G. Gudian, *Ingelheimer Recht im 15. Jahrhundert* (Untersuchungen zur deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte NF 10), Aalen 1968, esp. 19, fn. 1.

20 H. Loersch, *Der Ingelheimer Oberhof*, Bonn 1885, esp. XCI; A. Erler, *Die älteren Urteile des Ingelheimer Oberhofes*, Frankfurt am Main 1952, vol. 1, esp. 35.

21 Loersch, *cit.* n. 20, CXVII.

22 M. Blattmann, 'Protokollführung in römisch-kanonischen und deutschrechtlichen Gerichtsverfahren im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', in S. Esders (ed.), *Rechtsverständnis und Konfliktbewältigung. Gerichtliche und außergerichtliche Strategien im Mittelalter*, Köln 2007, 141-64, esp. 152.

23 H. Schmitz, *Pfalz und Fiskus Ingelheim*, Frankfurt a. M. 1974, esp. 409.

24 Erler, *cit.* n. 20, vol. 4, 54-5.

25 BL add. ms. 21220.

26 For Loersch's researches see *cit.* n. 20. Apart from his own studies Erler supervised eleven doctoral theses about the 'Oberhofprotokollbuch', see U. Kornblum, 'Adalbert Erlers Forschungen über die Ingelheimer Gerichtsbücher', 92-101, in K. H. Henn – E. Kähler (eds), *In memoriam Adalbert Erler* (Beiträge zur Ingelheimer Geschichte 40), Ingelheim 1994.

27 W. Marzi (ed.), *Das Oberingelheimer Haderbuch 1476-1485* (Die Ingelheimer Haderbücher. Spätmittelalterliche Gerichtsprotokolle 1), Ingelheim 2011.

28 M. Blattmann, 'Beobachtungen zum Schrifteinsatz an einem deutschen Niedergericht um 1400: die Ingelheimer Haderbücher', 51-91, in S. Lepsius – T. Wetzstein (eds), *Als die Welt in die Akten kam. Prozeßschriftgut im europäischen Mittelalter* (Rechtsprechung. Materialien und Studien 26), Frankfurt am Main 2007; and Blattmann, *cit*. n. 22.

Haderbuch of Upper Ingelheim 1398-1413[29] will be consulted to find out how oaths were administered in everyday business at the court.

Oaths at the court of Ingelheim

In a typical legal case brought before the court of Ingelheim the plaintiff would claim that the accused owed him something. This could be a sum of money, perhaps as small as two shillings, which was half the weekly wage of a menial worker.[30] The cause of action could also range from a cart full of manure to the right of usage or ownership of a piece of land. The plaintiff needed to repeat his initial claim twice, each time two weeks after the previous one. A bailiff, called *Heimburge* in Ingelheim, had to inform the accused of the accusation, but the latter did not have to reply or react in any way at that time. After the third claim and four weeks after the initial claim the accused would have to respond or otherwise lose the case. If he claimed innocence, he would usually offer an oath to clear himself of all accusations. This would be recorded in the *Haderbuch* with the words '*... hat eine unschuld geborget*' ('… has guaranteed an [oath of] innocence') or '*unschuld in xiiij dagen*' ('[he will take an oath of] innocence in fourteen days').[31] On two occasions the court explicitly ordered the accused to swear an oath and be free of all charges afterwards. In the first instance a man named Fritag was told to step up and swear to the saints that he did not know about the gulden or where it was or where it came from. If he did that he would not owe the gulden to a certain Jekil.[32] The other entry which mentions an oath of innocence explicitly states that if Wenczel Molner stepped up and swore to the saints that the horse ran after him and that he did not catch it or keep it in deceitfulness, he would not be guilty.[33]

In such a case that the plaintiff could not bring up a proof of higher value, that is documents, witnesses or evidence from the memory of the *Schöffen* or from the court book, the accused would swear his oath again after a period of two weeks. These oaths, called oaths of innocence, *Unschuldseide*, were in most cases simply abbreviated to '*unschuld*' in the book. Other oaths like oaths of testimony, oaths of office and citizen oaths[34] were recorded in the *Haderbücher* as well, but the oaths of innocence make up by far the largest number of oaths. Sometimes oaths were postponed to a certain date, which was noted in the court books, so that several oaths could be sworn together on one day. In the Haderbuch of Upper Ingelheim this was recorded three times[35] with words like '*zusschen Carpichin und Friczen ist gelenget uff die unschuld uff mitwochen nach Michahelis*' ('between Carpichin and Fritz [the time] for the [oath of] innocence is prolonged until Wednesday after [St.] Michael's [day]').

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29 The Haderbuch Ober-Ingelheim 1398-1413 is deposited at the Stadtarchiv Ingelheim and has no inventory number or shelfmark.

30 Haderbuch *cit.* n. 29, fol. 134^{r}, 30.

31 As those expressions are found 623 times in the Haderbuch Ober-Ingelheim 1398-1413 (see the table in this article), they can be found on nearly every page. Many expressions in the recordings are the same page after page, even line after line, and only names and amounts of money change.

32 Haderbuch*, cit.* n. 29, fol. 130^{v}, 30-1: '*Item Fritag sal treden und sal zu den Heilgen sweren, daz er nit wusse von dem gulden oder wo er | sij oder war er qweme wan er daz getud / so ist er Jekiln umb den gulden nit schuldig uber xiiij dage*'.

33 Haderbuch*, cit.* n. 29, fol. 210^{v}, 15-8: '*Item drydet Wencze Molner dar und sweret zu den heilgen daz ime | daz perd nach gelauffen sij und nit gefangen odir gehalden habe / one geverde, so ist er ime nichts darumb schuldig ...*'.

34 Oaths of testimony are very rarely mentioned in the Haderbuch Ober-Ingelheim 1398-1413. Two can be found on fol. 187^{v}, 8-16, where a priest and his neighbours swear that the priest's maid did not commit suicide, but died from natural cause. Two oaths of office of bailiffs or *Heimburgen* are recorded on the first page of the book. Twenty citizen oaths are scattered throughout the book in which new inhabitants swear loyalty to the *Ingelheimer Grund*.

35 Haderbuch*, cit.* n. 29, fol. 149^{v}, 11-2; fol. 186^{v}, 16-7 (quoted in the text); fol. 210^{r}, 16-7.

Everybody who was of the age of legal responsibility, which in Ingelheim meant everybody older than twelve years[36], could swear an oath. No distinction was made between the capacity to swear an oath and legal responsibility in general. The oath-bearer also had to be a respectable and an honest member of the community. Widows and unmarried women could swear oaths for themselves. In theory the husband of a married woman would have to swear an oath on behalf of his wife, as the husband had the duty to represent his wife in front of court.[37] However, it seems that this rule was not followed in practice, as married women usually represented themselves, or sometimes even acted in place of their husbands.

The questions raised by other courts about the procedures to follow for oaths have enabled us to determine how this was done in Ingelheim. Oaths had to be performed differently by laymen, clerics and Jews. Laymen had to stand upright, put one hand on the reliquary, raise the other hand and swear to the saints. The reliquary had to be brought from the church to the court. This may be the reason why oaths took place two weeks or even later after they had been announced. The *Schultheiss* would utter the oath and the oath-bearer would have to repeat it. If he did not repeat the oath correctly or raised the hand from the reliquary before the oath was done, the oath would be invalid and he would lose the case. The oath-bearers could, however, hire an assistant, called a *Staber*, who would prompt the adjuration word by word. If the *Staber* made a mistake the oath-bearer would still lose the case, but he had the right to sue the *Staber* for the detriment he had caused him.[38] The unconditional adherence to the wording in contrast to the unimportance of a rightful intention illustrates the magical character of the ceremony, not only in theory, as mentioned before, but also in the everyday use of oaths. This is a remainder of pre-Christian belief, which changed slowly as ecclesiastical teachings put more value on God's interpretation of the oath and with it onto the intention of the oath-taker.[39]

There is no hint that women in Ingelheim had to swear differently than men, as was the case in many places in Germany at that time. For example, a woman did not have to raise her hand, but had to put it onto her chest.[40] As men and women were normally treated equally in regard to court procedures in Ingelheim, it is likely that they had to swear oaths in the same manner. Representatives of a group of people, in most cases religious communities, had to bring two compurgators with them. If a village community was the litigant party that had to swear an oath, the entire male population of the village had to swear together.[41]

Clerics had to wear their full vestment, or to be more precise, their choir dress and stole, when swearing an oath. They had to bring a missal, read a few words from it and then use the holy text instead of a reliquary on which to place their hand. They could get the help of a *Staber* as well, who had to be cleric, for example the court writer.[42] The *Haderbuch* of Upper Ingelheim 1398-1413 does not contain references to

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36 Erler, *cit.* n. 20, vol. 2, n. 1152, 1234 and 1794.

37 U. Kornblum, *Das Beweisrecht des Ingelheimer Oberhofes und seiner malpflichtigen Schöffenstühle im Spätmittelalter*, Frankfurt a. M. 1960, esp. 25.

38 Erler, *cit.* n. 20, vol. 1, n. 148.

39 H. Hattenhauer, 'Der gefälschte Eid', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica. München 16.-19. September 1986*, Hannover 1988, 661-89. The term 'magic' should be understood in this case as it is defined by the anthropologist Stanley Jayaraja Tambiah, as a ritualistic action that implements forces and objects outside the realm of the gods, in contrast to religious prayer, which is a supplication that God can reject. The decisive element here is that the proper ritual, not the will of God or the faith and virtue of the oath-bearer, leads to the positive result. See S. J. Tambiah, 'Form and Meaning of Magical Acts', in M. Lambek (ed.), *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* (Blackwell anthologies in social and cultural anthropology 2), Oxford 2008, 311-24.

40 Haller, *cit.* n. 5, 31.

41 Loersch, *cit.* n. 20, n. 109.

42 Kornblum, *cit*. n. 37, 29.

purgation oaths made by clerics. It mentions, however, oaths made by clerics to support their claim to certain pieces of land or dues.

When asked in September 1400 by the *Schöffen* of Wörrstadt how Jews should swear an oath, the *Schöffen* of Ingelheim responded that they did not know any oaths for Jews and advised them to ask that question in Frankfurt or Mainz, where Jews lived.[43] In fact the first Jews did not settle in Ingelheim until 1423[44] and even from that time there is no information about oaths for Jews. When swearing oaths in other places in Germany, they usually had to use the Torah instead of a reliquary and a different form of oath. The gestures and words of oaths for Jews resembled those for Christians, because they were devised by Christians and mirrored Christian habits. Some of them tried to integrate Jewish customs as well, while others contained elements that discriminated against or debased the Jewish oath-takers.[45]

The differentiation between laymen, clerics and Jews point to the fact that oaths were a religious matter. The difference in religious status of laymen and clerics was accounted for, as was the cognition that Jews would not accept the swearing of an oath on a reliquary and would be under no pressure to follow such an oath. Social status played no part in the form of the oath-taking, as no distinction was made between noblemen, common people and menials.

The court writer of Ingelheim recorded the accused's offer of an oath of innocence, but he did not take any notes about the actual oaths. It seems that this was not important to him, as the oath marked a final end to the lawsuit and inhibited any further approach by the plaintiff in the same action. The court writer probably thought it unnecessary to document whether an offered oath was really sworn, as only the outcome of the trial was important. So it cannot be indisputably shown that all offered oaths of innocence led to an oath. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that oaths of innocence announced in the court records would not actually have been sworn. There are two occasions in the *Haderbuch* Upper Ingelheim 1398-1413 when the plaintiff released the accused from an offered oath of innocence.[46] The explicit mention of this on these two occasions suggests that it did not happen more often and without being recorded. This allows the conclusion that generally every oath of innocence that was offered, and thus recorded in the book, was actually sworn.

The following schedule displays the total number of oaths of innocence each year in relation to the total number of legal actions recorded in the Haderbuch Upper Ingelheim 1398-1413, the number lawsuits that ended with a success for the plaintiff and the number of witness testimonies. Only completely recorded years were used in the schedule. The first and last years were left out, because the records in the book started in April 1398 and ended in February 1413. There is a gap in the records from 1405 to 1407, probably due to a loss of one or more sections, so these years are omitted as well. As the writer did not always use distinct categories for his recordings, the statistical evaluation of the material has to be made with reservations. Nevertheless, although the categorization of a single entry may be disputed, the overall numbers provide a clear statement.

The recording of each legal action started with the Latin word '*Item*'. The numbers used in the schedule equal the numbers of the entries that start with that word. Sometimes several actions belonged to the same case, but were split up into several entries. The large total number of recorded legal actions per year

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43 Erler, *cit.* n. 20, vol. 1, n. 244.

44 G. Mentgen, 'Ingelheimer Juden im Mittelalter. Zur Frage jüdischer Präsenz in Ingelheim während des 14. Jahrhunderts', in H.-G. Meyer – G. Mentgen (eds), *Sie sind mitten unter uns. Zur Geschichte der Juden in Ingelheim*, Ingelheim 1999, 1-66, esp. 7.

45 A. Schmidt, 'So dir got helfe. Die Judeneide', in U. Schulze (ed.), *Juden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Religiöse Konzepte – Feindbilder – Rechtfertigungen*, Tübingen 2002, 87-105.

46 Haderbuch*, cit.* n. 29, fol. 84^{r}, 17: '*Item Kreczirs Irmel had Heinczen Slich dez eids erlassen*', fol. 237^{v}, 1: '*Item Clesichin Prasse had Heincze Sliche von der unschuld gelassen*'.

Table 1. Number of legal actions before the court of Ober-Ingelheim 1399-1412

year	recorded legal actions	successful lawsuits	oaths of innocence offered	witness testimonies
1399	1939	356	84	20
1400	1399	173	83	22
1401	1235	189	71	22
1402	1082	151	79	13
1403	1131	160	52	14
1404	1290	205	55	24
1408	809	108	37	22
1409	1018	141	45	24
1410	1033	148	33	29
1411	805	121	32	19
1412	923	106	52	22
Average per year	1151,3	168,9	56,6	21

Source: Haderbuch Ober-Ingelheim 1398-1413.

can be explained by the repeated indictments and the fact that not every legal action involved litigation. The numbers shown indicate that about five percent of the recorded legal actions included the offer of an oath of innocence. Hence this kind of oath may not have been 'everyday' business, but it was still quite common and was on average offered about once a week.

The number of successful lawsuits contains all entries in which the plaintiff has won the lawsuit, which is generally expressed by the words '... *had irfolgt*...', which would translate as '[the plaintiff] did have success over [the accused]'. The comparison with the number of offered oaths demonstrates that not every accusation was put aside with the help of an oath. In fact roughly three times as many lawsuits ended with a success for the plaintiff than with an oath of innocence. This shows that committing perjury in order to win a lawsuit was not a comfortable option for most of the accused.

Oaths of innocence were about twice as frequent as witness testimonies. However, it is quite likely that not all witness testimonies were recorded. If the accused announced that he had witnesses to prove his innocence, the plaintiff might have abandoned the lawsuit, which would not be recorded. In addition, not every testimony listed here is in favour of the accused. Nevertheless, the numbers show that in relation to witness testimonies, oaths of innocence were quite commonly given. The reason for so few witness testimonies is that witnesses by chance could not be forced to testify in court if they did not want to, which they often did not, probably in order to avoid taking the side of one of the litigant parties. Only witnesses that were called to a legal transaction and compensated for it were obliged to give evidence about this act.[47]

It appears that the use of oaths of innocence declined in the course of the years. Although there is insufficient evidence to draw a clear conclusion, it could be the case that continuous improvement in court recording provided better proof and oaths of innocence were needed less frequently. It is obvious that the *Schöffen* reverted to the court books in order to pronounce judgements about cases that referred to earlier legal actions. This was marked with the words '*nach lude des buches*...' ('according to the book…').

47 Haderbuch, *cit.* n. 29, fol. 208v, 32-4: '*Item Sigel und Clais Fien son sind gewiset soliche redde alse sie gehort | han und nit winkauff lude sin oder beredtlude sin oder nit gebeden waren | so sind sie nit schuldig zu sagen sie tun iz dann gerne*'.

Conclusion

The schedule shows that oaths of innocence were commonly used in the court of Ingelheim around the year 1400. It also shows that they were not used excessively to thwart every accusation. Presumably there were some perjuries among the large number of oaths. We can, however, assume that the court of Ingelheim would not have been able to achieve and keep up its excellent superregional reputation if its decisions were based merely on the abuse of false oaths. For nearly two hundred years it kept its high prestige and advised many other courts in legal matters. If the number of perjuries had exceeded the number of rightfully sworn oaths, the losing parties would have become discontented, the court's rulings would have been regarded as unfair and people would no longer have gone to seek justice from the *Schöffen* of Ingelheim.

The reasons why this method to determine the outcome of a lawsuit fulfilled its function are mainly social. Oaths certainly functioned better in a small community where everybody knew each other. A court trial took place in the judicial region of the accused, because only in this way did the court have the authority to assign land as a refund to the plaintiff in case of a conviction. This means that the person who swore an oath of innocence was known to the court and to the bystanders. Knowing that this person was a respectable member of the community was a crucial prerequisite for allowing the accused to take an oath of innocence. It was easier to estimate when someone was telling a lie and it was probable that after a false statement the truth would surface sooner or later. This system functioned, because at least theoretically the whole village community was present and took part in the court session. With the growth of towns the use of oaths declined, and at this time in the cities many more legal actions were already recorded in written form.

With the limited capacities of the court in the countryside, oaths helped to keep the peace in the community, because they were commonly accepted as a traditional means to end a trial. From the villagers' perspective, the system had proved its value for many generations and everybody had the same right to free himself from an accusation. Oaths of purgation fulfilled their purpose, because the community's unexpressed consensus supported this system. A plaintiff knew and accepted that he had to present some proof of his claim, otherwise the accused would clear himself of the accusation with an oath. In a way this resembles modern judicial principles, like the presumption of innocence until proven guilty. This institution may have been quite effective in retaining communal peace, often more so than the more 'modern' inquisition trials if we look at some of their side effects, such as the corruption of social communities by distrust and denunciation.

Leaving aside the social reasons, we have to assume a different mentality if we want to fully explain the positive effect and judicial effectiveness of oaths of innocence in the medieval village court. Faith did not go so far as not to regard written documents and trustworthy witnesses as proof of higher value. But in their absence it was generally accepted that one could call upon God, as a divine witness and judge, to judge the truthfulness of a statement. While this appears irrational to the modern observer, it must have seemed absolutely logical for someone who believed in an omniscient God who intervened in everyday life in order to ensure justice.

Divination and Community in Cicero's *De Divinatione*

Celia E. Schultz

The present paper considers how Cicero's dialogue on divination (*De Divinatione*) fits in with the practical, political program of benefitting the Republic that he claims for his philosophical oeuvre as a whole. Divination was an important part of not only private life in the Roman Republic (at weddings, business transactions, travel, etc.), but also of public life. Every major act of government – elections, meetings of the Senate, votes on legislation, military campaigns – was preceded by an act of divination: the Roman state always sought the gods' approval before undertaking anything significant.

Even though divination played an essential role in governmental decision-making, the dominant trend in modern scholarship on *De Divinatione* is to restrict discussion of the dialogue to what it reveals of its author's personal disbelief in divination as a tool for predicting the future.[1] Such a focus, however, overlooks the possibility of any wider implications for the text. This paper seeks out some of those wider implications, moving away from the question of the author's personal opinion to focus instead on how the multiple voices in *De Divinatione* combine to present the praxis of divination as critical to the self-definition of the Roman people and to establishing the Romans among the nations of the world. Although the speakers in *De Divinatione* present opposing arguments about the validity of divination, they are united in approving its political and social value. It is this emphasis on divination as a praxis that defines nations, including the Romans, that allows *De Divinatione* to contribute to Cicero's political program.

After sketching the background for *De Divinatione* within Cicero's philosophical works, the discussion turns to consider how the speakers in the dialogue present divination as a universal human phenomenon, especially one with political importance among the nations of the world, and how it provides cohesion within the Roman state.

De Divinatione Within the Philosophical Corpus

It is not coincidence that the two major periods of Cicero's philosophical activity correspond to the two periods of enforced political inactivity he endured, namely, after his return from exile in 57 BCE and again in the early 40s, when Caesar dominated the political landscape. For Cicero, philosophy became not a retreat from politics but rather a suitable alternative to traditional political activity, another avenue through which he could serve the Republic when a more public forum (pardon the pun) was not available to him. He explicitly draws an equation between philosophy and public service in the introductions to several of his works.

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[1] Important, recent representatives of this type of approach are S. Timpanaro, 'Alcuni Fraintendimenti del *De Divinatione*', in S. Timpanaro, *Nuovi Contributi di Filologia e Storia della Lingua Latina* (Testi e Manuali per l'Insegnamento Universitario del Latino 38) Bologna 1994, 241-64, esp. 260; D. Wardle, *Cicero: On Divination, Book I*, Oxford 2006, 13; F. Guillaumont, *Le* De divinatione *de Cicéron et les théories antiques de la divination* (Collection Latomus 298), Brussels 2006, 328-9.

The most forceful such statement is found, somewhat surprisingly, in the preface to the second book of his dialogue *De Divinatione*:

> After long and serious consideration of how I might benefit as many people as possible, lest I should ever cease to serve the State, nothing better occurred to me than to instruct my fellow citizens in the ways of the very best arts, which I think I have already accomplished through my numerous books.[2]

Cicero's numerous philosophical works[3] share a focus on the effect of philosophy on human behavior and on the functioning of society, although this theme plays out differently in the works from each period of his philosophical output. The writings from the 50s share the aim of making Greek (especially Platonic) ideas about the nature of public life and public institutions accessible to a Roman audience, with each work highlighting the role of the orator as statesman and philosopher. Those from the 40s make less of their Platonic models and more frequently follow the Academic practice of comparing the arguments on all sides of a question. Furthermore, though Cicero also sees them as contributing to his political work, these later writings also have a different aim, namely, providing the reader with an encyclopedic introduction to the main subjects of Greek philosophical inquiry: logic (*Academica*), ethics (*De Finibus, Tusculanae Disputationes*), theology (*De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione,* and *De Fato*) and physics (which, for Cicero, overlaps considerably with theology).[4] The political relevance of treatises on such personal topics as old age, grief, or, what will be the focus of the present discussion, theological issues, is not immediately obvious.

Cicero wrote a group of three works in late 45 and early 44 that deal with the relationship between men and gods: *De Natura Deorum* and the two less ambitious works attached to it, *De Divinatione* and *De Fato*. Even though the passage quoted above comes from Book Two of *De Divinatione* and even though Cicero himself asserts that *De Divinatione* contributes to his political program, little attention has been paid to how these works, either as a group or individually, could be seen as benefiting the state. Many modern readers think of belief – in the gods, in divination, in fate – as an interior, personal affair, and as a result, much scholarship on these theological texts is cast in terms of what they might reveal about Cicero's personal opinions or, conversely, how Cicero's personal situation in the years 45 and 44 might have prompted him to turn to religious topics.[5]

Of course, Cicero encourages these questions. In both *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*, he identifies his primary motivation for writing philosophy: his enforced political inactivity due to the ascendancy of Julius Caesar.[6] To this is added, in *De Natura Deorum* 1.9, his need for solace and distraction from his grief at the death in 45 of his daughter, Tullia. Cicero's decision to write *De Divinatione*, with which we are concerned particularly here, does require some explanation. It cannot easily be ascribed to his desire to

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2 *Div.* 2.1: '*Quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti quanam re possem prodesse quam plurimis, ne quando intermitterem consulere rei publicae, nulla maior occurrebat, quam si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus; quod conpluribus iam libris me arbitror consecutum*'. Cicero goes on to catalog his philosophical works to date (2.1-4), presenting them as part of a unified political project. The theme of philosophy as political activity continues through to the end of the preface at 2.7. Similar statements are found in, e.g., *Tusc.* 1.3, *nat. deor.* 1.6-7, *off.* 1.1. See the comments of C. Steel, *Reading Cicero: Genre and Performance in Late Republican Rome,* London 2005, 136-40.

3 Approximately twenty-four different works, including most of his rhetorical works. See J. G. F. Powell, 'List of Cicero's Philosophical Works', in J. G. F. Powell (ed.), *Cicero the Philosopher*, Oxford 2002, xiii-xvii.

4 M. Schofield, 'Cicero For and Against Divination', *JRS* 76 (1986), 47-65, esp. 48; J. G. F. Powell, 'Introduction: Cicero's Philosophical Works and Their Background', in J. G. F. Powell (ed.), *Cicero the Philosopher*, Oxford 2002, 1-35, esp. 4-11.

5 For example, A. Momigliano, 'The Theological Efforts of the Roman Upper Classes in the First Century B.C.', *CP* 79 (1984), 199-211, esp. 207-11; F. Guillaumont, *Philosophe et augure: recherches sur la théorie cicéronnienne de la divination* (Collection Latomus 184), Brussells 1984, 166.

6 *Nat. deor.* 1.7; *div.* 2.6. The fragmentary *fat.*, the last of the theological works, was written after the death of Caesar (*fat.* 2).

cover the major topics of Greek philosophy: divination rarely received full-length treatment by Greek philosophers.[7] The topic, however, was of central importance to Roman religion and to the proper functioning of the Roman state, had been the subject of study by several of Cicero's contemporaries,[8] and it was close to Cicero's heart: he had been an augur for nearly a decade when he sat down to write the dialogue. For Romans, divination was an important element in political life, affecting decisions to hold elections, to go to war, and to undertake any major action.

There is no denying the intensely personal feel of *De Divinatione*. Cicero has cast himself as one of the two characters in it. The dialogue is filled with stories of his friends and rivals. Cicero has also adorned *De Divinatione*, more so than most of his *philosophica,* with snippets of his favorite plays and poems (including his own work). Even the setting of the dialogue is just about as intimate as possible: a leisurely conversation between the brothers Marcus and Quintus Tullius Cicero as they spend a day strolling about one of Marcus's country estates with no one around to hear what is said.[9]

The conversation centers on their disagreement over whether or not the gods send signs that foretell future events: Quintus is certain that some forms of divination really are valid, while Marcus is not. Quintus spends nearly the entire first book defending the Stoic position, which accepted the validity of prophetic dreams, oracles, inspired prophecy, and all sorts of technical divination (the term given to predictive disciplines like astrology that involve the application of developed principles and rules). Quintus builds his argument in a typically Stoic fashion, that is, he defends divination by heaping up examples of accurate predictions, such as his twenty-five examples of prophetic dreams.[10] The rationale for such a method of defense is in part that, in the view of the Stoics, a person need not be able to explain why divination worked. He only needed to demonstrate that it did work.[11] At the end of his vigorous argument,[12] Quintus distances himself from some of it – he's not going to follow the Stoics on the truthfulness of lot divination, for example. Nonetheless, Quintus admits to agreeing in general.

In the second book Marcus[13] levies a hard-going Academic critique of the Stoic position, taking up most of Quintus' *exempla* for individual scrutiny. Like Quintus, Marcus argues a more absolute position than he actually holds, as he makes clear:

> And I said, 'Indeed, Quintus, you have defended the position of the Stoics like a Stoic and with precision, and what pleases me especially, you used a lot of Roman examples, famous and distinguished ones at that. Therefore I must speak to these arguments you have made – but in such a way that I assert nothing positively. I, who am generally in doubt and unsure of myself, will call everything into ques-

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7 Those Greeks who did devote much effort to the topic, especially Panaetius and Posidonius, spent significant time in the company of Rome's elite. See Schofield, *cit.* n. 4, 48-51.

8 Among those who had written on augury was Ap. Claudius, Cicero's augural colleague mentioned at *div.* 1.29-30, 105, and 132 as a believer in the validity of augury. At *div.* 2.75, Claudius is contrasted with another, more skeptical member of the college, C. Marcellus, who also wrote on the topic. Most important among Latin works on haruspicy will have been those of two other contemporaries of Cicero, Tarquitius Priscus and A. Caecina. Divination in general figured prominently in the various of works of two other of Cicero's friends, P. Nigidius Figulus and M. Terentius Varro, who published widely on religious topics. For a thorough consideration of the remains of Late Republican work on divination, see E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, Baltimore 1985, 298-316.

9 1.8 and 2.28.

10 Mention of earlier collections of *exempla* is made at *div.* 1.39, 71 and 2.8, 145; Schofield, *cit.* n. 4, 51-2. The passage on divinatory dreams runs 1.39-59.

11 A point reiterated at 1.12, 16, 86, and 127.

12 1.132.

13 By calling him thus, I follow the example of M. Beard, 'Cicero and Divination: The Formation of a Latin Discourse', *JRS* 76 (1986), 33-46, in distinguishing the literary character Marcus from the historical person Cicero.

> tion. For if I were to accept anything I am saying as certain, I, who am saying there is no divination, would be divining.'[14]

Despite this distancing of himself from the argument he is about to make, and despite the author's own statement of uncertainty in the introduction to the work as a whole (at 1.7), many scholars identify Marcus' critique with Cicero's personal opinion, though there are strong arguments for distinguishing between them.[15]

A different, perhaps more interesting question is how Cicero has cast *De Divinatione* so that it contributes to the overarching political program he envisioned for his philosophical works. In what follows, I argue that the voices of Cicero (as author, in the prefaces to each of the two books of the dialogue), Quintus, and Marcus all serve to reinforce one another despite their apparent individuality, and that the combination of these three perspectives brings to the foreground the particular divinatory issue that interests the author: the proper role of divination in Roman public life. This investigation is especially appropriate for this volume since the dialogue is preoccupied with divination, often a private matter, as an official activity, including its role in shaping governmental decision-making, in forming Roman society, and in defining Rome among the nations of the world. That the political and the personal should be so inextricably intertwined in a work by Cicero, a man who drew little or no distinction between his public and private life, is hardly surprising.

A Universal Human Phenomenon

At the broadest level, the speakers in *De Divinatione* agree that divination is a universal practice that defines humanity. Cicero starts off the work with an address to his reader in his own voice in which he defines his topic and justifies his attention to it. These opening lines set the terms of discussion for the rest of the work, and I will come back to them later, so they are worth quoting at some length:

> There is an ancient opinion derived from as far back as the time of the heroes and supported by the consensus both of the Roman people and of all nations that practiced among men is a certain 'divination', which the Greeks call *mantikē*, that is, the preperception and knowledge of things to come. Indeed, an excellent thing it would be – and beneficial – if only it exists, and through it the nature of mankind would be able to draw especially near to the power of the gods. So, as in many other matters, we do this better than the Greeks: in that our ancestors derived the name for this most exceptional thing (*divinatio*) from the gods (*a divis*), whereas the Greeks derive it from madness (*mania*), as Plato understood it. Indeed, I see no people so humane and refined or so monstrous and savage that they do not think future events are portended and can be understood and foretold by certain individuals.[16]

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14 *Div*. 2.8: '*atque ego "adcurate tu quidem" inquam "Quinte et Stoice Stoicorum sententiam defendisti, quodque me maxime delectat, plurimis nostris exemplis usus es, et iis quidem claris et inlustribus. dicendum est mihi igitur ad ea quae sunt a te dicta, sed ita, nihil ut adfirmem, quaeram omnia dubitans plerumque et mihi ipse diffidens. si enim aliquid certi haberem quod dicerem, ego ipse divinarem, qui esse divinationem nego"*'.

15 For works that treat Book Two as Cicero's personal opinion, see n. 1. The case for separating the historical Cicero from the argument made by Marcus has been made, from various angles, by Beard, *cit.* n. 13; B. Krostenko, 'Beyond (Dis)belief: Rhetorical Form and Religious Symbol in Cicero's *de Divinatione*', *TAPhA* 130 (2000), 353-91; and C. E. Schultz, 'Argument and Anecdote in Cicero's *De Divinatione*', in P. B. Harvey Jr. – C. Conybeare (eds), *Maxima Debetur Magistro Reverentia*: *Essays on Rome and the Roman Tradition in Honor of Russell T. Scott* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 54), Como 2009, 193-206.

16 Div. 1.1: *'Vetus opinio est iam usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus eaque et populi Romani et omnium gentium firmata consensu, versari quandam inter homines divinationem, quam Graeci mantikh_n appellant id est praesensionem et scientiam rerum futurarum. magnifica quaedam res et salutaris, si modo est ulla, quaque proxime ad deorum vim natura mortalis possit accedere. itaque ut alia nos melius multa quam Graeci, sic huic praestantissimae rei nomen nostri a divis, Graeci ut Plato interpretatur a furore duxerunt. Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam neque tam inmanem tamque barbaram, quae non significari futura et a quibusdam intellegi praedicique posse censeat'*.

Here Cicero strikes a cautious and judicious tone that he maintains throughout his opening comments. He stresses the antiquity and ubiquity of belief in divination, which has also unified public opinion at Rome and ensured Rome's place within the community of nations (*et populi Romani et omnium gentium firmata consensu*).

Divination as a universal, international phenomenon is also a major part of Quintus's proof of divination. He makes a great deal of the consensus that has formed around the idea of divination, bringing up a veritable parade of nations in the *exempla* that are the core of his argument: Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Gauls, Indians, Ethiopians, Syrians, Cilicians, and Phrygians all appear. The Greeks are sometimes treated as a single entity, sometimes subdivided: Boeotians, Athenians, Spartans, and Sicilians get particular attention. Of the peoples in Italy, the Etruscans appear most often, a fact that is not surprising given their reputation for prophecy and expertise in technical divination. The Umbrians and Volscians appear as well. Quintus gives far more authority to the *consensus omnium gentium* than it receives in Cicero's cautious comment (1.1, above). Whereas Cicero says that divination is supported (*firmata*) by the consensus of the Roman people and of all nations, Quintus asserts that such agreement proves its existence (*conprobata*, 1.11). Later on, Quintus lists the types of evidence he has on his side, a list that has as its climax the *consensus omnium*, cast in international, political terms:

> Why then should there be any doubt that what I have argued is most true, if reason sides with me, if on my side are the outcomes of events, peoples, nations – Greeks, barbarians, and also our ancestors – if it has always been thought to be so, if in agreement with me are the greatest philosophers, poets, the wisest men who established states and founded cities?[17]

In his rebuttal of Quintus' argument, Marcus does not deny the universality of divination in a straightforward way. Rather, he comes at it from two different angles. First, he ridicules the *consensus omnium gentium* by pointing out that it may be evidence of nothing more than universal foolishness.[18] His second method of attack on the *consensus* is to undercut its existence by pointing out the variety of interpretive divinatory systems that exist in the world. How can there really be a *consensus* if Roman and Greek diviners disagree whether thunder on the left or on the right is a positive sign? Or if Etruscan, Greek, Egyptian and Punic experts don't agree how to interpret entrails?[19]

A Universal Political Phenomenon

But divination is not just a universal cultural phenomenon. It is also a universal political one, and it is in civic terms that all the speakers cast the majority of their arguments. To return to the introduction of the work as a whole (quoted above, n. 17), Cicero emphasizes this point in the very first sentence with his reference to divination as a unifying force within the Roman state: it is the object of the *consensus populi Romani*. The political theme continues a little further on in the introduction with a catalog of nations that traces the general chronological development and westward movement of divination as established by ancient tradition.[20]

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17 *Div.* 1.84: '*Quid est igitur cur dubitandum sit, quin sint ea quae disputavi verissima, si ratio mecum facit si eventa si populi si nationes si Graeci si barbari si maiores etiam nostri si denique hoc semper ita putatum est, si summi philosophi si poetae si sapientissimi viri qui res publicas constituerunt qui urbes condiderunt*"?

18 *Div.* 2.81: '"*At omnes reges, populi, nationes utuntur auspiciis." quasi vero quicquam sit tam valde quam nihil sapere vulgare, aut quasi tibi ipsi in iudicando placeat multitudo!'* ("But all kings, peoples, and nations employ auspices." As if indeed there were anything so exceedingly common as knowing nothing or as if the judgment of the masses would please you!)'.

19 *Div.* 2.82 and 28.

20 *Div.* 1.2-3. For the ancient theories of the development of astrology, see T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, London 1994, 9-31.

The Assyrians, among whom the Chaldeans were preeminent, first developed astrology. The Egyptians had been practicing it for a long time, too. The *nationes* of Cilicia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia practiced divination, noting the behavior of birds – as Cicero knows from his personal experience as their governor. The Greeks never set up a colony anywhere in the Mediterranean without first consulting an oracle.

Each of these foreign societies is identified with a particular form of divination. What distinguishes the Romans, we learn at 1.3-4, is the variety of divinatory forms the state observed. Cicero is interested here only in public forms of divination. He begins with Romulus, who established the city after taking the *auspices*, that is, after he had watched for and interpreted signs sent by Jupiter in the flight, song, and behavior of wild birds. He then moves on to the *haruspices*, the Etruscan diviners regularly consulted by the Roman Senate throughout the history of the Republic. Despite their importance to the maintenance of Rome's relationship with the gods, the *haruspices* always remained a foreign entity within Roman religion.[21] Also of foreign origin (Greek, this time) is the next item in Cicero's list: the Sibylline books. This collection of prophecies in Greek hexameters was under the control of one of Rome's public priesthoods (the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* – The Board of Fifteen Men for Performing Rites), but they could only consult the books when the Senate ordered it.

The list of divinatory forms used by the Roman state concludes with two instances of 'natural divination', that is, communication directly from the gods to mortals, that date from Cicero's own lifetime. Both involve the highest levels of Roman government. The first is the inspired prophecy of someone named Cornelius Culleolus, presumed to be one of the diviners relied on by Cn. Octavius, the consul of 87 famous for his reliance on unsavory diviners and who illegally took up arms against his colleague L. Cornelius Cinna (the *Octaviana bella* mentioned by Cicero here).[22] Culleolus is otherwise unknown, but his name identifies him as a member of one of Rome's senatorial families. Cicero's second example of natural divination is the extraordinary situation of the Senate of Rome being moved to action by the report of a dream in 90 BCE. It is significant that the dreamer, a woman named Caecilia Metella, was a member of one of the most prominent political families of the late second and early first centuries, and that Cicero points out it was the consul of the year who was charged with overseeing the refurbishment of Juno Sospita's temple prompted by Caecilia's dream.[23]

The political cast of the preface to Book 1 is continued by Quintus. Though he draws some evidence from Greek sources, he takes much of his supporting material from Roman sources and recent history. This is something of a shift from much of Cicero's *philosophica,* where Greek material is plentiful and what Roman material does appear is taken almost entirely from the distant past.[24] In *De Divinatione,* Quintus illustrates his arguments with multiple tales about the main political actors of the mid-first century BCE: Pompey, Caesar, Crassus, Cato, and of course, Cicero himself. They are joined by less prominent players in the disastrous events of the 50s and 40s: Deiotarus, the king of Galatia who sided with Pompey and was with him at Pharsalus; the Druid Divitiacus, a close friend of the *Cicerones*; Q. Cicero, not just as an interlocutor, but as a participant in past events; Ap. Claudius, Cicero's augural colleague; and C. Coponius, who led the Rhodian fleet for Pompey.[25] We can also add Q. Rosicus – not technically a political actor, but rather a

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21 Etruscan names dominate the literary and epigraphic record for *haruspices*. See G. Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2007, 150-64.

22 Plut. *Mar*. 42.4. T. P. Wiseman, *Historiography and Imagination*, Exeter 1994, 59.

23 See C. E. Schultz, 'Juno Sospita and Roman Insecurity in the Social War,' in C. E. Schultz – P. B. Harvey, Jr. (eds), *Religion in Republican Italy* (Yale Classical Studies 33), Cambridge 2006, 207-27.

24 Schofield, *cit.* n. 4, 49-51; Steel, *cit.* n. 2, 106-14.

25 Deiotarus, *div.* 1.26-7. Divitiacus, *div.* 1.90. Q. Cicero, *div.* 1.58. Claudius, *div.* 1.29-30 and 105. Coponius, *div.* 1.68-9.

stage actor who was well known to the likes of Catulus, Sulla, and Cicero.[26] The events of Cicero's own life, especially his consulship and later exile, are given a lot of attention. Finally, just in case his audience has not been paying attention, Quintus highlights the Romanness and timeliness of his argument by remarking whenever he switches from foreign *exempla* to weightier, more prestigious Roman ones and from ancient to more recent events.[27] The point is driven home again in Book 2 when Marcus in his rebuttal praises Quintus for his choice of material: He says '…what pleases me especially, you used a lot of Roman examples, famous and distinguished ones at that'.[28]

Marcus frequently casts his own arguments in distinctly political terms. I offer three examples. Early on, he makes the point that divination is the science of nothing: it has no single field of expertise. If we are sick we do not call a diviner; we seek out a doctor. We rely on astronomers to explain celestial phenomena, not diviners. Philosophers, not diviners, answer the big questions: what is good? what is evil? The list of areas of everyday life where divination has no business is capped by the argument that divination has no role in politics: Marcus concludes, 'When we are asking about what is the best type of state, what laws and customs are beneficial or not, will we bring in *haruspices* from Etruria or will our leaders and select men experienced in civil affairs settle the question?'[29] Later on, Marcus ridicules Quintus' argument that mice gnawing on some silver shields that hung in the temple of Juno Sospita were a sign of impending war. Mice are always nibbling something, Marcus retorts. Should he worry that, if he finds mice nibbling his copy of Plato's *Republic*, that it foretells disaster for Rome?[30] Finally, Marcus compares gods who send messages that cannot be understood without the aid of skilled interpreters to Carthaginians and Spaniards who address the Roman Senate without a translator.[31]

A Roman Phenomenon

Politics not only shapes the form of Marcus' argument, but it is also an important part of his overall position on divination. Like Quintus, Marcus picks up a theme first sounded in the preface to the work as a whole, but whereas Quintus makes much of divination's status as a universal practice, Marcus is more interested in the power of divination to unify the Romans. The idea of the *consensus populi Romani* had receded from view over the course of Book 1; Marcus returns it to the foreground in Book 2, though not as part of his critique of the Stoic position. Rather the *consensus populi Romani* appears in Marcus' repeated, defensive statements that even though he is arguing against the validity of divination, he feels the practice must be maintained.

Marcus' explanation of the value he sees in specific types of divination, namely augury and haruspicy, has two parts. He argues that these two most important forms of divination in public life should be maintained because of benefits rendered to the *res publica*.[32] It is not entirely clear what benefits he has in mind, but further on in his discussion of augury he elaborates on the *magnas utilitates rei publicae* it provides: 'We

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26 *Div.* 1.79. On the close relationship between orators and actors in the Late Republic, and in particular between Roscius and Rome's political elite, see E. Fantham 'Orator and/et Actor', in P. Easterling – E. Hall (eds), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge 2002, 362-76, esp. 364-7.

27 E.g. *div.* 1.29, 43, 55, 58.

28 *Div.* 2.8: '*…quodque me maxime delectat, plurimis nostris exemplis usus es, et iis quidem claris et inlustribus.*'

29 The passage runs *div.* 2.10-11, and concludes '*quid, cum quaeritur qui sit optimus rei publicae status quae leges qui mores aut utiles aut inutiles, haruspicinesne ex Etruria arcessentur an principes statuent et delecti viri periti rerum civilium*'?

30 *Div.* 2.59.

31 *Div.* 2.64.

32 *Div.* 2.28 and 70.

regard thunder on the left as the best auspices for everything except elections. This indeed was established for the sake of the Republic so that the leaders of the state would be the interpreters of voting, whether it was to decide cases, pass laws, or elect magistrates.'[33] Augury placed greater authority into the hands of Rome's political leaders.

The second reason for maintaining divination, in Marcus' view, is that it is something in which the Roman people participate (that is, it is part of the *communis religio*) and which the Roman people endorse (*ad opinionem vulgi*).[34] There is some temptation to see this as an endorsement of outright manipulation of the populace by politicians through divinatory interpretation. There is, however, good reason, in light of the emphasis throughout *De Divinatione* on the belief in, and practice of, certain forms of divination as a national characteristic, to interpret Marcus' remarks as indicating that *public*[35] divination is important because it unifies the Roman people through being part of their shared religious practices and it distinguishes the Romans among the nations of the world.

The uniqueness of the Romans in their divinatory habits is a theme emphasised by all three speakers in our dialogue. In the first sentence of his introduction to the dialogue, Cicero set the Romans ahead of everyone else, even the Greeks, precisely because of their better understanding of the nature of divination: Latin *divinatio* derives divination from the gods (*a divis*) and is, as is so much else done by the Romans, to be preferred to Greek *mantikē* which derives divination from madness (*mania*).[36] Because divination is a shared practice among nations, it is possible to judge those nations by the way they employ it. Quintus and Marcus agree that Romans use divination (augury in particular) differently from other peoples. They disagree, however, on whether that is a positive or negative thing. Marcus says Roman augury is easier to defend than Marsian augury since Roman augurs do not use the observation of birds to predict the future (thus implying that Marsians do).[37] Quintus laments the sad state of Roman augury, saying that the Roman augurs, Marcus among them, now ignore the auspices, though he notes the Cilicians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, and Lycians treat the auspices properly.[38] Quintus also identifies Marcus' colleague, Appius Claudius, as the only Roman augur who upholds the science of augury nowadays and, he adds that, for his trouble, Claudius is ridiculed by the rest of the college, who sometimes derogatorily call him a Pisidian or a Soranian augur.[39]

Conclusion

Each of the speakers of *De Divinatione* approaches divination in a unique way, yet the speakers are united in their understanding of divination as a universal phenomenon; the practice simultaneously unites and distinguishes the nations of world, including the Republic of Rome. For Cicero, in the introduction to the dialogue, this justifies his attention to divination, a subject which, based on Greek precedent, is not an obvious candidate for such extensive treatment as he will give it. For Quintus, in Book 1, the universal approval

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33 *Div.* 2.74, following A. S. Pease's punctuation: '*Fulmen sinistrum auspicium optumum habemus ad omnis res praeterquam ad comitia; quod quidem institutum rei publicae causa est, ut comitiorum vel in iudiciis populi vel in iure legum vel in creandis magistratibus principes civitatis essent interpretes*'. An almost identical explanation is given at *Div.* 2.43.

34 *Div.* 2.28 and 70.

35 Note that he is silent about forms not practiced by the state.

36 *Div.* 1.1: '*Itaque ut alia nos melius multa quam Graeci, sic huic praestantissimae rei nomen nostri a divis, Graeci, ut Plato interpretatur, a furore duxerunt*'.

37 *Div.* 2.70.

38 *Div.* 1.25.

39 *Div.* 1.105. Cf. Krostenko, *cit.* n. 15, 361-5.

and practice of divination by national governments proves its validity. For Marcus, in Book 2, divination's status as something practiced and endorsed by the citizens of the Roman state validates the continuance of divination in public life whether or not augury, haruspicy, and the like were really able to reveal anything about the will of the gods and future events. All three speakers cast their discussions in explicitly political terms. Over the course of the dialogue, it becomes clear that the focus of *De Divinatione* is not private individuals who consult diviners for help with personal matters (though there is some of that), nor is the intended focus of the dialogue the author's personal opinion. Rather, Cicero is truly interested in divination as a public, governmental phenomenon, as he makes clear from the very beginning. Valid or not, in Cicero's day, divination marked Rome as one of the nations of the world, and it provided cohesion within the Roman state. And valid or not, the leaders of the state, including the very men who appear in the *exempla* in the dialogue, sometimes, including times of war, made their decisions based on it. *De Divinatione* is very much aimed at sparking reflection on public divination, and it is in this way that this deeply personal, seemingly private work contributes to Cicero's wider political program.

Ritual and Narrative in Late Medieval Miracle Accounts
The Construction of the Miracle

Gábor Klaniczay

Miracles constitute central elements in the cult of the saints. While alive, the charismatic holy men (or women) perform acts that appear miraculous in their environment and to the people surrounding them, and in many cases contribute to spreading their *fama sanctitatis* already in their lifetime. After their deaths, the miracles mediated by the saints to the benefit of those who turn to them for help constitute an indispensable element in their recognition as saints. The first reports of such miracles provide the *vox populi* that can trigger further investigations leading to the recognition of their sanctity.

The models for the healing miracles of the saints[1] were above all those ascribed to Christ in the Gospels, and the miracles *in vita* described in the late antique and early medieval 'holy biographies' did indeed amply draw upon this model. As Gregory of Tours put it, saints were repeating the acts of the Saviour, with the help of his *virtus*.[2] As for the other, quantitatively much more numerous, class of miracles, the *miracula post mortem*, which occurred near the relics[3] or even at a distance after a solemn vow addressed to the saint, other antique traditions may have had some influence (such as dream healing in the Asclepios temple in Epidauros, or holy wells and trees, or other faith-healing sites),[4] but the miraculous healing powers ascribed to relics belonged to one of the lasting and most successful innovations of the cult of the saints rising to prime importance in late antiquity,[5] unfolding massively in the later Middle Ages,[6] regaining a vast popularity at Early Modern Catholic cult-sites[7] and maintaining its importance till our present times.[8]

My study will examine the multilayered difficulties dealing with the historical source material documenting the miracles of Christian saints. My concern is not the miracles themselves. I will not address the complicated issue of the veracity or the self-deceptive, fictitious nature of miracle accounts, and nor will

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* A first version of this paper was presented at a workshop on 'Miracles as epistemic things' organized by Fernando Vidal in the Berlin in October 2004, at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science. I have also benefited from the comments of colleagues on my views on this theme at two other occasions: in October 2005, at the University of Göttingen, under the auspices of Hedwig Röckelein, and at the Dubrovnik symposium of *Hagiotheca*, the Croatian association for hagiography in 2006 May. I came back to this subject, in the light of more recent research for the 2009 Tampere conference. I also owe thanks to Mathew Suff for stylistic help in English.

1 P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity,* Chicago 1981.

2 Greg. Tur., *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi*, in MGH SRM 1.2, 134-211.

3 E. Bozóky, *La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis,* Paris 2006.

4 E. J. Edelstein – L. Edelstein, *Asclepius. A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies,* Baltimore 1998 [1945]; L. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions. Text, Translation and Commentary,* Atlanta 1995; C. Prêtre – P. Charlier, *Maladies humaines, thérapies divines. Analyse épigraphique et paléopathologique de textes de guérison grecs*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2009.

5 A. Rousselle, *Croire et guérir. La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive,* Paris 1990.

6 M. Wittmer-Butsch – C. Rendtel, *Miracula. Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter,* Köln 2003; M. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350,* Aldershot 2007.

7 A. Burkardt, *Les clients des saints. Maladie et quête de miracle à travers les procès de canonisation de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle en France,* Rome 2004.

8 R. A. Scott, *Miracle Cures. Saints, Pilgrimage, and the Healing Powers of Belief,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 2010.

I discuss the insights that modern medical science can give to the explanation of these healings, trying to diagnose the specific (often psychosomatic or stress-related) nature of the illnesses healed at the shrines according to the diagnoses that could be deciphered and interpreted from the documents, and pointing out the role of belief and suggestion in the healing process.[9] My analysis will not extend to how miracles relate to the changing explanations of phenomena that defy the boundaries of human rationality and the explanatory capacities of natural sciences – I will not approach the fascinating relationship between miracle, wonder and the 'marvellous'.[10]

I will not dwell on the complex theology of miracles either, a field amply cultivated by learned historians of Christian doctrines,[11] following the evolution of sophisticated theological interpretations from Saint Augustine[12] to Saint Thomas Aquinas[13] and beyond.

My concern will be more limited: I will examine how one important fraction of the sources at our disposal, the miracle lists of late medieval canonization investigations, can reveal the mechanisms and rituals that construct the narratives in the descriptions of miracles. In the second half of my paper I will illustrate this with a few examples taken from the closer domain with which I am dealing as a historian: late medieval Central European canonization processes.

Judicially Recorded Miracles

Miracle accounts had been central components of hagiographic narrative since late antiquity. Besides being added to the accounts of the passion of the martyrs and the legends of confessor saints, miracle lists related to important shrines also showed up as an autonomous genre: those of St. Thecla, SS. Cosmas and Damian, SS. Cyrus and John, St. Artemios,[14] or later of St. Martin, Sancta Fides, St. Benedict[15] and others provided hundreds of miracle accounts with an elaborated narrative referring to eyewitnesses and including colourful oral reports. The hagiographic genre of the miracle has been analysed by a series of important conferences.[16] The most comprehensive analysis of early medieval miracles, the book by Pierre André Sigal, analyzed a total of 2050 posthumous healing miracles, collected from 76 saints' lives and 166 miracle lists, before the

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9 A. Harrington (ed.), *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration,* Cambridge, Mass. 1997.

10 J. Le Goff, 'Le merveilleux dans l'Occident médiéval', in J. Le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval,* Paris 1985, 17-39; L. Daston – K. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750,* New York 1998; C. W. Bynum, 'Wonder', in C. W. Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity.* New York 2001, 37-76.

11 J. A. Hardon, 'The Concept of Miracle from St. Augustine to Modern Apologetics', *Theological Studies* 15 (1954), 229-57; B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215,* Aldershot 1987; W. D. McCready, *Signs of Sanctity. Miracles in the Thought of Gregory the Great* (Studies and Texts, 91), Toronto 1989.

12 F. M. Brazzale, *La dottrina del miracolo in S. Agostino,* Rome 1964; S. Boesch Gajano, 'Verità e pubblicità: i racconti nel libro XXII del *De civitate Dei*', in E. Cavalcanti (ed.), *Il* De civitate Dei. *L'opera, le interpretazioni, l'influsso,* Rome 1996, 367-88.

13 B. Davies, *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas,* Oxford 1992, 169-74.

14 G. Dagron (ed.), *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle: texte grec, traduction et commentaire,* Bruxelles 1978; H. Delehaye, 'Les recueils antiques de Miracles de saints', *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925), 1-85, 305-25; A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges,* Paris 1971; for a recent overview, see I. Csepregi, 'The Miracles of St Cosmas and Damian. Characteristics of Dream Healing', *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 7 (2002), 89-122.

15 R. van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul,* Princeton 1993; K. Ashley – P. Sheingorn, *Writing Faith. Text, Sign and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy,* Chicago and London 1999; E. de Certain (ed.), *Miracula S. Benedicti*, Paris 1858.

16 E. Patlagean – P. Riché (eds), *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, Paris 1981; S. Boesch Gajano – M. Modica (eds), *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia,* Rome 2000; D. Aigle (ed.), *Miracle et karāma. Hagiograhies médiévales comparées,* Turnhout 2000; K. Herbers – M. Heinzelmann – D. R. Bauer (eds), *Mirakel im Mittelalter. Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen,* Stuttgart 2002; F. Vidal, *Miracles as Epistemic Things* (conference in Berlin 2004, volume still unpublished); M. Goullet – M. Heinzelmann (eds), *Miracles, vies et réécriture dans l'Occident médiéval,* Sigmaringen 2006.

end of the twelfth century.[17] Much of what can be said about this genre must be based on this important material.

Late medieval miracle documentation produced by canonization investigations, my narrower topic, allows, however, a much more detailed insight into this phenomenon than the corpus examined by Sigal. This rich material could offer us the hope of approaching some other layers of the 'miraculous', getting closer to experience, revealing more about the various modalities of its construction and providing considerably more varied forms of its representation. This is largely due to the papal centralisation of canonization, which occurred at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century and developed a new kind of precision by means of the judicial investigation of sanctity. As a row of studies[18] and a recent conference volume[19] have shown, the new procedure for the recognition of the cults of the saints was the outcome of a gradual evolution. With decisive steps made during the pontificate of Alexander III, it continued with the new style of papal canonizations of the time of Pope Innocent III, and had become stabilized by the time of the *Decretal* collection of Pope Gregory IX.

Following an official request accompanied by the description of the *vita* and the *miracula* (based on the emerging local *fama sanctitatis* and preferably a first rudimentary investigation), a committee consisting usually of three papal legates (commissioners) was nominated. They were asked to make an *inquisitio in partibus* at the places where the saint was active, and hear, with the assistance of the procurators, the testimonies of the witnesses, *de vita et miraculis*. This would be translated by sworn interpreters, recorded by professional notaries, and arranged by the committee for the purpose of submitting it for a further examination in the papal Curia. The consistory of the cardinals there subsequently analysed and criticized this evidence. If finally accepted, the canonization was pronounced and made public by a papal bull, providing the justification of the sanctity of the new saint and frequently containing a restrained selection of the miracles as well.

The model defined in the *Decretal* collection of Gregory IX prescribed the investigation of legitimate witnesses under oath.[20] A letter written at about the same time (in 1232) by the pope to Conrad of Marburg, responsible for the investigation of the sanctity of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, contained a precise description of the modalities of the examination of the witnesses. This text subsequently became known as *testes legitimi*, a passage to be inserted in each bull ordering a new investigation in view of the canonization of a new saint,[21] it illustrates well how legalistic the framework of this enquiry on the supernatural was: it intended to verify the trustworthiness and the *veritas* of the testimonies by a critical investigation of the available evidence.

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17 P.-A. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe–XIIe siècle),* Paris 1985.

18 E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church,* London 1948; A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques,* Rome 1981; M. Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 25) Stuttgart 1982; T. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter,* Köln – Weimar – Wien 2004; O. Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung, Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch.* (Archiv für Diplomatik, Beiheft 9) Köln – Weimar – Wien 2005; R. Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella* christianitas *(1198-1302),* Assisi 2006.

19 G. Klaniczay (ed.), *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux – Canonization Processes in the Middle Ages. Legal and Religious Aspects,* Rome 2004.

20 *Decretales Gregorii IX,* Lib. III, tit. XX, *De testibus et attestationibus*, c. 52.

21 '*Testes legitimi … diligenter examinentur et interrogentur … quomodo sciunt, quo tempore, quo mense, quo die, quibus presentibus, quo loco, ad cujus invocationem, et quibus verbis interpositis, et de nominibus illorum circa quos miracula facta dicuntur, et si eos ante cognoscebant, et quot diebus ante viderunt eos infirmos, et quanto tempore fuerunt infirmi, et de qua civitate sunt oriundi … Et series testimonii et verba testium fideliter redigantur in scriptis.*' L. Auvray (ed.), *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* (BEFAR, 2e série, 9)*,* Paris 1890-1955, col. 548, no. 913, cf. other variants in Paciocco, *cit.* n. 18*,* 43; T. Wetzstein, '*Virtus morum et virtus signorum?* Zur Bedeutung der Mirakel in den Kanonisationsprozessen des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Herbers – Heinzelmann – Bauer, *cit.* n. 16, 351-76, esp. 359, 372; Wetzstein, *cit.* n. 18*,* 538-9.

The 'fact-finding' investigations recorded in canonization protocols were aimed at authenticating miracles that had already taken place and were mostly even recorded in a first rudimentary manner. The 'original' *vox populi* was deconstructed, and the witnesses were summoned by the commission to testify of their previous assertion under oath and respond to the checking, investigating, even challenging questions of the inquisitors. Since Le Roy Ladurie's discovery of Montaillou and Carlo Ginzburg's meeting with Menocchio,[22] historians have come to know how much they owe to the evidence assembled and recorded by medieval inquisitorial investigations. In the footsteps of medieval inquisitors,[23] we can hope to have a detailed and critically tested insight into many tiny and intimate details of medieval everyday life, and also exceptional situations. The judicial-inquisitorial sources of canonization processes offer, in addition, serial sources for our investigation: the same miracle is described by several witnesses (sometimes by dozens or even several dozens), and these parallel accounts allow a nuanced enquiry.

Context and Ritual

The first vogue of historical anthropology based on inquisitorial documentation also provoked useful critical remarks from the side of more traditionally minded archival historians. [24] They reminded us that after the enthusiastic discovery of the copious judicial material the historian must go about very carefully with this evidence: the 'archives of repression' assembled by the inquisition contain testimonies that probably dissimulate and distort much more than they show and reveal. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is also true for the canonization processes, which rely on the same inquisitorial methods and show many similar features to the investigations concerning heresies.[25] The beliefs and experiences narrated by the witnesses of the miracles of the saint candidates, with all their colourful *Sitz im Leben*, are framed and distorted by several specific mechanisms of the investigation. The questions in the enquiry solicit and filter the information according to what fits the classificatory grid of learned hagiographic concepts of miracles. Translating and putting into writing the oral and mostly vernacular testimonies (a problem examined by Michael Richter,[26] Christian Krötzl[27] and Didier Lett[28]) can also add to the 'streamlining' of the miracle tales.

This ecclesiastical-juridical documentation of ongoing religious practices of the *populus christianus* not only restructured its already existing evidence but also set new miracle-producing processes in motion. The investigations themselves triggered new expectations and a sudden, although not very lasting, upswing

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22 E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324,* Paris 1975; C. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500*, Torino 1976.

23 C. Ginzburg, 'The Inquisitor as Anthropologist', in C. Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method,* Baltimore 1989, 156-64.

24 L. E. Boyle, 'Montaillou Revisited: *Mentalité* and Methodology', in J. A. Raftis (ed.), *Pathways to Medieval Peasants,* Toronto 1981, 119-40; M. Benad, *Domus und Religion in Montaillou. Katholische Kirche und Katharismus im Überlebenskampf der Familie des Pfarrers Petrus Clerici am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts,* Tübingen 1990; A. Del Col, *Domenico Scandella Known as Menocchio. His Trials Before the Inquisition (1583-1599)*, Binghampton 1996.

25 J.-M. Sallmann, 'Du bon usage des sources en histoire culturelle. Analyse comparée des procès d'inquisition et des procès de béatification,' *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 133 (1995), 37-48; D. Elliott, *Proving Woman. Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 2004.

26 M. Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte der elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts,* Stuttgart 1979, 171-219.

27 C. Krötzl, '*Vulgariter sibi exposito.* Zu Übersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationsprozessen', *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997), 111-8; C. Krötzl, 'Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zur Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeneinvernahmen bei spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen', *Hagiographica* 5 (1998), 119-40.

28 D. Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Age. Essai d'histoire sociale,* Paris 2008.

of the popularity of the shrine, supported by intensive propaganda on behalf of the promoters of the cult, sending circular letters to neighbouring parishes for the purpose of inciting all the ailing and needy to seek immediate healing and to contribute with their testimony (sometimes *sub poena excommunicationis*) to the success of the new saint candidate.[29] This can be verified from the statistical examination of the cluster of pilgrimages in canonization processes, very intensive at the beginning and quickly declining afterwards. Thus the *inquisitio* is partly responsible for producing the evidence that it intends to examine. Despite all the required factual precision, we are very far from the requested 'laboratorial' conditions. We should keep in mind the fact that this is the 'raw material' that was subsequently submitted to further inquisitorial, bureaucratic, clerical, theological and hagiographic re-elaboration.

To complicate matters even further, I must briefly recall here that, in addition to this 'officially' provoked and monitored upswing of pilgrimages and miraculous healings, there was another, more spontaneously emerging set of factors, which influenced the birth of these miracle narratives. Whether officially incited or spontaneously occurring, the miracles became the *nuclei* of a dramatic ritual complex: the seemingly timeless ritual sequence of faith-healing shrines. Discarding some obvious rhetorical exaggerations in the descriptions of these rituals (Philippe Buc made us aware of the dangers detecting rituals even where there is none[30]), we should probably give credit to testimonies speaking of huge crowds streaming to and fluctuating around these shrines. Desperate vows and imprecations surely belonged to the picture; sleeping around the relics was part of the prescribed scenario. All this could not fail to create a dense psychological climate for the drama of healing, seasoned by the groans of the afflicted and the enthusiastic, almost contagious, success proclamations: a kind of 'holy radioactivity',[31] a real *dynamique miraculeuse*.[32]

This means that despite all the official, institutional, ecclesiastical regulating mechanisms much of the miracle corpus feeds on an uncontrollable, grassroots phenomenon. The ways in which miraculous events are produced and documented already predestine them to a disturbing multiplicity.

The Problem of the Narrative

If we contemplate the resulting miracle accounts from the other side, and examine how the narratives themselves could be ordered and classified, further observations could be made. In the first place, instead of talking about one narrative, one has to work with a series of interrelated but differently fashioned accounts. In an article on 'Filiation and form in late medieval miracle story' Michael Goodich proposed that miracle stories, as we know them, could be seen as 'concentric circles focussing on the original transcendent event', where 'each new ring of transmission represents many authors who may claim participation in its composition'. The 'miraculous event per se', which Goodich placed at the centre of these concentric circles, cannot be dislocated from the cluster of social, psychological, institutional, ritual and religious factors that produced it. This should not, however, disturb us here, where we contemplate the transmission and communication of this story, once it has surfaced, for which the scheme provided by Goodich resumed the different stages very well: the verbal report of the participants of the event; the immediate audience of eyewitnesses, family and friends, who provide the social acceptance of the reports; the notaries, scribes and clerics, who are entrusted

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29 Such a wording is cited from the process of St. Leopold (1468) by Wetzstein, *cit.,* n. 21, 360; the lists of the solicited witnesses for the investigation on Nicholas of Tolentino (1325) and those who were really questioned at the shrine have been confronted by Lett, *cit.* n. 28, 139-55.

30 P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Tetxts and Social Scientific Theory,* Princeton 2001.

31 R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, *Popular Beliefs in Medieval England,* London 1977, 26.

32 Sigal, *cit*. n. 17, 165-225.

with translating and recording the event; the theologians, who place it in the context of the Christian theory of miracles; the hagiographer, who provides a literally elaborated version; the preacher, who transmits the miracle as an *exemplum* to a wider audience; the visual artist or composer, who summarizes the miracle in an iconographic or liturgical form.[33]

Starting with the kernel of the miracle story, the miraculous event 'per se' as narrated by the beneficiaries of the miracles themselves, we should observe that such stories, universally present in different forms of healing practice in history, are not only accounts, but have a specific therapeutic function; they are 'healing fictions'[34] in which the renewed formulation and the changing interpretations of one's own affliction, and the way of getting out of it, constitute a part of the healing mechanism. Such accounts could have been the basis of a diagnosis leading to a choice of medical or a supernatural (sacral or magical) remedy. Adjusted and reworked in dialogue between the ailing persons and their helpers or advisers, a rounded-up story is already there in the formulaic invocations where the help of the saint is asked for. Subsequently, these accounts are completed in the public announcements of the healing, where one can identify the first full-fledged version of the miracle story.[35]

As a second circle, there comes the reformulation of these stories by those who 'speak about it': the immediate eyewitnesses, family members, bystanders and spreaders of gossip. In the way in which they present the story, the operation of rhetorical, semantic and folkloric rules of oral transmission could be observed.[36] The rhetoric of judicial narrative is, as one can observe in early canonization protocols, such as those of St. Elizabeth, rather dry and factual.[37] The investigators and the scribes, however, could not resist including a number of catchy folkloric stereotypes and colourful literary characterizations – I will come back to such details.

Reading a large number of accounts, one can also observe the recurrence of a typical narrative sequence, which consists of a limited set of constitutive elements, such as the causes of affliction, diagnosis, diverse healing attempts, mediators, vow, pilgrimage, time, place, conditions of healing, public proclamation of the miracle, and thanksgiving offerings. In a few cases this could continue with the occasional negligence of the promises made and the ensuing relapse of the person into illness or other punishment. It seems fruitful to rely in the analysis of these narrative structures on the insights of folklore. The 'morphology' that Vladimir Propp elaborated for the analysis of the narrative structures of folktales could provide some insights here.[38] Propp interpreted the repetitive motifs of folktales by distinguishing typical actors and their functions (altogether 31), and by ordering the morphological forms and characterizing the combinations and

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33 M. Goodich, 'Filiation and Form in Late Medieval Miracle Story', *Hagiographica* 3 (1976), 306-22, esp. 306-7; the study is reprinted in his *Lives and Miracles of the Saints. Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography*, Aldershot 2004.

34 J. Hillman, *Healing Fiction,* New York 1983; J. M. Bernstein, 'Self-knowledge as Praxis: Narrative and Narration in Psychoanalysis', in C. Nash (ed.), *Narrative in Culture. The Uses of Storytelling in the Sciences, Philosophy, and Literature,* London – New York 1990, 51-80.

35 The close interrelationship and circularity of the healing ritual, and its oral and written accounts, have been examined on early medieval evidence by G. de Nie, 'Die Sprache im Wunder – das Wunder in der Sprache. Menschenwort und Logos bei Gregor von Tours', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 103 (1995), 1-25; G. de Nie, 'Text, Symbol and 'Oral Culture' in the Sixth-Century Church: the Miracle Story', *Mediaevistik* 9 (1966), 115-33.

36 J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History,* Madison 1985.

37 G. Klaniczay, 'Speaking About Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials', in A. Adamska – M. Mostert (eds), *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe,* Turnhout 2004, 365-96, esp. 384-5; on judicial narrative, see B. D. Jackson, 'Narrative Theories and Legal Discourse', in Nash, *cit*. n. 34*,* 23-50.

38 V. Propp, *The Morphology of Folktale* (trans. L. Scott), Austin 1968 [orig. 1928]; in his later, more comprehensive book, *Historical Roots of the Wondertale* [1946], he enriched these categories by further anthropological and historical insight, cf. the excerpts in V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore,* ed. A. Liberman, trans. A. Y. Martin – R. P. Martin, Minneapolis 1984.

repetitions of the individual episodes. Some of the functions pinpointed by him, such as VIII (damage or misfortune), XV (spatial migration between the two worlds, or pilgrimage), XVIII- XIX (victory, recovery of what had been lost, or healing) can very well characterize miracle accounts as well.

The analytical categories of Vladimir Propp and other folklorists were applied by Gerd Theissen in 1967 to biblical miracles.[39] Besides typical characters (such as the miracle worker, the postulant and the audience), he distinguished 33 motifs, among them several that can be used very well for the analysis of medieval miracle accounts as well, above all to those related to 'living saints', but *mutatis mutandis* also to those of their relics: the coming of the miracle worker (1), the appearance of the crowd (2), the appearance of the distressed person (3), the appearance of his representatives (4), the appearance of his opponents (6), cries for help (11), scepticism and mockery (14), the resistance and submission of the demon (16), setting the scene (21), touch (22), healing substances (23), the miracle-working word (24), recognition of the miracle (26), acclamation (31) and the spreading of the news (33). Theissen also defined six narrative themes (among them exorcisms, healings, rescue miracles, and so on), and analysed how in the miracle narratives faith and doubt intersected, and how compositional mechanisms reconfigured synchronic and diachronic structures. The historical analyses of miracles could not do without the awareness of the literary-narrative rules that shape their sources.[40]

A useful complement to this 'morphology of the miracle' could be provided by its confrontation with another set of serial sources, that of the 'negative miracles', the bewitchment and *maleficium* narratives to be read in late medieval and early modern witch trials. The comparison between miracles and bewitchments could be legitimized by a series of important similarities. The miraculous was in the uncanny neighbourhood of magic,[41] and the similarity of their respective effects could frequently only be distinguished by a careful 'discernment of spirits', for 'Satan himself goes disguised as an angel of light' (2 Cor. 11, 14).[42] Furthermore, the accounts of the *maleficia* of the witches, the diagnosis, and the action of 'unbewitching', as described by Jeanne Favret-Saada,[43] are just as much part of a popular therapy to explain misfortune and provide tools for coming out of it as the miracles of the saints are. This analogy prompted Robert I. Moore to examine the cure sought and obtained by miracles, as described in the miracle collections compiled by the monks of Cluny in the line of the analysis by Edward Evans-Pritchard on Azande witchcraft, interpreting them as a popular interpretation of misfortune in life and therapy to enable people to come to terms with it.[44]

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39 G. Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* (trans. F. McDonagh), Edinburgh 1983.

40 R. Grégoire, *Manuale di agiologia. Introduzione alla letteratura agiografica*, Fabriano 1996, 301-8; also Sigal, *cit.* n. 17*,* 79-163; M. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century. Private Grief and Public Salvatio,* Chicago and London 1995, 6-8; M. Goodich, *cit.* n. 33.

41 W. R. Schadel – B. J. Malina, 'Miracles or Magic?', *Religious Studies Review* 12 (1986), 31-9; V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, Oxford 1991; G. de Nie, 'Caesarius of Arles and Gregory of Tours: Two Sixth-Century Bishops and "Christian Magic"', in D. Edel (ed.), *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration. Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, Dublin 1995, 170-96; F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World,* Cambridge, Mass. 1997; L. Kolmer, 'Heilige als magische Heiler', *Mediaevistik* 6 (1993), 153-75.

42 N. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits. Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca 2003; G. Klaniczay, *The Process of Trance, Heavenly and Diabolic Apparitions in Johannes Nider's* Formicarius, in N. van Deusen (ed.), *Procession, Performance, Liturgy, and Ritual*, Ottawa 2007, 203-58, esp. 229-45.

43 J. Favret-Saada, *Les mots, la mort, les sorts. La sorcellerie dans le Bocage,* Paris 1977; J. Favret-Saada, *Corps pour corps. Enquête sur la sorcellerie dans le Bocage,* Paris 1981; J. Favret-Saada, 'Unbewitching as Therapy', *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989), 40-57.

44 R. Moore, 'Between Sanctity and Superstition: Saints and Their Miracles in the Age of Revolution', in M. Rubin (ed.), *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History,* Woodbridge 1997, 55-67.

It is on these bases that I have been experimenting with such a morphological analysis for more than fifteen years, comparing the narrative structures of miracle and bewitchment, distinguishing four important actors of miracle and bewitchment stories: 1) the *miraculé* or the victim of *maleficium*, 2) the diagnostician or advisor, 3) the saint (or her/his relic) and the witch, and 4) finally the person actively helping in the cure: the guardian of the shrine or the healer/witch doctor. In case of miracle stories I tried to distinguish seven morphological elements constituting an idealized sequence: sin, misfortune, supplication/vow, pilgrimage/ personal encounter, dream/vision, public penance/ renewed supplication, healing.[45] The analysis of numerous sequences of miracles or *maleficia*, the careful recording of the structural changes in their dominant patterns, allows a new type of approach to historical transformations in this seemingly immobile world of archaic religious stereotypes. One could sense slowly unfolding proportional changes in the structure of beliefs concerning the operation of – beneficial or maleficent – supernatural powers.

An example of this: in the course of, and probably because of, the evolution of canonization processes, medieval miracle belief and faith-healing witnessed a considerable change in this script.[46] From a majority of shrine miracles in the thirteenth century in most collections, by the fifteenth century the opposite proportions had started to prevail. In the investigations around the sanctity of John Capestran 84% of the 514 healing miracles recorded between 1458 and 1461 in Ujlak (Ilok) by the Hungarian Observant Franciscans were distance miracles, with only thanksgiving pilgrimages to the relics.[47]

We are far from the end of reviewing the 'concentric circles' of the transmission and reformulation of medieval miracle accounts: we could continue with the analysis of the rhetoric and literary clichés,[48] the genre of miracle as a *Faszinationstyp*,[49] the problem of memory in the miracle-accounts,[50] the elaborate scholastic speculations on miracle,[51] or the moral finality and pedagogical stereotypes of miracles,[52] especially stressed in sermons and exempla.[53] And there are also the additional vast dimensions of liturgy and iconography.

Instead of continuing in this direction, however, let me rather present some examples showing how this complex and difficult documentation allows different kinds of insight into medieval beliefs in miracles.

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45 G. Klaniczay, '*Miraculum* and *Maleficium*: Reflections Concerning Late Medieval Female Sainthood', in R. Po-Chia Hsia – R. W. Scribner (eds), *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen Bd. 78), Wiesbaden 1997, 49-74, and also in my 'La struttura dei racconti delle sventure e delle guarigioni. Un confronto tra miracoli di punizione e *maleficia*', in Boesch Gajano – Modica, *cit*. n. 16*,* 109-36.

46 Vauchez, *cit*. n. 18*,* 495-559, table XXX on 523; C. Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens in skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.–15. Jahrhundert)*, Helsinki 1994, 48-54; C. Krötzl, 'Miracles au tombeau – miracles à distance. Approches typologiques', in Aigle, *cit*. n. 16*,* 557-76.

47 S. Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran,* Budapest 2000.

48 H. Röckelein, 'Miracle Collections in Carolingian Saxony: Literary Tradition versus Original Creation', *Hagiographica* 3 (1996), 267-75.

49 H.-U. Gumbrecht, 'Faszinationstyp Hagiographie. Ein historisches Experiment zur Gattungstheorie', in C. Cormeau (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter. Kontakte und Perspektiven*, Stuttgart 1979, 37-84; an analysis on this basis was made by R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Sexual and Textual Violence in the 'Femme d'Arras' Miracle by Gautier de Coincy', in R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski *et al.* (eds), *Translatio Studii: Essays by His Students in Honor of Karl D. Uitti for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* Amsterdam 2000, 51-64.

50 U. Kleine, *Gesta, Fama, Scripta. Rheinische Mirakel des Hochmittelalters zwischen Geschichtsdeutung, Erzählung und sozialer Praxis,* Stuttgart 2007.

51 M. Goodich, 'A Chapter in the History of the Christian Theology of Miracle: Engelbert of Admont's (Ca. 1250-1331) *Expositio super Psalmum 118* and *De miraculis Christi'*, in M. Goodich – S. Menache – S. Schein (eds), *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period. Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* New York 1995, 89-110, now also in Goodich, *cit*. n. 33*,* XVII; Goodich, *cit.* n. 6*,* 8-28.

52 G. Klaniczay, 'Healing with Certain Conditions: The Pedagogy of Medieval Miracles', *CRMH* 19 (2010), 235-48.

53 M. Goodich, *cit.* n. 6*,* 29-46.

Three Central European Canonization Processes and a Glance to Subsequent Developments

As a first step, let me review the immediate documentary context from which my examples will come, the processes of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (or Thuringia), St. Stanislaus of Cracow and St. Margaret of Hungary.

St. Elizabeth's canonization process provides a good model for the organization of such an enquiry. After her death on November 17, 1231, her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, became the principal promoter of the campaign for her canonization, one of the three papal legates. From the beginning of 1233 about 700 witnesses were questioned and 106 miraculous healings recorded. After the murder of Conrad on 30 July, 1233, a new commission was nominated in October 1234, which re-examined some cases of the older list and added 24 new miracles. The protocols sent to Pope Gregory IX, may have involved some debate reflected in the curial treatise explaining the process and the arguments for Elizabeth's canonization[54] solemnly proclaimed and celebrated in the church of S. Domenico in Perugia at Pentecost 1235.

The canonization process of St. Stanislaus, a Polish martyr bishop killed in 1079, was first initiated by Iwo Odrowaz, Bishop of Cracow (1218-1229), and then carried through by another bishop from the same family, Prędota Odrowaz (1242-1266). The latter elevated his relics after 1243, and the first list of miracles at his grave was completed by 1250. This served for obtaining the permission of an official investigation. A pontifical legate from Italy, Giacomo da Velletri, directed the *inquisitio in partibus* in 1252, authenticating 52 miracles, using already the germs of a questionnaire, *articuli interrogatorii*, which helped the standardization of the responses of the witnesses in the canonization processes, and took the form of a *relatio* including the summaries of each miracle story, with the remarks made by the relevant witnesses. Stanislaus was canonized in 1253, and his major legend written after this by the Dominican Vincent of Kielcza included a reformulated, coloured narrative of these same miracles.[55]

The trial with which I have dealt most thoroughly is that of St. Margaret of Hungary, St. Elizabeth's niece, daughter of Béla IV, King of Hungary. She spent her life as a Dominican nun and died on January 18, 1270, in the royal convent founded for her on the Danube island subsequently to be named for her. The miracles at her grave started one year after her death. The pope soon delegated a first commission, which questioned between 1272 and 1274 at least 40 witnesses and recorded 10 miracles in life, 4 miraculous visions concerning Margaret's death and 29 *post mortem* miracles. A list of these was incorporated in the oldest legend of St. Margaret, probably written by her confessor Marcellus, Prior Provincial of the Hungarian Dominicans.[56] The investigation continued in 1276, with a new commission delegated by Pope Innocent V –

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54 A. Huyskens, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth*, Marburg 1908; P. G. Schmidt, 'Die zeitgenössische Überlieferung zum Leben und zur Heiligsprechung der heiligen Elisabeth', in *Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin Dienerin Heilige*, Sigmaringen 1981, 1-6; J. Leinweber, 'Das kirchliche Heiligsprechungsverfahren bis zum Jahre 1234. Der Kanonisationsprozeß der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen', in *ibid*., 128-36; O. Krafft, 'Kommunikation und Kanonisation: Die Heiligsprechung der Elisabeth von Thüringen 1235 und das Problem der Mehrfachausfertigung von päpstlichen Kanonisationsurkunden seit 1161', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte* 58 (2004), 27-82; G. Klaniczay, 'Il processo di canonizzazione di Santa Elisabetta. Le prime testimonianze sulla vita e sui miracoli', in L. Csorba – G. Komlóssy (eds), *Il culto e la storia di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria in Europa* (*Annuario 2002-2004. Conferenze e convegni*), Rome 2005, 220-32; K. B. Wolf, *The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary,* Oxford 2011.

55 W. Kętrzyński, *Miracula sancti Stanislai,* in *MPH* 4, 285-318; J. Pleziowa – Z. Perzanowski (eds), 'Cuda Świętego Stanisława', *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979), 47-141; cf. A. Witkowska, 'The Thirteenth-Century *Miracula* of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Krakow', in Klaniczay, *cit.* n. 19, 149-63; A. Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae: The Cult of Saint Stanislaus and the Patronage of Polish Kings 1200-1455*, Cracow 2008; S. Kuzmová, *Preaching Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow, His Image and Cult*, Warsaw 2012.

56 *Vita beate Margarite de Ungaria Ordinis Predicatorum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* II, Budapest 1999 [1938], 685-709.

consisting, this time, of Italian clerics – who recorded the testimonies of 110 witnesses. From the witnesses of the first investigation only those of 14 miracles were available at this time. On the other hand, the legates were able to find testimonies on 52 new miracles.[57] This raised the total number of her miracles to 95.

A general observation on the structure of the procedures: there were two rounds of investigations in all three cases, with some of the witnesses appearing before both commissions – this allows some insight into the transformation of the miracle accounts. The sequence of these processes also shows some evolution in the investigation procedures: while in St. Elizabeth's miracle lists there was only one case where, with a renewed questioning, the second commission added significant new elements to a miracle account judged irrelevant by the first commission,[58] in the acts of the second investigation of the miracles of St. Stanislaus we find a more systematic effort to check the truthfulness of the first set of testimonies that they care to record, for instance, if 'because of the distance' a witness could not come to the second hearing.[59] The second investigation of St. Margaret's miracles provides numerous cases of a thorough and interested scrutiny of the conditions or even the truthfulness of certain miracles. A routine question, for example, was whether the witnesses had not been 'coached' to tell a story that they did not actually witness. This might be the consequence of the evolution of the investigation criteria during the four decades between the two canonization trials.

The two lists of St. Margaret's miracles show also a much greater disparity. The first one, appended to the text of her oldest legend, bears the traces of an immediate hagiographic reformulation, giving only one highly coloured and polished 'story' for each miracle and making only an imprecise reference to the circumstances and the witnesses. The acts of the second investigation of Margaret's miracles, on the other hand, give a more faithful rendering of the witness hearings than those of St. Elizabeth do. They present the repetitive dialogue between the legates and the witnesses (*Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc,… respondit, … item dixit…*), and also make a regular reference to the person of the interpreters.[60]

Let me add here a glance to the subsequent evolution of canonization investigations, the large-scale processes of the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century (those of Louis IX, King of France, in 1282,[61] Peter of Morrone (Pope Celestin V) in 1306,[62] Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, in 1307,[63] Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, in 1308,[64] Claire of Montefalco

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57 V. Fraknói (ed.), *Inquisitio super vita, conversatione et miraculis beatae Margarethae virginis, Belae IV. Hungarorum regis filiae, sanctimonialis monasterii virginis gloriosae de insula Danubii, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Vesprimis diocesis*, in *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, Vol. 1, Budapest 1896*,* 162-383; on its analysis, see G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe,* Cambridge 2002, 195-242.

58 The healing of a blind girl, Gertrud of Wetzlar, cf. Huyskens, *cit.* n. 54*,* 231 and 249 (96/I and 7/II).

59 Kętrzyński, *cit.* n. 55*,* 299-300, 317-8, and Pleziowa – Perzanowski, *cit.* n. 55, no. XIX, XLIV.

60 G. Klaniczay, 'Raccolte di miracoli e loro certificazione nell'Europa centrale', in R. Michetti (ed.), *Notai, miracoli e culto dei santi,* Milano 2004, 259-88.

61 J. Le Goff, 'Saint de l'Eglise et saint du peuple: les miracles officiels de saint Louis entre sa mort et sa canonisation (1270-1297)', in *Mélanges Robert Mandrou,* Paris 1983, 169-80; L. Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297). Essai de reconstitution*, Rome 1994.

62 F. X. Seppelt (ed.), 'Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozess un dem Codex zu Sulmona', in *Monumenta Coelestiniana. Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstes Coelestin V,* Paderborn 1921, 211-334; P. Golinelli, *Il papa contadino. Celestino V e il suo tempo*, Firenze 1996, 213-47.

63 Partial publication of Thomas of Cantilupe's miracles from BAV Vat. Lat. 4015 in *AASS,* October I, coll. 585-696; cf. R. Bartlett, *The Hanged Man. A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages,* Princeton 2003; S. Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes,* Turnhout 2009.

64 M. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century,* Manchester 1929; *Processus Canonizationis et Legendae Varie Sancti Ludovici OFM, episcopi Tholosani.* (Analecta Franciscana VII) Quaracchi 1951; J. Paul, 'Miracles et mentalité religieuse populaire à Marseille au début du XIVe siècle', in *La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe siècle à la moitié du XIVe siècle, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 11 (1976), 61-90.

in 1318-1319[65] and Nicholas of Tolentino,[66] continue the production of an ever-increasing volume of evidence. The number of witnesses and their miracle accounts can rise to several hundred, and consequently the supporting documentation can also become quite monstrous. The *articuli interrogatorii* used in the process of Claire of Montefalco consisted of no fewer than 313 questions.

This same series of processes provides us with yet another type of precious miracle documentation, related to the so-called 'curial phase' of canonization processes. We possess a few valuable fragments of the curial treatises that re-examined the materials submitted by the *inquisitiones in partibus,* which show a rising awareness of the difficulty of assembling indubitable proof for miracles with such investigations.[67] They enumerate possible objections (*dubia*), resorting, besides theological arguments, to medical and 'scientific' ones, and formulate replies in advance. In the treatise written by a curialist, pronouncing an opinion of *sic et non* on 26 miracles from among 38 proposed for examination to the Curia by the enquiry held on Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, in 1307, one was rejected and three more were pronounced dubious. One of the latter was the case of a miracle of a child who had fallen from the top of a tower and been found with only a few minor fractures, instead of being dead as might have been expected. The anonymous curialist developed here a long theory of the fall of the bodies, quoting examples designed to demonstrate that the fact in itself was not impossible.[68] These fascinating debates illustrate that healing miracles, even at the highest level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were far from being self-evident by that time, and the ritual staging of healings, the rhetorical devices and narrative structures of the miracle accounts had precisely the function of enabling people to discard those doubts arising from learned circles or just common-sense scepticism.

Coming to such concrete examples, in the remaining part of my study I will examine three miracle accounts that might allow some glimpses at the diverse mechanisms that contribute to the construction of the miracle story. We will be able to discover the intrusion of folkloric narrative schemes into judicial records; we will see the interference of rational and miraculous explanations and even medical-sounding diagnoses; we will also learn how a typical theme of the miracles *in vita*, the power of the saint over nature, was received by the immediate surroundings; finally, I will compare the judicial miracle accounts with the loquacious ritual narratives in the legend written on the basis of these miracle testimonies in the fourteenth century.

Folkloric Narrative and Medical Rhetoric

The first story is a well-formulated narrative sequence from the miracle lists of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, a story of the healing of a peasant named Dietrich from the lameness of his hand, apparently attributed to bewitchment (his hitting a cat – apparently taken to be a disguised 'witch' in the night).

> Dieteric, a gravedigger from the diocese of Utrecht, said under oath that one night when he was sleeping, he was awakened – it seemed to him – by a cat. He raised his right hand so as to hit the cat only to lose the use of his arm. [Here we have a rather clear case where the help of the saint is called for to heal a bewitchment.] It remained crippled like this from Easter to the feast of St. John the Baptist two years ago. He visited the church of blessed Elizabeth twice but he was not cured, so he decided to go a third time to Marburg, full of devotion, this time with his wife. On the way he met an old man

65 E. Menestò (ed.), *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, *con un appendice documentaria di S. Nessi*, Firenze 1984.

66 N. Occhioni – A. Vauchez – D. Gentili (eds), *Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, Rome 1984; Lett, *cit.* n. 28; Katajala-Peltomaa, *cit.* n. 63.

67 Vauchez, *cit.* n. 18*,* 569-81; A. Kleinberg, 'Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages', *Viator* 20 (1989), 183-205.

68 Vauchez, *cit.* n. 18*,* 577-80.

> with a face that inspired reverence in the forest called Stheterwalt. Greeting the old man, he asked him where he was coming from. He responded that he was coming from Marburg … Dieteric then asked him if any miracles occurred there. He responded that there had been many. Dieteric then showed his debilitated hand. And the old man said to him: 'Go with confidence. You will no doubt be cured if, following my advice you put your paralyzed hand under the stone at the head of the sepulchre. The deeper you stick it in, the more quickly you will be cured. … [a number of other pieces of advice follow].' Once this has been said, and his blessing – in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit – had been bestowed, the two began to set out again. After taking five steps, they turned around, wanting to ask the old man something else. But he was not there. The couple was greatly amazed by this. … they went on to Marburg … [where he obtained the longed-for healing].[69]

Besides the valuable information on the ritual healing practices described here, touching and even penetrating the shrine, we can see the appearance of an archetypal character of the narrative structures of folktales: the miraculous supernatural advisor, a mysterious old man, appearing and disappearing in the forest, a typical scene of marvels and strange experiences, on the margins of civilization.[70] While usually concentrating on the dry facts, the papal legates and scribes could not resist this time recording the added adornments of the *imaginaire* as well. Although such clearly folktale-like narrative constructs and other folkloric occurrences are rather rare in the acts of canonization processes, we must not forget that they constituted an ever-present background to these stories, circulating among the lay and clerical clientele of these shrines. To mention only one example from the surroundings of thirteenth-century Marburg: the Cistercian abbot, Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180-1240), author of the first elaborate *vita* of St. Elizabeth,[71] was most well known for his popular and influential spiritual treatise entitled *Dialogus Miraculorum*,[72] reporting dozens of folktale-like stories on apparitions, spectres, ghosts and devils.[73] The thirteenth century, when the canonization processes opened the path for a massive ecclesiastical documentation of popular experiences and narratives on miracles, constituted also a period of an increasing receptivity of ecclesiastical culture to absorb, document (and subsequently discipline and repress) folkloric culture.[74]

The second story belongs to a frequent type among medieval miracles, the resurrection of a child who had suffered a fatal accident. This type of miracle has been studied in detail.[75] In St. Elizabeth's miracle collections nine resurrection miracles belong to this type. In the descriptions, the rhetorical emphasis on the visible evidence of death and also that of the return of life into the bodies of the deceased might be worth noting. We find here a combination of impressive narrative constructs with convincing-sounding medical

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69 Huyskens, *cit.* n. 54, 253-54; Wolf, *cit.* n. 54.

70 J. Le Goff, 'Le merveilleux dans l'Occident médiéval', and 'Le désert-forêt dans l'Occident médiéval', in J. Le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval*, Paris 1985, 17-39, 59-75.

71 A. Huyskens (ed.), Caesarius Heisterbacensis, 'Die beiden Schriften über die heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen', in A. Hilka (ed.), *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, Vol. 3, Bonn 1937, 329-90; O. Gecser, 'Lives of St. Elizabeth: Their Rewritings and Diffusion in the Thirteenth Century', *Analecta Bollandiana* 127 (2009), 49-107, esp. 62.

72 J. Strange (ed.), *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculroum*, 2 Vols, Paris 1851.

73 B. P. McGuire, 'Friends and Tales in the Cloister. Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*', *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980), 167-247; J. Berlioz – M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu, 'Césaire de Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*', in J. Berlioz – M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu (eds), *Les Exempla médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche, suivie des tables critiques de l'*Index exemplorum *de F. C. Tubach*, Carcassonne 1992, 91-109.

74 J.-C. Schmitt, *Le saint lévrier. Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1979; J.-C. Schmitt, *Religione, folklore e società nell'Occidente medievale*, Bari 1988; J.-C. Schmitt, *Le corps, les rites, les rêves, le temps. Essais d'anthropologie médiévale*, Paris 2001.

75 D. Lett, *L'enfant des miracles. Enfance et société au Moyen Âge (XII^e – XIII^e siècle),* Paris 1997; R. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*, Basingstoke 1997; M. Goodich, 'A Saintly Child and a Saint of Children: The Childhood of Elizabeth of Thuringia (1207-1231)', in Goodich, *cit*. n. 33*,* V; Wittmer-Butsch – Rendtel, cit. n. 6, 160-75; Goodich, cit. n. 6, 93-9.

indices. Thus, in the case of a deceased three-year-old boy, subsequently resurrected, we hear of 'all the signs of death: rigidity, paleness and coldness of the body' (2/I)[76]; the witnesses state that a stillborn child's upper body was completely black (13/I). The black coloration of the skin, together with the swollenness of the body and the fearfully wide open, motionless eyes, are also stressed in the detailed description of the resurrection of a four-year-old boy found drowned in a well (10/I).[77] As to the *signa* of the returning life, we hear of the returning breath (6/I, 13/I), the feeling of the pulse (7/I, 10/I), and subsequently, of course, the movements and the return to consciousness.[78]

In the canonization process of St. Margaret of Hungary, the most voluminous sequence of testimonies also relates to the resurrection of a child, crushed by a collapsing house. The story's lively first version is there in the first miracle list appended to the oldest legend (written probably by the confessor of Margaret, Marcellus).

> A large chunk of the wall and floor collapsed; the debris crushed the sleeping boy… With much time and effort they extracted the boy. He was so bruised and crushed that none of his limbs and bones seemed to be unbroken. … His tongue, which had been clenched between his teeth, was covered with blood… they began to invoke the mercy of God through the merits of the virgin Margaret. … the father left the dead boy at home with his relatives and ran with candles and offerings to the tomb of the virgin sister Margaret. There he poured out prayers to God and to His most glorious Virgin Mother, and commended his son's life and death to the prayers of the saint. He made his offering and finished praying at the tomb of the virgin Margaret. When he returned home at sunrise weeping for his only son, he met persons who ran up to him and said that while he was at the tomb his son had come to life again.[79]

In the protocols of the second round of investigations in 1276 we find five witnesses who gave a detailed account on this case.[80] The reported speech of the testimonies brings a considerable rhetorical colouring: the miracle accounts frequently resort to what Roland Barthes calls a 'reality effect',[81] whereby through the enumeration of details they infuse their stories with a sense of verisimilitude. The most vivid narration comes in the testimony of Elena, the aunt of the boy:

> … the wall fell down, and stones fell from a height onto the bed where the boy was lying…, they dragged him from the stones on cloaks, and no bones were alive within him, and they carried him dead to the courtyard, and many men and women gathered there and said, 'He will get up when those get up who have been dead for seven years'; and he remained that way until the middle of the night, and then we saw that there was life in him around the fork of his breast, and we saw no life in him in any other part of his body, and the next day his father went to the tomb of saint virgin Margaret, and when he came home, the boy spoke and said, 'Do me no harm', and on that day he rose up and walked around, and said that he had no distress, and that they should give him some chicken to eat.[82]

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76 Huyskens, *cit*. n. 54, 163. The numbers in brackets refer to the numbering of the scribes of the two miracle lists.

77 Huyskens, *cit*. n. 54, 171-2; There is a very detailed and insightful analysis of this miracle in N. Ohler, 'Alltag im Marburger Raum zur Zeit der heiligen Elisabeth', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 67 (1985), 1-40, esp. 12-8.

78 C. Krötzl, '*Evidentissima signa mortis.* Zu Tod und Todesfeststellung in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten', in G. Blaschniz *et al.* (eds), *Symbole des Alltags – Alltag der Symbole. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag,* Graz 1992, 765-75.

79 *Vita beate Margarite, cit.* n. 56, 701-2.

80 Testimonies No. 89, 106, 107, 109, 110; the text of three among them is only preserved in fragments. Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57, 354, 375-8, 380-3, the *lacunae* of the acts edited by Fraknói have been recently analysed by V. H. Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia. Garinus legendája nyomában* [St. Margaret of Hungary and Dominican Hagiography. In the Traces of the Legend by Garinus], Budapest 2005, 280-93.

81 R. Barthes, 'The Reality Effect', in R. Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, trans. R. Howard, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1989, 141-8.

82 Witness 106, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57, 375.

Beside the lively observations, at a closer look we can also discover the traces of some hesitations whether the boy had been really dead: apparently around midnight he seemed to come to life, and the father only departed to make a supplication at Margaret's grave, when these hopes seemed to vanish again. The inquisitors felt it to be their duty to try to clarify this issue, and insistently questioned the witnesses as to how they knew 'that the said boy was dead.' They enquired, 'who were present, when the mother of the said boy opened his eyes, and saw he was dead.' [83]Another neighbour, Michael, added that he touched him 'on the hand, and he was cold', and 'he had a small rupture on his jaw.'[84] We can also hear a rather sceptical voice on the resurrection of the boy from another neighbour, Andrew, who also participated in helping the child in danger, dragging him out from under the earth. In a slight opposition to the other testimonies, he states that he 'saw twice there was the motion of breathing', and when asked if the said boy had any breakage in any part of his body, he replied: 'No.'[85]

Despite such slight doubts, however, the noteworthiness of this miracle of Margaret remained apparently unchallenged: this was the one chosen to be represented on her sepulchral monument, prepared on the order of Queen Elizabeth in Margaret's convent on Rabbit Island (its original name) between 1336 and 1340 by the Neapolitan workshop of Tino da Camaino.[86] The reason for the enduring success of resurrection miracles, especially those related to children, might lie with the fact that these events had an especially intensive and traumatic emotional charge, and the saints' help was certainly pleaded for and gracefully recognized if the victim stayed alive. One might add to this, from the narrative point of view, that the opposition of death and life is a more clear-cut distinction than that of illness and sanity, and allows a rhetorical sequence where even the motif of the doubt and scepticism (is the victim really dead? can he/she be revived?) becomes endowed with a clear-cut function on the whole structure: it sets the right emotional tension for the miracle to occur.

Contradictory Accounts and Réécriture

My last detailed miracle story, also about St. Margaret of Hungary, could be examined from two angles: how the miracle accounts give an insight into the perception of such an extraordinary event within a smaller community, and, subsequently, how these individual testimonies got reformulated and reconstituted in hagiographic legend-writing.

There are several telling examples for the reverberation of a miraculous event in the slight variations of the accounts of immediate eyewitnesses, and the ensuing hagiographic elaboration of these texts (here again we have to refer to the studies by Michael Goodich[87]), this '*réécriture*' of miracles[88] can also be observed in the processes I have been dealing with right now. The most popular legend of St. Elizabeth, the

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83 Witness 107, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 377.

84 Witness 110, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 382.

85 Witness 109, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 380-1.

86 P. Lővei, 'The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Arpad Dynasty', *Acta Historiae Artium* 27 (1980), 175-222.

87 M. Goodich, 'The Judicial Foundations of Hagiography in the Central Middle Ages', in É. Renard *et al.* (eds), 'Scribere sanctorum gesta': *Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart,* Turnhout 2005, 625-44; M. Goodich, 'The Use of Direct Quotation from Canonization Hearing to Hagiographical *Vita et Miracula*', in G. Jaritz – M. Richter (eds), *Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context,* Krems 2001, 177-87, reprinted in Goodich, *cit.* n. 33; M. Goodich (ed.), *Voices from the Bench. The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials,* New York 2006.

88 J. Deploigne, 'Écriture, continuation, réécriture: la réactualisation des Miracles posthumes dans l'hagiographie des Pays-Bas méridionaux, ca 920 – ca 1320', in Goullet – Heinzelmann (eds), *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l'Occident médiéval,* Ostfildern 2006*,* 21-66.

Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum, was collated from the witness testimonies of Elizabeth's handmaids,[89] and this became the basis of most of her subsequent legends by Caesarius of Heisterbach, James of Voragine, Rutebeuf and Dietrich of Apolda.[90] Some other legends of hers, in addition, also drew on her amply circulating miracle lists (cf. the one recently edited by Lori Pieper), and added to them a few other more miracle stories, which stem from literary invention and have no precedents in the witnesses' hearings, such as the famous miracle of the roses, or the legend of the *leprosus* to whom she offered her own bed.[91]

The acts of the canonization process of St. Stanislaus[92] are found in the *Legenda maior* of St. Stanislaus, written by the Dominican friar Vincent of Kielcza around 1260, seven years after the canonization of the martyr bishop, which merges, regroups and rewrites the full miracle list of the bishop.[93] Aleksandra Witkowska made a detailed stylistic analysis of how the friar's account rearranged the order of the miracles.[94] He assembled at the beginning the six accounts where St. Stanislaus appeared in a vision,[95] then, after reporting about the canonization preparations, he provided a slightly coloured description of 43 miracles attested in the investigation. He regrouped them according to subject categories of decreasing importance, such as raising the dead, healing ulcers, epilepsy, paralysis, dropsy, blindness and madness, rescuing the drowned, and miracles involving animals. Finally, he added a few more that happened around or after the canonization.

The canonization protocol of Margaret of Hungary was also used in several hagiographic narratives. In the fourteenth century, two distinct varieties of her legend emerged. Among the Hungarian Dominicans a voluminous compilation was made from the oldest legend and the acts: the anecdotes and stories of the latter were carefully inserted into the narrative sequence of the former. This compilation (no longer extant) served as the basis for the Hungarian translation of the legend, one of the most prestigious vernacular literary monuments from medieval Hungary, preserved in a manuscript of a Dominican nun from Margaret Island, Lea Ráskai, from the early sixteenth century.[96]

The other hagiographic development from the acts was completely independent. Around the 1340s, when the Dominicans in Avignon felt the need for a legend to support the emerging *fama sanctitatis* of the blessed Margaret of Hungary, they apparently did not have her oldest legend at hand, for they commissioned Friar Garinus de Giaco (Garin Gy l'Évêque) to write a legend of her on the basis of the canonization protocols. He resolved this task with an admirable care and assiduity, using almost every single fact from the witnesses' testimonies, and amplifying them into a well-written narrative that described Margaret as an ecstatic-mystic female saint according to the tastes of fourteenth-century spirituality. His legend was preserved in two versions: the better-known *Legenda minor*, included in the *Acta Sanctorum*,[97] was only re-

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89 A. Huyskens (ed.), *Der sogenannte Libellus de dictis quattor ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus*, München – Kempten 1911; I. Würth, 'Die Aussagen der vier Dienerinnen im Kanonisationsverfahren Elisabeths von Thüringen (1235) und ihre Überlieferung im Libellus', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte*, 59/60 (2005/06), 7-74.

90 Gecser, *cit.* n. 71, 66-73, 85-90.

91 L. Pieper, 'A New Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 93 (2000), 29-78; O. Gecser, 'Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria e il miracolo delle rose', in Csorba – Komlóssy, *cit*. n. 54, 240-7.

92 Cf. n. 51.

93 *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita maior). Auctore fratre Vincentio de ordine fratrum praedicatorum*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, *MPH* 4, 319-438, the miracles are at 400-38.

94 Witkowska, cit. n. 55, 156-63.

95 *Vita sancti Stanislai,* cit. n. 93, III. 1-6.

96 G. Volf (ed.), *Szent Margit élete* [Life of St. Margaret], Budapest 1881; J. P. Balázs, *Szent Margit élete 1510* [Life of St. Margaret, 1510], Budapest 1990; for a filiation of the legends of St. Margaret cf. Klaniczay, cit. n. 57*,* 423-8.

97 *AA.SS.,* 28 Ianuarii, 516-22.

cently identified by philological research as the abbreviated version of the longer *Legenda maior*, (in earlier Hungarian research named *Legenda Neapolitana* from one of its copies).[98]

To illustrate the hagiographic methods of Garinus de Giaco, I have selected the description of a miraculous inundation of the Danube, narrated by seven witnesses during Margaret's canonization investigations. One among them was her confessor, friar Marcellus, Prior Provincial of the Hungarian Dominicans, whom Margaret intended to reprimand with this miracle of vengeance, demonstrating her power over nature, and making the Danube inundate again when Marcellus had slight doubts about the truthfulness of her previous account. I cite the testimony of one of the nuns, Princess Anne, the niece of Margaret:

> She also said that on that day the Danube rose to such a height that it entered the main hall, where the nuns of the monastery stay, and after eight days had gone by, Brother Marcellus, the provincial of the Dominicans in Hungary, came to the said monastery, and the aforesaid virgin Margaret told him that the Danube had risen in this way and had entered their main hall; but the brother refused to believe her, saying, 'How could this have happened?' and the said virgin Margaret said, 'O Virgin Mary, you know well that lies are not wont to leave my lips; please show Brother Marcellus that I am speaking the truth', and immediately the water rose to such a level that it invaded the living quarters of the monastery, so that Brother Marcellus climbed on to a branch, because of the water.[99]

The papal investigators made a thorough fact-finding enquiry as to where precisely this remarkable event took place: 'in front of the parlour, in the cemetery of the ladies',[100] or, according to others 'in the *lebium* behind the parlour',[101] or 'outside the cloister, in that small garden.'[102] The other precision they were looking for was the exact timing. While most of the sisters place the event between Epiphany and Ash Wednesday (unconsciously adding some flavour of Carnival to the story of the scared Prior Provincial seeking refuge on a branch from the rising water), Friar Marcellus expresses himself at this point with a taint of sceptical ambivalence. When asked the month, he replied, 'I believe that it was in April, when there's usually high water.'[103] Taken all together, the accounts do not overstate Margaret's role in 'producing' the miracle, but her invocation to God in order to clear her reputation sufficiently justifies the categorization of this event among the miracles.

Let us now see how the inundation miracle appears in the hagiographic elaboration made by Garinus de Giaco:

> To prove her truthfulness, the water of the Danube started to multiply, rise and inundate everything in the courtyard. The Danube broke in as an angry river driven by the spirit of the Lord. The strong waves of the river arose, and flooding everything, they smashed against the walls of the living quarters of the nuns; the river entered the territory of the monastery, the buildings and the rooms…[104]

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98 *Vita b. Margaritae Hungaricae,* in A. Gombos (ed.), *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae*, Budapest 1937-1939, 2481-545; T. Klaniczay, 'La fortuna di Santa Margherita d'Ungheria in Italia', in S. Graciotti – C. Vasoli (eds), *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, Firenze 1995, 3-28, esp. 19; G. Klaniczay, 'La Hongrie' (en collaboration avec E. Madas), in *Hagiographies*. *Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550.* Corpus Christianorum, sous la direction de G. Philippart. Turnhout 1996, vol. II, 126-7; for its detailed analysis, see V. H. Deák, 'The Birth of a Legend: the So-called *Legenda Maior* of Saint Margaret of Hungary', *Revue Mabillon, N. S.* 20 tome 81 (2009), 87-112.

99 Witness 4, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 183.

100 Witnesses 5 and 38, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 187, 281.

101 Witness 22, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 243.

102 Witness 16, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57*,* 223.

103 Witness 38, Fraknói, *cit.* n. 57, 281.

104 *Vita b. Margaritae, cit.* n. 98, 2507.

One can clearly sense here the biblical reference to the Book of Exodus. While Garinus does not dwell much on the comic episode of flight of the confessor climbing a tree to save himself, we find a detailed account of a symmetric ritual, how Margaret subsequently repairs the damage done. We can see here a balanced, learned concept of miracles, very far from the archaic popular notion of the 'miracles of vengeance', based on a careful pedagogical use of benevolent menace, and a full reparation of any possible harm.

Conclusion

After all these examples showing how medieval miracle accounts betray to us different traces of a constructed narrative, let me pose the following question: where can we look for the hoped-for accurate representation of the richness of everyday life, popular beliefs and *mentalité*? Should we give up this query and be satisfied with the full deconstruction of hagiographic construct? I do not think so. To conclude, let me return to the words uttered by the resurrected boy in Buda.

'Do me no harm' (*Non faciatis mihi malum*); this is what we read in the protocols translated into Latin. This moving sentence of the little boy coming to life again might, in fact, be much closer to reality than to invention, and strangely enough the subsequent hagiographic rewriters of Margaret's legend forgot to pick up this element in their amplified descriptions of this miracle story. Garinus de Giaco tells us the following instead: 'Coming to himself he began praising God and St. Margaret and invited the others to do the same.'[105] Maybe precisely this oversight or lack of interest by the hagiographers might indicate that the testimonies, recorded in the investigation, preserved here a precious true element of the popular healing drama. Something that does not fit, and was not deemed worthy to be retained by the more elaborate narrative constructs.

This might be precisely what we should be looking for.

105 *Vita b. Margaritae, cit.* n. 98, 2543.

Religion as Communication? *Pudicitia* and Gender

Katariina Mustakallio

In 296 BCE a noble lady called Verginia was excluded by patrician matrons from the highly esteemed Roman cult community of *Pudicitia Patricia,* although she was chaste and living in her first marriage (*univira*), qualities usually required from the ladies participating in restricted cult communities. Verginia was a patrician by origin, daughter of the honorable Aulus Verginius, but she was married to Lucius Volumnius Flamma Violens, a famous consul of plebeian origin. Thus she had lost her original patrician status. Her misfortune and public shame did not, however, depress her – according to Livy – for she decided to found a new cult place at her own expense and she dedicated a shrine to *Pudicitia,* this time designated as *Pudicitia Plebea*.[1]

Activities like those of Verginia form the focus of this book; religion has been seen as a way of inclusion and exclusion, a way to participate in the community and a way to communicate with others. Here religious communication is approached from the social point of view, as self representation or as gaining agency and participating in society, as Verginia did. Ritual practices are a part of social interaction forming communication through religion. The relationship between religious practices and group identity is at the centre of the discussion in this volume.[2]

On the other hand, there is another kind of religious communication, that imagined or believed to happen between a human addresser and a divine addressee. According to traditional pre-Christian religious thinking in Rome, the communication was reciprocal. Prayers and gifts were the means by which the human side approached the divine. The humans made regular sacrifices, or in certain cases extra sacrifices, to placate the gods, and the divine beings showed their approval by ordinary signs and omens, or disapproval by bad omens (*prodigia*). This communication was highly regulated and controlled by the priests, augurs and the high priest, who took care of the ordinary sky-watching (*auspicia*). Furthermore, families and individuals prayed to their own favourite gods and made sacrifices. The satisfaction of the divine side was evident in the prosperity of the human side.[3] This religious communication was a part of the upbringing and socialization processes of the citizen since childhood.

Becoming a part of society, whether citizen or foreigner, male or a female, is a long cultural process of socialization. Usually the formation and representation of the 'common memory' of the group is one of

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1 Liv. 10.23.4-10.

2 There has been a wide discussion concerning social interaction and ritual, from the classical study of E. Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: le système totèmique en Austalie,* Paris 1968 [1912] to e.g. D. A. Marshall's article 'Behavior, Belonging, and Belief: A Theory of Ritual Practice', *Sociological Theory* 20:3 (2002), 360-80, and the discussion still goes on. On identities, see e.g. J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992.

3 On religion as a communicative system see K. Mustakallio, *Sive deus, sive dea. La presenza della religione nello sviluppo della società romana*, Pisa 2013, 39; J. Rüpke, *Religions of Romans*, Cambridge 2007, 163, and 'Dedications accompanied by inscriptions in the Roman Empire', in J. Bodel – M. Kajava (eds), *Dediche sacre nel mondo Greco-romano* (*AIRF* 35), Rome 2009, 31-5; cf. Bettini and Hänninen in this volume.

the fundamental parts of this process. Memory in itself is a cultural construction based on interaction and communication in society. Memory acts as an active force, especially in commemorative rituals of the Dead and the forefathers.[4]

The Roman house, *domus,* had important religious dimensions. It was the place where the *imagos* of the forefathers were kept and where the *paterfamilias* had his household deities, *Lares* and *Penates*. Even though the religious authority of the *paterfamilias* was unquestioned, the need for all family members to participate in domestic rituals was important in Roman tradition.[5] As Maurizio Bettini has emphasized, there was a strong connection between the Lar and the *familia*, which consists of all the free and slave members under the authority of a *paterfamilias.* When someone abandoned the *familia*, he also abandoned his Lar; and when *familia* moved into a new *domus*, the Lar was the first to be worshipped in the new home. The relationship between the Lar and the family was characterized by a principle of reciprocity: a strict rule of exchange existed between the two parties. In these domestic rituals, as well as in the official religion of Rome, rituals of sacrifice were the method of contact and communication with the gods and deities.[6]

In the ancient and medieval contexts, the commemoration of the forefathers (and sometimes even foremothers), was central for the strenghtening of the family identity. Especially in Roman public funerals, the whole family, dead and living, met with each other when the *imagos* of forefathers were carried in funeral processions. Communication between the members of the family, living and dead, was a normal part of the everyday life during the Middle Ages. In the Early Medieval period, on the occasion of donations the living and dead members of the family were also 'present', in the sense that names of the relatives and *familia*, living and dead, were written into the memory book. The commemoration of the antecedents was one of the main obligations of the descendants.[7]

The centrality of commemoration in the pre-modern world raises questions about how memory and identity were bound together. The identity of a person or a group is not fixed permanently, but is re-created from time to time by cultural processes, by re-creation of the memory. 'Identity' is an abstract concept, which is connected to the loyalty felt by an individual towards a greater group with common sentiments, whether they be, for example, cultural, political, gender, religious or patriotic. A person may have, and usually has, several identities at the same time.[8]

When the identity of a group is under a recreation process it is natural that the integrity is strengthened by different means. Usually people want to believe that the group they belong to has a noble origin. In antiquity the divine roots of the people, like the Athenians, were emphasized by myth which underlined the purity

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4 Assmann, *cit.* n. 2. See also B. Gordon – P. Marshall (eds), *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2000 and J.-C. Schmitt, *Les revenants. Les vivants et les morts dans la société medieval*, Paris 1994.

5 See Hänninen in this volume.

6 See Bettini in this volume.

7 K. Mustakallio, 'Roman Funerals: Identity, Gender and Participation', and M. Bettini, 'Death and Its double. *Imagines, Ridiculum* and *Honos* in the Roman aristocratic Funeral', in K. Mustakallio – J. Hanska – H.-L. Sainio – V. Vuolanto (eds), *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (AIRF 33), Rome 2005, 179-90 and 191-202. On medieval practices, See Butz – Zettler and Räsänen in this volume with R. C. Finucane, 'Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideas and Death Rituals in the later Middle Ages', in J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality. Studies in the Social History of Death*, London 1981, 40-60 and S. Katajala-Peltomaa, 'Rituals and Reputation: Immature Death in Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes', in C. Krötzl – K. Mustakallio (eds), *On Old Age. Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Turnhoult 2010, 323-39.

8 K. Mustakallio, 'Founding the City, Creating Identity, Marriage and Ideology in Rome', in M. Niemi – V. Vuolanto (eds), *Reclaiming the City – Innovation, Experience, Identity*, Helsinki 2003, 204-13. Cf. S. Hall – P. du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London 1996.

and nobility of their origins. For the Romans the divine origin of their people was one of the cornerstones of their identity. Romans were regarded as a 'chosen people' because they had a special relationship with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the head of the gods. Religious communication with the gods, and especially the praxis of divination, was critical to their self-definition and for the establishment of the status of Romans among the other nations, as Celia Schultz has emphasized.[9] Many groups, colleges and guilds in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages formed their group identity by the means of religious rites.[10]

Furthermore, it is typical for a human beings to see their existence and circumstances through dichotomies, such as 'we / the others', 'cosmos / chaos'. One of the questions in this volume is how different communities in different times have met the 'Other', and what kinds of problems have arisen when foreign people or people from a lower social stratum become active in public religion. In Classical and Hellenistic Athens, for example, non-citizens were not allowed to participate in the core activities of the public cults. Those who were not Athenians by birth were considered outsiders in the context of the public cults, especially in sacrifice. Nevertheless, there were exceptions. In Athens from the 120s BCE onwards, on certain conditions foreign youths were accepted into the *ephebeia*, which was the training system for Athenian youths before they were accepted as full citizens.[11]

This dichotomy and passing over boundaries brings us to the question of *pure* and *impure*.[12] We may notice that these ideas are dependent on the cultural and historical context. It seems that the experience of defilement is usually felt more sensitively during periods of crisis, and during great changes in values and morals in the society. The period after the turbulent last decades of Republican Rome is one example, when new strict ideas and models were established by the Emperor Augustus. These reforms met little opposition: Instead, they had a special value for a generation whose past had collapsed and whose future was uncertain.[13]

What happened when concepts of sacred and profane were undergoing a transformation, as during the Early Christian period? The idea of religious pollution spread easily and people who had 'another' interpretation of Christianity were stigmatized, even in imperial legislation. In 425 Emperor Theodosius II decreed that 'Manichaeans, all heretics, schismatics and mathematici, and all sects inimical to catholici must be expelled from towns', in order to prevent the common people and good Christians from coming into contact with these impure groups.[14] Unfortunately this kind of stigmatization has been common in European history ever since, as the sad history of persecutions of Christians, Jews, heretics and dissidents shows us.[15]

A central issue related to religion, communication and identity is, of course, the question of gender and power. In hierarchical and male oriented patriarchal societies like Ancient Rome and Christian Europe, older men from the upper classes dominated cultural communication.[16] This means that all the sources, liter-

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9 See Schultz in this volume.

10 See MacGregor, Ojala and Sihvonen in this volume.

11 See Niku in this volume. The role of women and children is interestingly pointed out during the crusades in Tamminen's contribution in this volume.

12 For the analysis of the pure/impure dichotomy, see M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, Routledge 1966.

13 See J. D. Chaplin, *Livy's Exemplary History*, Oxford 2000; On Roman memory culture and gender, see e.g. H. I. Flower, 'Were Women ever "Ancestors" in Republican Rome?', in J. M. Hojte (ed.), *Images of Ancestors*, Aarhus 2002, 157-82, esp. 159.

14 See Kahlos in this volume.

15 See, for example, R.I. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society,* Oxford 2007 [1987].

16 For questions of power and the impact of gender in Rome, see E. Cantarella, *Passato prossimo. Donne romano da Tacita a Sulpicia*, Milano 1996; For gendered interaction in medieval religion, see S. Katajala-Peltomaa*, Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes*, Turnhoult 2009.

ary as well as visual evidence, are male oriented and filtered. Even if we are aware of this on a general level, it should be kept in mind in all research. Gender is an issue which is of central interest, especially in religious communication. Just as the same social rank unifies people, so gender divides them.

Gender is the social transformation of biological sex into cultural category. This process has much to do with power, and it has much to do with the establishment and justification of power relations, not to mention the creation and maintenance of hierarchies. In Rome gender functions in relations alongside many other factors, like age, social status or ethnic background.[17] When we use the term *gender* we are talking about the communicative reciprocal system based on sex, which changes from time to time and which is open to different influences. Nevertheless the gender order of a certain culture usually changes slowly.[18] As Natalie B. Kampen has pointed out, gender is constructed, but it also constructs, and it is valuable because of its apparent naturalness and its ability to make both difference and hierarchy.[19]

The concept of virginity was strongly associated with the female virtues in classical literature. As Christian Laes shows in his contribution in the present volume, the Latin word for virgin, *virgo*, only existed as a female noun, as did the Greek *parthenos*. In the Roman context there was no expectation that a young man should enter to his first marriage as a virgin, quite the contrary. Virginity was traditionally a female virtue. Instead, the frequent recurrence to the term *virginius*, and to a less extent the use of *virgo* as a masculine noun, was a typical feature of Christian epigraphy. This kind of inscription was easily recognized as belonging to Christian culture. Laes emphasizes that the Christians themselves saw the chastity and virginity of their soul as markers of their identity. As such, the mention of virginity for both males and females became the new fashionable term of Christian epigraphy, replacing older clearly gender specific ideals like the *univira* or *pudor*.[20] If this is the case it means that there was a change in the ideas of gender and gendered qualities, which was manifested in public.

Becoming a man or a woman is a process of socialization which usually starts immediately after the birth. The role of religious rituals in the socialization process is central in pre-modern societies. In antiquity, children participated in the public life mainly by taking part in the religion. In Antiquity, as in the Middle Ages, socialization of the children started at home, where they were supposed to learn domestic skills. By participation in religion girls and boys were socialized into the wider society, and this cultivated in them social and cultural competences important during their whole lifespan. Through rituals and ceremonies they were recognized and appreciated by wider circles than just their family, kin and neighbors.[21]

In Rome the training for these semi-public religious appearances was probably received from older family members, relatives, or from people of the same cult community. The part considered most essential in a girl's training for life was to become a wife and a mother capable of running a household. Even if women in Rome were relatively visible in public, noble ladies lived much of their lives inside their houses, emerging

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17 See, e.g., N. B. Kampen, 'Gender Theory in Roman Art', in D. E. Kleiner and S. B. Matheson (eds), *I Claudia. Women in Ancient Rome*, New Haven 1996, 14-25.

18 The feminist theory has recreated new visions concerning gender order. Even in patriarchal domination there may be a gender order which is based on the idea of complementarity Furthermore, there are different levels of gender complementarity, e.g. 'fractional gender complementarity', which argues that men and women complement one another as separate parts that together make up a composite whole and 'integral gender complementarity', which argues that men and women are each integral, whole beings unto themselves, who, when put together, create a result that is greater than the sum of their parts: T. Pintchman, 'Gender Complementarity and Gender Hierarchy in Purānic Accounts of Creation', in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 66:2 (1998), 257-82.

19 Kampen, *cit*. n. 17, 18.

20 See Laes in this volume.

21 R. Laurence, 'Community' in M. Harlow – R. Laurence (eds), *Cultural History of Childhood and Familyin Antiquity,* London 2010, 31-44, esp. 40.

on exceptional occasions like the celebrations of greater festivals. In the pre-modern world the role of the cultic life in constructing of the identity of women, like *Pudicitia* in Rome, as well as the cult of St. Anne in late medieval Europe, was of great importance.[22]

To understand the social context of the story of Verginia cited in the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to look at the Roman idea of *pudor* and *Pudicitia* more carefully. According to Robert A. Kaster *pudor* could be understood as English 'shame', the displeasure someone feels when caught at an unbecoming moment. There is also an important extension of this definition, for *pudor* can also denote an admirable sensitivity to such displeasure, and a desire to avoid behaviour that causes it, comparable to what we call 'a sense of shame'.[23]

According to the story of Livy, Verginia is excluded from her original cult community because she has lost her original Patrician status by marrying a Plebeian consul, and as a Plebeian she is now regarded as an unclean and defiling object by the Patrician ladies. The idea that plebeians had an impure blood heritage was strong and widespread in Roman thinking. Patricians had a monopoly on the highest priestly positions like Flamen Dialis and Pontifex Maximus right up until the end of the Republican Era. Nevertheless, In Livian historical drama Verginia becomes an active agent mainly because she is proud of her origins as well as her husband, and even as a married woman she is still a daughter of the famous Patrician, Aulus Verginius. She defends herself and her public virtue, *pudor*, by founding a new shrine.

At this point we may ask why the cult of Pudicitia was socially so important. Pudicitia was one of the Roman divinities which symbolized the traditional virtues of the citizens (like Fides and Virtus). Pudicitia represented clearly gender specific virtue, the idea of chastity, purity, and modest behaviour associated with ideal matrons; she played an active role in the lives of matrons with her own shrines, cult statues and cult. The goddess was mentioned in Plautus' *Amphitryon* (250-187 BCE),[24] but remained popular long after that, being a common icon on coins of the imperial family.[25]

The cult had several restrictions: it was open only to the patrician married women, who were chaste and *univira* (married only once)[26]. The argument that the cult of *Pudicitia Plebeia* was originally established as a part of the campaign to keep the plebeian upstarts at bay during the period of the Conflict of the Orders (traditionally dated to 450-360 BC), as Ingvar Maehle argues, is not totally convincing.[27] If the Pudicitia cult was devised by the senate to control women, why, then, it was possible to an individual woman to found a new cult place dedicated to her?

Here we have a typical example of religion as a social interaction and communicative system which recreates gender order. In the Livian version, Verginia holds a speech where she emphasizes the value of Pudicitia, and compares it with the main male virtues, especially that of courage (*virtus*). Livy emphasizes

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22 For the celebrations of women, see L. Nixon, 'The cults of Demeter and Kore' and L. Foxall, 'Women's ritual and men's work in ancient Athens', in R. Hawley – B. Levick (eds), *Women in Antiquity. New Assessments*, London – New York 1995, 75-96 and 97-110, with S. A. Takács, *Vestal Virgons, Sibyls, and Matrons, Women in Roman Religion*, Austin 2008, 25-59.

23 R. A. Kaster, 'The Shame of the Romans'*, TaPhA* 127 (1997), 1: Romans did not mark the difference between these 'occurrent' and 'dispositional' senses; cf. D. L. Cairns, *AIDOS: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature,* Oxford 1993, 10-1.

24 Plaut. *amph*. 929, Juv. 6.1 and 14. For other notes see R. Langlands, *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2006, 38 note 12. According to Festus (Paul. Fest. p. 270): '*Plebeiae Pudicitiae sacellum in uico Longo est, quod cum Verginia, patriciae generis femina, conuiuio facto inter patres et plebem*' (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 271: '*Plebeiae Pudicitiae sacellum Romae ut sacra cetera colebatur*'). See S. P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy. Books VI–X, Volume IV: Book X*, Oxford 2005, 247.

25 Langlands, *cit*. n. 24, 38 note 14.

26 For the meaning of *univira* see, e.g. Mustakallio, *cit*. n. 7, 181.

27 I. B. Mæhle, 'Female Cult in the Struggle of the Orders', in I. B. Mæhle – I. M. Okkenhaug (eds), *Women and Religion in the Middle East and the Mediterranean*, Oslo 2004, 69-84.

the complementarity of the Roman gender order in Verginia's speech, where she argues that Roman civic values have a female and a male component, Pudicitia and Virtus, and that women should compete with men by showing their virtue. The idea of competition between women and men is interesting. In Livian history women gain agency and obtain an esteemed role and status in patriarchal and male dominated Roman society by participating in the civic cults.[28]

Pudicitia was, nevertheless, a recognized and appreciated public cult, which gave the noble ladies a public role. As Rebecca Langlands has pointed out, 'Pudicitia was a personal quality that needed to be displayed to and seen by others… Ideally Pudicitia would shine forth from a married woman: it would turn heads when she walked down the streets'.[29] In pagan Rome *Pudicitia* was one of the goddesses who protected matrimony and controlled especially female behaviour; during the late Middle Ages Saint Anne's role in urban society was central and her cult was related to the norms of female body and behaviour.[30] In the pre-modern world, the role of cultic life in construction of the identity of woman was of great importance.

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The communication between men and gods, and rules of this particular communication connected to the act of sacrifice, are another side of the social representation and identification.[31] Nevertheless, in this volume we have concentrated more on the social communication between the people within the religion. In this context we have seen a wealth of ideas and practises, religion as an area of activity of different groups, and as a form of communication between guilds and families, genders and generations. More specific studies from the point of view of social interaction, comparing different religious practices in the *longue durèe* context are still needed to reveal more about the dynamics of the pre-modern life and *mentalitè*.

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28 Liv. 10. 23. 7-8: '*hanc ego aram' inquit 'Pudicitiae plebeiae dedico vosque hortor, ut, quod certamen virtutis viros in hac civitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit detisque operam, ut haec ara quam illa, si quid potest, sanctius et a castioribus coli dicatur*'.

29 Langlands, *cit*. n. 24, 37.

30 See Räsänen concerning medieval Finland in this volume. For the various forms of participation of women in Carolingian culture, see also Garver in this volume.

31 Of the sacrifice as a communication, see, e.g. F. Prescendi, *Décrire et comprendre le sacrifice. Les réflexions des Romains sur leur propre religion à partir de la littérature antiquaire,* Stuttgart 2007.

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