The Anatomy of Political Bodies

Conference Booklet

17.04.2015–18.04.2015
Faculty of „Artes Liberales" University of Warsaw

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Editors:

Karolina Mroziewicz
Aleksander Sroczyński

Language editor:

Jesse Simon

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17.04.2015 (Friday)

Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw, Nowy Świat 69, entrance B, 4th floor, conference room

9:30 Registration and Opening

10:00 Keynote lecture
Szymon Wróbel, University of Warsaw
***Logos, Ethos, Pathos*: Classical Rhetoric Revisited**

11:00 Authority in the Early Middle Ages (moderator: Foteini Spingou)

Anna A. Dryblak, University of Warsaw
Christian Ruler, Ecclesiastical Authority and Church Order in the Carolingian Period: the Breton Case

Álvaro Carvajal Castro, University College Dublin
The Contested Body of the King: Negotiating Power and Authority in Royal Assemblies in León (10th-11th c.)

11:45 Coffee Break

12:15 Bodies in Byzantium and Rus (moderator: Álvaro Carvajal Castro)

Alexandra Vukovich, Newnham College, Cambridge
The Ruler's Body in Pain: The Political Functions of the Suffering Ruler in Early Rus'

Foteini Spingou, Princeton University
Ritualities of Middle-Byzantine Bodies: Representations and Embellishments of the Imperial Flesh

Tomasz Labuk, University of Silesia
The Byzantine Body Politic: Gluttony, Drunkenness and the Social Critique in Niketas Choniates' *History*

13:15 Funerals and Politics (moderator: Karolina Mroziewicz)

Bartłomiej Dźwigała, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw
The Liturgy of the King's Death and the King's Resurrection: The Succession of Power in the Latin Jerusalem in 1118 in Light of Narrative Sources

Júlia Bara, MTA BTK MI Budapest
Representation of the Deceased in the Funerals of the Hungarian Aristocracy in the 17th and 18th Centuries

14: 00 Lunch

15:00 Body of Queen and Her Sons (moderator: Emilia Olechnowicz)

Ágnes Máté, University of Warsaw/ ITI MTA Budapest
The Queen's Body and the Body Politic of the Kingdom

Natalia Obukowicz, University of Warsaw
Catherine de Medici and the Anatomy of the Queen's Body

Karolina Mroziewicz, University of Warsaw
Moulding the Royal Body: Public Discussion about the Upbringing of the Last Jagiellon Child-Kings

16:00 Coffee break

16: 30 *Corpus politicum* (moderator: Wojciech Kozłowski)

Márton Zászkaliczky, MTA BTK ITI Budapest
From the *universitas Saxonum* to the *Kirche Gottes sächsischer Nation*: The Birth of the Saxon Political Nation in 15th-16th Century Transylvania Through Political and Confessional Institutionalisation and Identity-building

Aleksander Sroczyński, University of Warsaw
Antenor – Old-Polish Statesman Inc.?

Alexandra Anokhina, Higher School of Economics, Moscow
"*Corpus politicum est unio physica, vel moralis*": Francisco Suárez' Contractualist Theory

18:00 Dinner

18.04.2015 (Saturday)

Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw, Nowy Świat 69, entrance B, 4th floor, conference room

10:00 Keynote lecture
Simon Burton, University of Warsaw
From Nicholas of Cusa to Jan Amos Comenius: Covenant, Kingship and Ontology in an Age of Transition

11:00 Theology, Cult and Liturgy (moderator: Álvaro Carvajal Castro)

Paweł Figurski, University of Warsaw
Liturgical Books and Sacral Kingship of the Piasts: A Reconsideration

Wojciech Kozłowski, CEU Budapest
Political Theology of Conflict between Political Bodies in Thirteenth-Century Latin Christendom

Piotr Kołpak, Jagiellonian University in Cracow
The Place of Saints in the Polish Kingdom's Political Bodies During the Jagiellonian Dynasty

12:00 Coffee Break

12:30 *Corpus politicum* in conflict (moderator: Aleksander Sroczyński)

Elena Kiryanova, Independent scholar
The Metaphor of a Monstrous Body in the English Civil Wars

Emilia Olechnowicz, Institute of Arts of the Polish Academy of Sciences
The Beheaded King and the Separation of the King's Two Bodies: The Case of Charles I Stuart

13:15 Dressing Political Body (moderator: Ágnes Máté)

Anna Wyszyńska, Jagiellonian University in Cracow
The King's New Clothes? The Dress of Sigismund I the Old and the Power-Dressing of European Sovereigns

Andrzej Probulski, Jagiellonian University in Cracow,
What Does the "S" Stand for? Costume and Authority in the Superhero Fiction

14:00 Lunch

14:30 Representing Power Today (moderator: Gábor Szegedi)

Anca Baicoianu, University of Bucharest
Sovereign Bodies: Authority and Authorship in Renaissance Cabinets, Surrealist Displays, and Postmodern Installations

Alicja Curanović, University of Warsaw
Vladimir Putin is Back on Air, Again! The Annual President's Conversation with the Nation as a New Ritual of Power in Russia

Olimpia Dragouni, University of Warsaw
Political Theology and Emblems of Da'iš (ISIS) as a Symbolic Arch between the Middle Ages and the Present

16:00 Coffee break

16:30 Transhumanism and Biopolitics (moderator: Andrzej Probulski)

Gábor Szegedi, Wiesenthal Institute in Vienna
The Biopolitics of Future Generations: Meddling with the Fate of Non-entities and the Messy World around Them

Ion Iuga, Romanian Academy Iasi Branch "Gheorghe Zane", Institute for Economic and Social Research
Techno-utopian Transhumanism and its Eschatological Meaning

17:15 Closing remarks

Szymon Wróbel, University of Warsaw

Logos, Ethos, Pathos: Classical Rhetoric Revisited

Aristotle distinguished two types of persuasion: rhetoric and eristic. The Stagirite further distinguished three main forms of the former – logos, ethos and pathos (Aristotle, *Rhetoric. Poetics*). Logos is an appeal to reason: the premises should render the proposition true or at least credible. Ethos is an appeal to a speaker's credibility; equivalent to civic virtues. A persuasive argument is thus the one that a speaker embraces himself. Finally, pathos concerns a stylistic means by which a speaker can produce an emotional appeal. Aristotle's rhetorical triad views rhetoric as the art of persuasive or honest communication; persuasion devoid of rhetorical forms is referred to as eristic (sophistic). In this latter type, an argument is effective when the audience agrees with the conclusion. While a sophist would endeavour to convince his audience at all costs, a rhetorician seeks persuasion only through logos, ethos and pathos.

The main aim of this paper is to reflect upon the extent to which contemporary politics is an eristic technique skilled at introducing pathos and only instrumentally appealing to logos and ethos. Applying the methods developed by psychoanalysis, and referring to the work of Freud, Lacan, Laclau and Mouffe, Agamben, Rancière, Foucault and Žižek, I would like to reflect on the premises, the shape and the consequences of patho-politics, that is sophistic (eristic) politics. Above all, I wish to test the intuition of Ernesto Laclau, for whom the prototype of a method of communication is *catachresis* (*κατάχρησις*), a figure of speech in which a word or phrase has vastly departed from its traditional, paradigmatic usage (Laclau 2005). The five most common classes of *catachresis* are: (1) words used in a meaning radically different from the traditional meaning, (2) words that have no other name but *catachresis*, (3) words used outside their paradigmatic context, (4) references to paradoxical or contradictory logic, (5) the use of illogical, puzzling and complex metaphors. Would the excess of pathos in contemporary politics suggest a departure from the paradigmatic use of

words, or that the very idea of a paradigm has been lost? What is the requirement for the paradigmatic use of words? What is the paradigm itself (Agamben 2002)? Cicero, in seeking the sources of rhetorical tropes imagined a primitive society where there are more objects than there are words in the language. Does patho-politics (eristic politics) suffer from an overabundance of objects and a deficiency of words, to the point where it needs to constantly deploy the rhetoric of pathos at the expense of logos and ethos?

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Szymon Wróbel is Professor of Philosophy at the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw and at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He is a psychologist and philosopher interested in contemporary social and political theory and philosophy of language. He has published seven books in Polish and numerous articles in academic journals. His two latest books, *Deferring the Self*, and *Grammar and Glamour. of Cooperation. Lectures on the Philosophy of Mind, Language and Action* has been published in 2014 by Peter Lang.

Anna A. Dryblak, University of Warsaw

Christian Ruler, Ecclesiastical Authority and Church Order in the Carolingian Period: the Breton Case

During the synod of Coitlouh in 849, Nominoe, prince of Brittany, made the decision to dismiss five bishops from their sees, accusing them of simony (cf. Chédeville & Guillotel 1984, pp. 271–272; Duckett 1969, pp. 184–186; Nelson 1992, p. 165; Smith 1992, pp. 154–157). In this paper we will examine how different circles would have reacted to this controversial decision.

The importance of this case is demonstrated by the participation of the Holy See in the dispute. A letter written by Leo IV, who received information about the supposed simony of the Breton bishops, mentions that their case should be presented to twelve bishops and reinforced by the testimony of twenty seven witnesses ('Epistolae', vol. 5, 5, pp. 593–594). A subsequent letter of pope Nicholas I, and a letter of Benedict III which has not survived, repeated these conditions, adding that the archbishop should be present to strengthen the authority of the bishops ('Epistolae', vol. 6, 107, p. 621).

The Frankish episcopate also became involved in the dispute. The council of West Frankish bishops addressed a letter to Nominoe, accusing him of ignoring the papal letter and insulting the hierarchy of the Church. They also accused him of challenging the authority of a Carolingian ruler and crossing the borders established by the Franks (MGH Conc. 3, pp. 204–205). Ten years later, the council in Savonnières (859) mentions that the bishops appointed by the prince were excommunicated (MGH Conc. 3, pp. 480–481).

The papal letters stressed that it was necessary for clergymen to resolve this dispute; Nicolas I wanted to exclude any influence of secular power on the verdict. The Frankish councils, however, were much more

hostile; they considered Nominoe's action not only an attack on the clerical power, but also an attack on Frankish authority.

The *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* – a history of the Redon monastery, dating from the tenth century – is further source for this dispute. It is a later text, but we are interested in narrative rather than the actual history of this dispute. It was written by a monk from the Breton monastery which was connected both to the Carolingian house and the Breton princesses. The author informs us that, during the time of Nominoe, the accusations of simony defiled (*foedauit*) the whole Church in Brittany. Moreover, according to the *Gesta*, it was not the prince who had first noticed the problem, but rather Conwoion, the abbot of the monastery, who warned the prince. He told Nominoe that the fatherland would be destroyed by impious bishops and heretics, and cautioned him about the consequences – if the heresy was not addressed, the prince and his people would feel the wrath of God. The prince, moved by Conwoion's words, wanted to act, but did not possess enough theological knowledge. He thus decided to summon a council, and ordered that the canons be read and explained to him. Sinful bishops, however, did not want to confess their faults and appealed instead to Leo IV. According to the monastic source, the pope reprehended the bishops and declared that anyone ordained in a sinful manner would be removed from his see, along with the person who ordained him. Moreover, Conwoion – as a representative of Nominoe – received the relics of saint Marcellin, which could be understood as a sign of papal support ('Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium', II.10).

By comparing our two principal sources – the letters and the *Gesta* – we learn that the conflict continued, and that the new bishops appointed by the prince were eventually excommunicated; at the time the *Gesta* was written, there was still an ongoing dispute concerning the subjection of the Breton bishops to the archbishop of Tours (Smith 1992, p. 154). Yet the author of the *Gesta* pointed to Conwoion, not merely as a

participant in the dispute, but as its initiator. However, if Conwoion had not brought the heresy to the attention of the prince, Brittany would have been punished by God.

From this perspective, Nominoe's actions should come as no surprise. Indeed, he acted as any Christian ruler should: as guardian of Brittany, of the Church in that region and of the divine cult, he had done everything he could to prevent evil. Gregory the Great once induced queen Brunhilde to fight against simony by summoning the council of bishops ('Epistolae' vol. 2, p. 322; cf. Staubach 1993, vol. 2, p. 161). The greatest intellectuals of the Charles the Bald's times – Hincmar of Reims and Sedulius Scottus – also wrote that it was necessary for rulers to summon a council when it was necessary for the preservation of peace in the Church (Staubach 1993, vol. 2, pp. 159–163). However, Sedulius Scottus writes that the ruler should be cautious and humble, remembering that *ecclesiastica iudicia valde sunt coram Deo periculosa*. The pious ruler should first consider what is just in the opinion of saints bishops and act accordingly. He should not make any decisions on his own (Scottus, 'De rectoribus Christianis', pp. 112–114).

In the *Gesta,* Nominoe acts exactly as Sedulius Scottus advised. He knows that his knowledge is limited, so he summons the council and orders a reading of the canons. He gives the sinful bishops a possibility of defence. When these measures failed, the case was presented to the pope. Although the prince tried not to intrude in the judgment of the hierarchs, he was also aware that heresy could have dangerous consequences for the Church in Brittany.

It is not therefore surprising that the Pope welcomed Conwoion so warmly. The relics of pope Marcellin symbolised cooperation between the abbot and the prince and consequently reveals the just cause of Nominoe's actions.

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Álvaro Carvajal Castro, University College Dublin

The Contested Body of the King: Negotiating Power and Authority in Royal Assemblies in León (10th–11th c.)

The last decades of the late-tenth century and the first of the eleventh century were a period of serious political distress in the kingdom of Asturias-León. This is best illustrated by the rebellions that Vermudo II and his son Alfonso V – who was still a minor when he was crowned in 999 – faced during their reigns (Ruiz Asencio 1969). Those rebellions were only one expression of how fluid the political dynamics were at that time. This was a period in which the political framework was undergoing a major readjustment; one in which power relations were being negotiated at very different levels among a variety of social actors. However, even though different groups had conflicting interests, there was a basic consensus regarding the essential aspects of the monarchy, a shared ideological framework within which conflicting practices and discourses of power could be articulated. Traditionally, this was thought to be the result of an effort on the part of the kings and the clergy in order to reassert the authority of the monarch over the increasing power of the aristocratic groups (Isla Frez 1999). Such interpretation was based on the assumption that the kings still enjoyed a hegemonic, albeit weakened position within the monarchy. The political unrest of the period and, more generally, the political developments throughout the tenth century might suggest otherwise (Carvajal Castro, forthcoming). The aim of this presentation is to analyse how that ideological framework was built and how it conditioned and was shaped by the initiatives of different social groups. In order to do so, it will focus on how power relations were negotiated in one particular political arena: royal assemblies.

Royal assemblies were marked by what Stephen White has called 'the micro-economies of shifting power relations' (White 1995, p. 90). For

most of the tenth century, the charters offer little information about the political dynamics within those assemblies. However, from the tenth century onwards, some charters started to include accounts of how those assemblies developed, including narratives about how the different actors presented and defended their claims, and about how the kings reacted to them. These were not mere reflections of what had happened: to a certain extent, they also expressed how different actors, including the kings, were expected to behave. In those charters, royal assemblies are not only described as occasions in which the kings could display their power and reassert their authority; indeed they present a more subtle interaction between the actions of the kings and the demands of the clergy and the aristocracy, or rather between the gestures and discourses of power of those different parties. In other words, they show that royal authority emerged from a complex web of conflicting interests and power discourses.

In this presentation, I will first focus on the charters themselves in order to identify who wrote them, to question why they were written, and to analyse the role that their production played within the political dynamics of the period. I will then focus on the gestures and political discourses that are presented in them to see how, according to the charters, they were articulated and enacted. The aim is to combine both approaches in order to reach a better understanding of the assumptions and expectations that are reflected in the charters as representations of those assemblies. This, in turn will offer us a better understanding of how the ideological framework of the monarchy was built. It will be argued that it was the outcome of a multi-faceted process in which many conflicting interests met; and that it reflects not only the interests of the kings and their entourage, but also the demands of the aristocracy and the clergy regarding the role of the monarch and the behaviour of the kings.

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Alexandra Vukovich, Newnham College, Cambridge

The Ruler's Body in Pain: The Political Functions of the Suffering Ruler in Early Rus'

In the early locally-produced texts of Rus', representations of the physical suffering of the ruler's body appear occasionally, and they are used most frequently as an anatomical metaphor for constitutional crisis and decay. These texts gain their constitutional value by providing the basis for succession, the resolution of internecine disputes, the basis for the political organisation of the polities of Rus', and the legitimate moral role of the Prince as intercessor. The texts, however, are scattered throughout various sources including chronicles, homilies, and hagiographies, such as the *Tale of Igor Olgovich* in the Kievan Chronicle. It is in the chronicles that accounts of the grotesque bodily suffering of princes are most prevalent. Such episodes promote a set discourse based on the *topoi* of martyrs' tales from early hagiographies, and include elements of intertextuality from earlier locally-produced texts. This paper will explore the meaning of grotesque representations of the political body of the rulers of Early Rus', and the discursive elements of the transformation of the regal body into the grotesque and, perhaps, holy body. Beyond an examination of literary genre, this paper will examine the socio-political implications of the grotesque political body of the Prince in Early Rus', and will discuss representations of princely suffering as responding to and necessitated by the political culture of Early Rus'. While the components of the grotesque body of the ruler derive, largely, from hagiographic *topoi*, the implication of such accounts for the building of a wider political, cultural, and moral identity for the princes of Rus' based on the moral legitimacy of saints (and early martyrs) is not negligible, and remains to be further explored. Furthermore, the function of grotesque representations of physical suffering as a metaphor for perceived political and moral decadence and

decay in Rus' merits discussion. This paper will build on the work of Ernst Kantorowicz on the sempiternal body of the ruler as a conduit for discussing a wider political culture.

Foteini Spingou, Princeton University

Ritualities of Middle-Byzantine Bodies: Representations and Embellishments of the Imperial Flesh

In middle-Byzantine Constantinople, the Emperor and his image occupied a dominant place within court culture. Although pages upon pages have been dedicated to the subject, two groups of artefacts have thus far escaped scholarly attention: portable imperial portraits, and components of imperial armour. Alas, none of these objects have survived to the present day, and their existence is attested solely by texts and epigrams, which were meant to accompany the object either by means of performance or inscription. In such cases, text and object are inseparable: together they create a single cultural product, that is an artefact attesting to cultural experience: the viewing of these objects was complemented by the recitation of the text written on them. This paper argues for a surprising connection between these two groups of composite cultural products; it examines their function as gifts to the imperial body, and argues for their purpose in ritualising the Emperor's flesh.

There are three instances in which parts of military attire are known to have been presented to an emperor as gift. The empress Eirene first offered a surcoat (*epanoklivanon*) adorned with a woven image of St Demetrius to her husband Alexios I (1081–1118) (Gautier 1965, p. 201). The gift was presented to the emperor probably at the peak of the so-

called 'Comnenian Iconoclasm', during which the Orthodoxy of the emperor was tried. Almost half a century later, Maria of Antioch, the second wife of Alexios' grandson, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), presented him with a sword and a belt shortly after their wedding (1161) (Lambros 1911, p. 178). Both the sword and the belt were accompanied by epigrams, which were performed at the time the two gifts were presented. It is not surprising that, in all three epigrams (i.e. the one on the surcoat, and the two epigrams on the sword and the belt), the imperial military power is emphasized, as the gifts were parts of the imperial military attire. It is worth noting, however, that there are no known cases of non-military imperial garments given as gifts to the emperor, and also that only the empress is known to have offered such gifts.

Two passages from the twelfth-century court historian John Kinnamos suggest possible reasons for the offering of these gifts. Kinnamos explicitly states that the emperor's armour was part of his body; one of the passages mentions that, despite his heavy armour, the emperor as he was about to remount his horse 'leapt up with a bound, as if he were entirely unarmed' (ed. Meineke 1836, 187, trans. Brand 1976, p. 143). By presenting the emperor with these objects, the empresses were offering the emperor embellished parts of his own body. As personal as such a present is, only the emperor's wife – who was expected to bear his 'offshoot' and heir – was able to gift it to him. On a different level, similar gifts were given only to holy icons, for which revetments were necessary to cover parts of the likeness of a holy body.

Aristocrats are known to have offered emperors representations of imperial bodies. Portable imperial portraits are particularly interesting in this respect: they are attested solely in textual sources and, to the best of my knowledge, none of them have survived to the present day. However, two portable portraits are known from the period in question. The first was offered to Constantine Monomachos (1042–1055) by

Argyros, son of the Lombard Meles, an Italian-born nobleman and a … recant rebel (ed. Spingou 2015, p. 52). The second is a portrait of the emperor and his wife, dedicated by the otherwise unknown priest John Chrysorophites (ed. Magdalino & Nelson 1982, pp. 137–138). Both portraits were accompanied by epigrams, which were most probably recited at the moment the gift was offered.

The very medium of portable images, by the eleventh century, was associated with religious icons. In the text accompanied such icons, dedicatees claim to offer 'accurate' representations of Christ, Mary or a saint to the holy person. Similar claims are also made in the aforementioned epigrams on the imperial portraits. Thus, the parallel between religious and imperial representation is associated by the texts accompanying the images, and the attribution of aesthetic features normally associated with religious icons (such as their accuracy) to the portraits.

The enigmatic interpretation of these gifts leaves space for the beholders to 'negotiate' their meaning within different cultural norms (cf. Algazi, Groebner & Jussen 2003). This paper argues that text and image imposed a ritual, which allowed a message open to different understandings to be transferred. This ritual – like any ritual discussed by Rappaport (1999) – was initiated by the performance of a tailor-made text with formulaic stylized vocabulary and rhythm, in defined social circumstances and within a special space. It was completed by the presentation of an actual object, which offered formality, decorum and a tangible, encoded, material for the ador(n)ation of the Emperor's body. Since both word and image (which are argued to create a ritual) refer to the Emperor's physical body, their combination results in an implied ritualisation of it – and thus to the 'rituality' of the body.

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Tomasz Labuk, University of Silesia

The Byzantine Body Politic: Gluttony, Drunkenness and the Social Critique in Niketas Choniates' *History*

The *History* of twelfth-century Byzantine historian Nikētas Choniatēs is an insightful record of the Byzantine Empire leading up to the fall of Constantinople in 1204. The leitmotif of the work, as has already been noted by A.P. Kazhdan (Kazhdan & Epstein 1985, p. 229), is

an endogenous social disease which consumes the state and ultimately leads to its demise. The symptoms of this malady are apparent in the presence of foreign 'barbaric' elements within society, the emperors' irrational belief in astrology, a lack of concern for the common good, factionalism, greediness, sloth, lechery, drunkenness as well as gluttony – all of which contributed to the dissolution of the social fabric (Angold 1995, pp. 132–133). Choniatēs himself pursued a public career for much of his life; this experience provided him with a profound awareness of the deficiencies of the imperial socio-political system, and laid the foundations for the ideology presented in the *History* (Simpson 2014, pp. 15–23).

The twelfth century witnessed an unprecedented rise in Byzantine secular literary production, as well as a revival of interest in Classical Greek literature (Magdalino 1993, pp. 331–366). In these literary masterpieces of the past, writers of the period seem to have found not only inspiration, but also a language which could depict more precisely the reality of their times (Kaldellis 2007, pp. 241–316). *Mimēsis* – the imitation and adaptation of Classical Greek literature – was an inherent characteristic of Byzantine literature (Nilsson 2010) and it reached a state of near perfection in the writings of Choniates (Hunger 1969/70, Efthymiadis 2009, Kaldellis 2009). The *History* bristles with direct and indirect quotations, both from the Bible and from various classical authors, although sadly we are often unable to decode some of the most subtle literary allusions. In addition, the twelfth century was marked by a change in attitudes towards medicine (which was a part of standard educational curriculum). The literary image of the doctor started to bear positive connotations, while the authors of the age showed an increased interest in matters of human physiology and the human body (Kazhdan 1984; Kazhdan & Epstein 1985, pp. 155–158).

Choniatēs' social critique is rooted in bodily discourse on an unprecedented scale (Kazdan 1990). The theme for the entire work is set

in Book I, in the fictitious speech of the emperor John I Komnēnos who passes the rule of the empire to his younger son, Manuel I Komnēnos. The abdicating ruler warns his audience that the state will prosper as long as the emperor is not 'the devourer of his people' (*dēmoboros*) and does not pass his time 'bent over the table with his fingers attached to wine ladle' (*Nicetae Choniatae Historia,* 43.62–63). The word *dēmoboros* is a direct reference to the beginning of Homer's *Iliad* (*Il*. 1.331), and the term bears connotations of excessive greediness. In a later portrayal of a cruel tyrant, Andronikos I Komnēnos, the historian used the theme of *dēmoboria* (people-eating) literally. Subsequent rulers, in Choniatēs' eyes, did not pay due heed to John's warning. In fact, the author perceives gluttony, drunkenness and lechery as endemic vices of the Byzantines — and they provide him with metonymic representations of a decaying empire, the ineptitude of its ruling elites, and a breach of both the imperial ideal and the natural order of reality (*taxis*). Throughout the *History* one can find numerous literary portraits of gluttonous emperors (as well as tax officials) whose lives are dedicated fully to bodily pleasures: to wantonness, wine-drinking, gormandising and indulging in boisterous festivities. Throughout the work, social disease is closely linked to bodily disease (e.g. gout) (e.g. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia,* 497.75–76; 534.73–74).

The acts of squandering imperial revenue and of devising new taxes which are ruinous to the populace are inextricably linked with gluttony: they cater to the bellies of the gluttons which can never be sated, and will eventually cause the empire to devour itself. Early portraits of gluttons strike the reader as both humorous and bitter. The depictions of greedy tax collectors such as John of Poutzē who is addicted to eating his salty cabbage soup, or John Kamatēros who is an ardent bean-eater and a dedicated drunkard who swallows seas of wine as a sponge, may put a smile on the reader's face. Yet, as the narrative progresses and as the state falls into utter lawlessness, the tone of

Choniatēs changes to one of vehement condemnation. One finds increasing references to taxes which are gulped down into a belly which is never full — imperial resources are wastefully consumed. Gluttonous and drunken bodies ultimately serve as a representation of the collapsing state, while comedy turns to bitter farce.

We can observe a shift in Choniatēs' discourse on overindulgence with the narrative Andronikos I Komnēnos, mentioned above. His rise to power is marked by the portentous sign of an anonymous woman giving birth to a deformed child with an enormously big head and a tiny body (*Nicetae Choniatae Historia,* 255.50-55) — a sign of looming anarchy. Andronikos trespasses the boundaries of natural order and humanity (Kaldellis 2009); his bloody cyclopic feasts are prepared out of the imperial subjects who dared to oppose him. The tyrant is constantly depicted devouring his subjects with his wide-gaping jaws, roasting bodies over fire, dressing them with rich sauces; frequent allusions to Homeric Polyphemus render the portrait more vivid. Yet these feasts are not to be read literally; Choniates is explicit that Andronikos was continent in matters of the stomach (*Nicetae Choniatae Historia,* 351.59). The source of his tyrannical gluttony lay in the insatiable appetite for power which caused him to kill anyone who posed even the slightest threat to him.

The subsequent narrative in the *History* revolves around collapse and chaos. While the state is threatened by enemies, representatives of the ruling classes commit fratricide; consecutive emperors turn their attention to chariot races and drinking parties. They indulge in eating, sex and licentiousness, thereby softening and effeminising their male bodies. The sorry remnants of the imperial navy lie rotting while the emperor scours the forests in search for wild game. As a result, the empire is pictured by Choniatēs as a body whose limbs fight against each other, and is later compared to a harlot (*pornē*), which conveys both a biblical symbolism as well as a covert allusion to the sin of gluttony

(Gaca 1997; Maguire 2012, pp. 112–113). Ultimately, the state is illustrated as a corpse-like body beaten by the lashes of the crusaders. In this 'scene of suffering' the tragedy of the empire has finally reached its gloomy climax.

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Funerals and Politics

Bartłomiej Dźwigała, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw

The Liturgy of the King's Death and the King's Resurrection: The Succession of Power in the Latin Jerusalem in 1118 in Light of Narrative Sources

The establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was the main outcome of the first crusade, and during its first years it was a matter of urgency for the new kingdom to establish the foundations of a royal authority. As there had been no previous tradition of Latin rule in the Middle East the first ruler – Godfrey of Bouillon – and the early elite of Latin Jerusalem had to exercise authority without the customary legitimacy.

Godfrey died without issue in the summer of 1100, and his younger brother, Baldwin, became the next ruler of the Holy City. During Baldwin's rule steps were taken to establish ideological justifications for the prestige of the Latin monarchy in Jerusalem. His reign, which was both long and full of successes, enabled the kingdom to put down roots.

Although Baldwin I was married three times, he left no heir, and his death in 1118 led to a dynastic crisis which had far-reaching consequences for the monarchy. Godfrey and Baldwin I had a third brother, Eustace of Boulogne, who should have been crowned according to the hereditary principles; however, as Eustace was in Eastern Europe and was unable to make it to Outremer, Baldwin of Bourcq, a distant kinsman, was named third ruler of the Crusader Kingdom in Palestine (Barber 2012).

Baldwin II was a son of Hugh, count of Rethel and Melisende, daughter of Guy the Great, lord of Montlhery. He was related to the great families of north-eastern France, including Mothlery, Rethel, Courtenay, Le Puiset. These families were opponents of the Ardennes-Bouillon dynasty – of which Godfrey and Baldwin I were representatives – both in the Latin East and in Capetian France (Murray 1992, 2000).

Because of these circumstances, it became necessary to justify the rule of the new king and to present Baldwin II as a legitimate sovereign.

The paper presented here arose from research on narratives describing the succession of power in Latin Jerusalem in 1118.

There are three Latin chronicles describing the death and the funeral of Baldwin I and Baldwin II's subsequent accession to the throne. Fulcher of Chartres wrote a chronicle containing a history of the first crusade and the Kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1127. Because Fulcher was a chaplain of Baldwin I, he was very close to these events, but as a contemporary writer he kept his description brief and avoided engaging in political disputes. The most famous historian of the Latin East, William of Tyre, used the election to show arguments of both side of the succession dispute. Albert of Aachen's chronicle also discusses Baldwin II and his succession to the throne; however Albert didn't take part in the crusades and never been to East. His chronicle is based on accounts of knights returning to Europe, and he was strongly dependent on followers of Godfrey and Baldwin I. He was a contemporary writer, and his chronicle ends with the succession in 1118. Albert of Aachen provides the most vivid and full account, focusing on the ceremonies and rituals connected with the royal funeral and the inauguration of the new ruler (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, XII 25-30, p. 862-873).

The death of Baldwin I took place on the Nile during an Egyptian campaign, far from Jerusalem. The Jerusalem army returned to Palestine carrying the king's body in order to bury it in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in a special tomb prepared for this ceremony. After a few days the new king, Baldwin II, was elected and anointed.

These ceremonies had a unique character. The king's body was led in solemn procession to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday when the liturgy commemorates Jesus' triumphal entry into the city. Thus the dead king's body became an important element in the liturgy of the Christ's death and resurrection. The new king was anointed on Easter – that was no

coincidence, but rather a planned conjunction of religious ceremonies and the rite of succession.

The paper will analyse Albert's description of these events; it will examine the relationship between religious liturgy and royal power as well as the role of the king's body in paschal ceremonies. My research focuses on the background and meaning of combining rituals commemorating Jesus' death and resurrection with public manifestations of the Kingdom's authority.

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Júlia Bara, MTA BTK MI Budapest

Representation of the Deceased in the Funerals of the Hungarian Aristocracy in the 17th and 18th Centuries

My paper deals with the funeral ceremonies and decorations of the Hungarian aristocracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the broader context of Western and Central Europe. I will focus

especially on the visual quality of the ceremonies engaged in the personal and political representation of the deceased by means of interconnecting elements, such as emblematic decorations, symbolical ritual practices and sepulchral art.

I will argue that the concept of representation is multi-faceted; it can be used as a means of commemorating the personal, social, political aspects of the deceased, but it can also be used in the sense of a mystical embodiment, referring to those visual elements which made the dead person symbolically present to the mourners. Since funerals were held in the presence of the body of the deceased (*præsente corpora*), the representation of that body played a prominent role in funeral ceremonies. This is especially true in the case of the upper social classes, which will be in the focus of my investigation.

Specifically, I will demonstrate that the funerals of the Hungarian aristocracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were influenced both by medieval chivalric culture and by royal funerals. These influences were apparent in the traditions relating to lying in state, as well as in the use of weapons, coats of arms, flags, and other symbolic elements – such as the use of alter egos, impersonators or living representatives – intended to stand in for the body of the deceased. These latter elements played a dual role in so far as they identified and represented the deceased, and also enabled him to take part in the offerings at his own funeral.

After 1570 these customs made their way into the funerals of the princes of the newly established principality of Transylvania. The first prince, John Sigismund Zápolya, was buried according to these traditions in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania) as early as 1571. More significantly the funeral of Christopher Báthory in 1581 – organised by his brother, Stephen Báthory, king of Poland – placed an emphasis on the political representation of the Báthory family as legitimate heirs to the power of the principality. The continuity of power was symbolised by

two alter egos who were given a distinguished place in the funeral procession. The custom of using two alter egos most probably came into general use in Transylvania after this funeral (Apor 1978; Balogh 2007; Szabó 1989, 1998).

The swords carried in the funeral procession had similar functions: those swords held up without their scabbard symbolised military virtue and the power of the deceased, while those held with their crests turned towards the ground signified the inactivity of this power following the death of its holder. These customs recurred at the funerals of Stephen Báthory in Kraków in 1588 (Jakó 1996, pp. 240–243), and there are analogies in western funeral practices as well.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the symbolic funeral tradition of using alter egos dressed in armour to carry the funeral flag and military symbols – as well as the custom of breaking the sword, mace and shield – started to appear in the burial ceremonies of the aristocracy in Hungary and Transylvania. The eighteenth-century funerals of the Károlyi family probably represent the last instance where these customs of medieval origin were still in use.

Other elements contributed to the visual and symbolic content of the funeral processions and burial ceremonies. These included decorative harnesses for the lead horses, Turkish pipes, armed military troops, and coats of arms draped on the coffin or on the *mortuarium*-horses, which were covered with black textile and donated to the church after the ceremony (Pálffy 2005, p. 483; Evans 1979, pp. 240–249).

In addition to these elements containing traces of medieval customs, the baroque period witnessed the golden age of the *castrum doloris*. These ephemeral architectural constructions built above the catafalques became central theatrical scenes around which funeral masses were performed (Popelka 1994; Popelka 1999, pp. 9–80). They differed from earlier examples by virtue of their size and their complex iconographical programme, which was partially connected to biblical

topics, but which also referred to the person of the deceased, his earthly life and apotheosis. Their message was further enhanced by the music, the lighting of the sanctuary and the richness of the liturgy.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century the use of the *castra doloris* became widespread among the Hungarian nobility, probably due to the influence of royal funerals in Vienna. The first *castrum doloris* used in Hungarian funerals was erected in 1615 at the funeral of Ferenc Forgách, bishop of Esztergom, in Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia). The best-known and richly documented is from the funeral, also in Nagyszombat, of four Esterházy who died in the battle of Vezekény against the Turks (1654). Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the *castrum doloris* became an indispensable element of the funeral ceremonies of the Hungarian high nobility (Kovács 2011, pp. 327–328; Szádeczky 1907, pp. 276–280; Galavics 1974; Galavics 1986, p. 78; Bene 1999; Szerémi 1879, pp. 425–428; Viskolcz 2006).

In my paper I argue that the *castrum doloris* was used to represent the body of the deceased in a figurative sense. As the emphasis shifted from representations of the 'body natural' to the 'body politic' or social body of the deceased, the *castra doloris* became symbols of a politico-historical continuity as well as reminders of social affiliation. Their main role was to create an idealised posthumous image of the deceased, suggesting that he possessed the characteristics and virtues which gave him access to Heaven.

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Body of Queen and Her Sons

Ágnes Máté, University of Warsaw/ ITI MTA Budapest

The Queen's Body and the Body Politic of the Kingdom

The aim of my presentation is to examine the position and tasks of a queen (and her body) in relation to the body politic of the Kingdom of Hungary between 1450 and 1560.

During this period the role of the Hungarian queen included all the elements of medieval queenship as described most recently by Theresa Earenfight. It was necessary for a queen to embody the virgin/the chaste woman, the wife, the mother, the widow and the patron of the arts, to mention only a few.

However, from the middle of the fifteenth century until the partition of Hungary in 1541, the queen's presence at the court of Buda become an anomaly; the queen, who came from a different cultural and political background and was, by definition, a foreigner, functioned almost as an alien body within the body politic of the kingdom.

In my presentation, I will focus on Beatrix of Aragon (1457–1508), who was the second wife of Matthias Corvinus between 1476 and 1490, and become the alien *par excellence*, and her reputation as the bad queen persisted in Hungarian historiography until the beginning of the twentieth century. I will focus specifically on Beatrix's struggles to fulfil all the various roles expected of a queen, according to, and despite the expectations of her husband and her subjects.

The presentation will discuss how Beatrix, with help of Italian humanists, used and willingly transformed the images of previous Hungarian and Hungarian-related queens in order to construct and defend her own reputation as the Queen of Hungary.

When political circumstances required, Beatrix presented herself as Maria of Anjou, the only queen regnant in Hungarian history. When she failed to give an heir to Matthias Corvinus, she represented herself as

Kunigunda of Luxembourg, the chaste wife of emperor Heinrich II (der Heilige). When she became a widow, Beatrix consented to a humanistic compilation entitled *De claris selectique mulieribus* by Jacopo Foresti, in which she had herself compared to Gisella, the wife of Saint Stephen I, presented contrary to both the historical facts and to the general image of the first Hungarian queen within the Hungarian tradition.

After her second, unconsummated marriage to another Hungarian king, Vladislaus II, Beatrix became a symbol of the unfortunate queen. She was used as a negative example in the epithalamium written in 1539 for the marriage of János Szapolyai and Isabella of Jagiello, the last king and queen of the undivided Kingdom of Hungary.

However as the figure of Matthias Corvinus became a demigod in Hungarian historiography, Beatrix was assigned the role of his negative counterpart, and the source of all the bad things that happened to the kingdom. Beatrix of Aragon, Queen of Hungary, was transformed in hindsight into the alien body that needed to be excised in order to save the integrity of the kingdom — even if that integrity had already been lost forever.

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Natalia Obukowicz, University of Warsaw

Catherine de Medici and the Anatomy of the Queen's Body

In 1559 Henry II of France died in an accident, leaving his wife and young children at the head of the kingdom which faced growing tensions between Catholics and Protestants. From that moment until her death in 1589, Catherine de' Medici would remain behind the reigns of her sons Francis II (1559–1560), Charles IX (1560–1574) and Henry III (1574–1589) as a powerful regent playing the double role of a faithful widow and a devoted mother.

Ernst H. Kantorowicz's famous theory of the king's two bodies argues that the king has a natural, mortal body and a body politic which represents the community of his realm (Kantorowicz 1957). Catherine's regency during the most tormented period of the French Wars of Religion offers an interesting insight into the possible extensions of this scheme (Gaehtgens 1995). In fact, her political position as a female regent depended wholly on her corporeal link with her dead husband and her young sons (Crawford 2000); she thus presented herself to the public in the privileged role of the king's wife and the king's mother. On one hand, Catherine was the eternal widow, always wearing a funeral dress, and cherishing the mystical and political body of the dead king. On the other hand, as a mother, she took care of the natural king's body, subject to all infirmities and defects.

This double role may be observed in her public image, in curial poetry, and in Catherine's private correspondence. She chose for her motto several quotes referring to her husband's death, including *Ardorem extincta, vivere testantur flamma* ('Although the fire is extinguished, the passion still remains') and *Lacrimae hinc, hinc dolor* ('This is the source of my tears and of my sorrow') associated with the image of the lance that struck the Henry II's helmet. Moreover, as we can see in the famous "History of the Queen Artemisia" (*Histoire de la Royne Arthemise*) by

Nicolas Houël, Catherine also attempts to represent herself as the faithful queen who deplores the death of her husband Mausolus and looks after her son Lygdamis preparing him for the day he will become a king (Ffolliott 1987; Brooks 1999). In one of the laudatory poems dedicated to the queen by Jean-Antoine de Baïf and based on a play of alliteration, her regency (*régence*) becomes synonymous with sorrow (*regret*) – both her personal sorrow and one inspired by the disastrous situation of the French state. Catherine's own body is in constant pain as she feels the suffering of her children and that of the kingdom. Her correspondence is filled with descriptions of her disappointments and sorrows. In her letters she expresses the acute pain caused by the frail physical condition of her children and their eventual deaths, as well as the failure of their attempts to restore social harmony. It becomes clear that Catherine's image, based on *misericordia*, chastity and sacrificial love is to be associated the *mater dolorosa.* Her discourse would then be similar to the piteous lamentation with which the Virgin Mary mourns her crucified son (*luctus Mariae*). This Marian posture of Catherine de' Medici allows her to transgress her human condition; she becomes a mother to the whole French nation and feels in her own body all the suffering of her people. By imitating the grief of the blessed Virgin, Catherine is able to enhance the rhetorical power of her own words. It is not without reason that she hopes to bring peace and harmony into her kingdom through an appeal to pity (*commiseratio*) which is considered by Aristotle, Plato and Cicero as one of the most powerful human motivations, and as one of the most useful rhetorical devices. In my paper, I intend to analyse the curious intertwinement of Kantorowicz's theory, the Christian ethics of suffering and the rhetoric of *commiseratio* in order to explore the limits of political theology in the early modern France.

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Karolina Mroziewicz, University of Warsaw

Moulding the Royal Body: Public Discussion about the Upbringing of the last Jagiellon Child-Kings

Children and their upbringing is a matter involving all members of the polity. The recent and wide-ranging public discussions about the primer prepared by the Polish Ministry of Education, or the controversial 'Ratujmy Maluchy' ('Save the Youngsters') initiative, which tumultuously contests compulsory education for six-year-olds, are typical Polish examples. Children are and always have been targets of collective attention, objects of political and religious ritual, and above all, of disciplinary practices which aim to integrate them more firmly into society and, in doing so, to ensure the cohesion of the polity. It is no wonder then that the body of the *rex iuvenis* was in the public eye. The proper education and upbringing of an infant ruler was expected to be

performed with every effort, visible to all members of the political community, and provided in the way they considered most suitable. The instructors were expected not only to possess the highest learning and be of impeccable character, but also to be natives of the ruled community so the mind of the ruler would be imbued with indigenous virtues (Cf. Orzechowski 1548, B3v). The young king was also to be disciplined and hardened from the earliest age to fit the virile *corpus politicum* thought to descend from Scythians and Sarmatians; the young age of a child was considered to be the best moment for all sorts of corrective practices 'for it is then that it is best moulded and takes the impression that one wishes to stamp upon it.' (Plato, 'Republic', 2.377b).

The sixteenth century produced an abundance of public speeches, official letters, reports, diaries and chronicles which critique the royal upbringing of the two last Jagiellon infant kings – Louis II of Hungary (1506–1526) and Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572). Both Louis II of Hungary and Sigismund II Augustus were the late, long-awaited male offspring of their elderly fathers, whose early *vivente rege* coronation was intended to prevent a fissure in the succession of the Hungarian and Polish thrones. The alleged improper conduct of the young king of Hungary was compared to that of Sigismund and articulated as a warning for the king of Poland (inter alia Pretwicz 1546, pp. 152–153; Zborowski, 'Oratio', p. 24). The upbringing of both provoked discontent and concern among the *membra regni*, who wished to have a role in moulding the royal body. The poor conduct of the Hungarian king was blamed for every calamity faced by the kingdom. The spoiled and slothful body of the young ruler was finally rejected by the *corpus politicum Hungariae* and eventually held responsible for the decomposition of the Hungarian state after 1526.

The main objective of this paper is to analyse the public discussion concerning the upbringing of the last Jagiellon child-kings in order to shed light on the close relationship between the upbringing of

the infant ruler and the corporate body of his kingdom. It attempts to show that the infant body of the king was both a promise and a threat for the Hungarian and Polish *corpus politicum*. The paper will highlight the idea that the infantile body of the king was expected to act beyond natural laws and to host adult virtues (Langmuir 2006, p. 188). If it failed to do so it was accused of being 'effeminate', which in fact meant easy to manipulate, slothful, dull, cowardly, foreign, sexually deviant and voluptuary, thus alien to the masculine corporate bodies of the Hungarian and Polish kingdoms.

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Corpus politicum

Márton Zászkaliczky, MTA BTK ITI Budapest

From the *universitas Saxonum* to the *Kirche Gottes sächsischer Nation:* The Birth of the Saxon Political Nation in 15th– 16th century Transylvania Through Political and Confessional Institutionalisation and Identity-building

In my paper, I intend to chart the long process through which a Medieval corporation (*universitas Saxonum*) developed into an ethno-confessional community (*Natio Saxonica*). In 1437 the *Siebenbürgische Sachsen* received the status of a political nation within the particular estates system of Transylvania, that is, the three nations of the Hungarian nobles, the Szeklers, and the Saxons. In this position the *nationes* were regularly confirmed. The Transylvanian Saxons gained their autonomy gradually during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The Lutheran Reformation of Brassó and Burzenland – and later of all Saxons in Transylvania – contributed new community and identity-building factors, and thereby brought about the emergence of the autonomous Saxon community that was not only a legal corporation but also the national community of Lutheran Saxons, 'the Saxon nation'.

The Protestant Reformation in Brassó began as part of this longer process. It was achieved as city reform when the (mainly lay) city leadership carried out a general communal reformation that created a reformed city community (*reformierte Stadtgemeinde* and not only *Kirchengemeinde*). However the drive for reform had already appeared as early as the fifteenth century. The need for a unified Saxon region and especially for a unified written law occurred because the inherited customary law of the city could no longer function properly due to the increased commercial activity of the region and Brassó.

Johannes Honterus, the main engineer of the Saxon Reformation, is known as a humanist and a polymath, a school and church organiser, an educator and a publisher. After returning from studies in Vienna,

Basel and Kraków, Honterus, as communal councillor of the city council, engaged in an overarching reform of the city. His reforms followed a communal judge, Johannes Fuchs' initiatives 'to repair the Christian church'. Evangelical mess service was introduced, a new church organisation was established, and schools with an open-minded humanist curriculum were set up at various levels.

In 1543 Johannes Honterus published his *Reformatio Ecclesiae Coroniensis ac totius Barcensis provinciae,* which was not a reformer program to be accomplished in the future (as for long believed) but an account of the actions and tasks he had already completed. According to his view, the Christian faith and the schools had been suppressed by old customs and laws; in order to prevent *patria nostra* degenerating into barbarism because of the negligence of authority (*per incuriam magistratuum*), the control of schools, as well as the care for orphans and the poor had to be taken over by the community. Honterus in the same year published a work under the title *Apologia Reformationis* (*Die Apologie des Reformationsbüchleins,* 1543) which, in accordance with its genre, asserted the lawfulness and righteousness of his actions.

Honterus represented a moderate tradition of reform which did not necessarily want to separate from the Catholic church; his reforms can be interpreted as a medieval-minded attempt to restore urban institutions to their original place and condition, an attempt not unprecedented in Europe before the Schmalkaldic war. The fact that the political and ecclesiastical superiors – who summoned Honterus to the diet and a canons' meeting in Alba Iulia – tried in vain to prevent the activities of Honterus' reflects the political nature of his reforms, even if they were carried out in a political vacuum due to the lack of a consolidated political power.

Honterus' achievement can be seen as one stage in the formation of a political nation. The emerging national identity however was far from modern nationalism, as it still presented a composite character. The

numerous layers of allegiances are scattered throughout Honterus' writings, and they include universal Christianity, *adendlandischen Christenheit* (Latin Christendom), the Holy Roman Empire with its colonies in Siebenbürgen, Kingdom of Hungary, *Transylvania nostra* (*unserns gemeinsams Vaterlands*), *natio saxonum*, the direct patria of Burzenland, the region around Brassó, and the city of Brassó.

As a result of Honterus' reform activities, the whole Saxon nation turned towards the new faith in 1544. New church ordinances and a German songbook were accepted. In 1550 the administration of religious life of the Transylvanian Saxons became ratified, but it covered not only the members of the *universitas saxonum*, but also peasants living in noble estates. While the autonomy of the Saxons was gradually extended, they also retained certain institutions that had existed before the reformation: ministers could still be chosen freely, and the Saxon bishop still represented the unity of the church, even if he was now a Lutheran. In 1572, the Augsburg Confession became compulsory for the Saxon *universitas*, completing the interplay between the estate and the spiritual *universitas,* although some tensions remained.

According to the traditional view, ethnic factors had not been a criteria informing the membership of the legally defined corporations, but the case of the Transylvanian Saxons challenges this position. As the *universitas saxorum* became a fully Lutheran nation in 1572, the *Geistlichen universität der Sachsen* emerged as a confessional estate, although it exceeded the borders of their corporation, just as the Lutheran church included German-speaking peasants who in theory were not members of the Saxon university. This shift exceeded the borders of the medieval estate and fundamentally altered the criteria for belonging to the community.

The tendency of transgressing social borders may also be seen in the fact that the new church ordinance was meant for all Germans in

Transylvania (*Kirchenordnung aller Deutschen in Sybenbürben*, 1547). More importantly, the term *universitas* started to be replaced by the term *nation*, thus the university of the German nation (*Die Universität der deutschen Nation*) became equivalent with the *universitas saxonum*. It seems apparent that the medieval corporation did not only become confessionalised but nationalised as well. Nevertheless, the borders were still not clear. Even if individual Saxons after 1583 became subjects of new private law adapted from Roman law, this new *Sächsischen recht* pertained to Romanians as well. These rather ambiguous correlations between estate, confession and ethnicity remained typical of the Saxons and, to some extent of the entire estates society of Transylvania.

Aleksander Sroczyński, University of Warsaw

Antenor – Old-Polish Statesman Inc.?

This paper is a part of larger attempt to understand the role played by images of falling polities during the early modern period. Within the paper, I will look at the most famous of all the fallen polities – the city of Troy – by examining an historical instance in which the Trojan myth was used in the theatre.

Specifically, I would like to address the role Antenor within Jan Kochanowski's *Odprawa posłów greckich* ("The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys"), an experiment in literary drama staged at the wedding feast of one of the most powerful persons in the kingdom – its vice-chancellor, Jan Zamoyski – and in the presence of the king Stefan Bathory. The drama is focused on the deliberations of a city, as it decides whether to go to war over Helen, or to let her return to her husband Menelaus. My paper will examine Antenor's relation to his community both during the

deliberation and after the decision was reached, and will consider its aftermath as reported by Livy.

While some aspects of the Trojan councils may be linked to the Old-Polish parliamentary culture, the tragedy cannot be read as an allegory or political commentary on current events. Rather, it is a universal tale about the role of the good statesman as an orator; in this respect, the key protagonist is Antenor. His actions will be examined according to Hans Blumenberg's concept of ancient and modern rhetoric and its political implications; specifically I shall argue that Kochanowski's Antenor offers neither ancient nor modern rhetoric in the pure form described by Blumenberg. Rather, he may embody another type of rhetoric developed in response to the challenges of modernity in the milieu of Old-Polish culture.

Antenor is bound by a dual obligation to his community: he must serve it with honest and prudent council, but he must also abide by those rulings made in the name of common salvation, even when they are contrary to his own advice. Even the failure of the state does not dissolve the statesman's duties; Antenor, much like Aeneas, would lead a group of Trojans to Italy, where he would become a founder of Patavium (modern Padova).

Antenor's prudence is contrasted with the rash views of the other orators, in particular Iketaon, a reckless warmonger who convinces the Trojans to keep Helen in the city and take up arms. Against this background, Antenor – who speaks the final words in the drama – becomes a symbol of the perseverance of the statesman and, more generally, of the wellbeing and good government of a community. Paradoxically, these qualities are revealed in the story of a city which decides to bring doom upon itself. The poet, however, does not allow the prophetess Kassandra to speak the last words. Instead it is Antenor, the true protagonist, who delivers the final verses, thus offering hope for the survival of true statecraft.

Alexandra Anokhina, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

"*Corpus politicum est unio physica, vel moralis*": Francisco Suárez' Contractualist Theory

The idea of a contractual state is a product of the early modern period. Discussions about the superiority of the Pope during the Fifth Lateran Council and the unrecognized Council in Pisa were one of the primary factors leading to the appearance of the contractualist theory in Catholic thought (Oakley 2003, p. 113). The idea of the state as a political body emerged in the texts of Jacques Almain, who attributed superior political power to the council. Almain wrote that the 'political body' is a person which consists of united people just as a human body consists of various individual parts (Almain 1537, Q. 3, cap. I). For this reason the political body appears naturally, without divine influence. Almain's opponent, Thomas de Vio (Cajetan), insisted on the divine origin of power.

In order to understand the philosophical teachings of Suárez we must first look to Fr. Vitoria OP, who founded the Salamanca School. He was Almain's disciple in the University of Paris and a contemporary of Cajetan, who was a general of the Dominican order between 1508 and 1518. Vitoria was the first theologian to unite the concepts of *potestas* and *auctoritas* and to strip them of their secular and ecclesial connotations (Marey 2014, p. 129). However the main difference between Suárez and Vitoria is their differing theories on the establishment of the state. In the *De potestate Civili* Vitoria claims that state and cities have divine nature as well as *potestas*. Suárez maintains that states and cities are constructed solely of human volition. The difference in their views is perhaps most apparent in their interpretations of the concept of a 'city'. Suárez introduced into the political thought of Salamanca the concept of the 'political body' as a characteristic of cities and states. In my paper, I will

examine this main element of his contractual theory according to *De Legibus*.

By rejecting the divine element in political theory, Suárez set the limits for his theory of the origin of political power. Suárez characterized the divine origin of power as an 'extraordinary case, which does not overstep the limits of nature' (Suárez 1856, 3.1.2.), and is equal to the other ways by which political power may be obtained. He refers to human political communities as the 'political body', the main characteristics of which are physical and moral unity. It is impossible to imagine the political body without government, because the unity of this body is the result of subordination to the government, and more broadly to a higher power. Were it not for this unity, the body would not be able to strive for common goals and general welfare. However the 'political body' is not a naturally occurring phenomenon. The body and political power only emerge when individuals construct cities.

The 'political body' allows a government to be established without divine intervention. Just as God can not affect policy (which is a human choice), in civil affairs people are ruled by natural reason rather than by Revelation (Suárez 1856, 3.4.2.). In Suárez's political thought, there is no divine element behind the establishment of political power, and no individual has political power by nature. The body is an independent subject, and Suárez thus identifies the 'political body' as a person, although he does not give it a name as Almain does. The body represents unity: it has volition and a common goal, specifically, the establishment of the common welfare.

These characteristics make Suárez's political body different from the early modern Scholastic concept of *respublica*. In the Second Scholastic political theory (Fr. Vitoria), the concept of *respublica* signifies a political subject, as well as the 'city' constructed by God. For Suárez, both of these concepts are the result of human activity.

The second main concept is that of the 'mystical body', which denoted the Church and spiritual relations in late Medieval political thought. For Suárez, the mystical body represents society, in which there are relations between individuals: they support each other for a common political purpose, and together they construct the 'political mystical body' (Suárez 1856, 3.2.4.). Neither the mystical or political bodies imply a specifically ecclesial or secular character, but rather become a general political concept. The commonplace of Second Scholastic thought is the proclamation that the *respublica ecclesia* is as self-sufficient as the state. The idea that the 'mystical body' consists of more than just spiritual relations allows for the division of the Church into a political institute (a *corpus mysticum politicum* in the secular sense) and a 'Corpus Christi'. In the first case, the head of the Church has all the attributes of a secular government (*potestas*), but in the second its power *(auctoritas*) is divine and thus superior to that of council and kings.

We may outline several aspects of Suárez's concept of the 'political body'. Firstly, the political body is the result of rejecting the divine element in political theory, in favour of the notion that this body is created and ruled by people. This feature differentiates the political body from the concept of *respublica* which existed at the time Suárez was writing. Secondly, the concept of a 'common goal' – that is an aspiration to common welfare and common volition – allows the body to be presented as a person; this idea is similar, although not identical, to Hobbes' 'commonwealth'. Thirdly, the political mystical body guarantees the unity of the political body without introducing ecclesiastic connotations. Nevertheless, this notion implies that the head of the Church is vested with all attributes of secular power, namely, the dynamic and violent functions of *potestas*. It also makes the pontiff the only person whose power is divine and therefore higher than that of any secular government.

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Keynote lecture

Simon Burton, University of Warsaw

From Nicholas of Cusa to Jan Amos Comenius: Covenant, Kingship and Ontology in an Age of Transition

The philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) is widely agreed to lie on the threshold of modernity. This is no less true of his political thought which seeks to harmonise – in a new political as well as ecclesiological *concordantia* – the rival claims of Papacy, Empire and Council. Cusa is of course famous for his *volte face* from being one of the leading Conciliarists at the Council of Basel to becoming the champion of the Papacy and the 'Hercules of the Eugenians'. This is often seen as a betrayal of the proto-modern ideals expressed in his *De Concordantia Catholica* of 1433, which espoused advanced views on consent and representation, and a conservative regress towards a traditional political ontology based on a static, hierarchical view of the world. In fact, just as his philosophical works sought to hold together Realist and Nominalist, and intellectualist and voluntarist, emphases within a dynamic, Trinitarian metaphysics, so his political discussions sought a new synthesis of participationist and covenantal ideas. In doing so Cusa's discussion points towards a new understanding of political and papal kingship and a new metaphysical construal of the classic theme of the king's two bodies.

In this light it is surprising that Ernst Kantorowicz references Nicholas of Cusa only once in his famous study of medieval political theology. For Cusa's thought, and his own struggle to unify diverging forces, helps to illuminate the wider tensions of the fifteenth century, at a time when European society was moving towards Reformation and the rise of new philosophies and ideologies was beginning to challenge traditional political structures. My paper will therefore seek to use Cusa as a springboard for examining the interaction of participationist and covenantal themes of kingship from the fifteenth century through to the

seventeenth century. It will focus on the complex political legacy of conciliarism and contractualism, especially as represented within the British tradition. For these wider movements represent an initial extrapolation and later dramatic extension of the political theories of Cusa and his fellow conciliarists, and thus, as Quentin Skinner and Annabel Brett have argued, played a key role in the genesis of early modern politics.

In doing so it will examine on the one hand the potential of the new covenantal and contractual ideals of kingship to destabilise the fragile relationship of the body of the king and the body of the realm. Here the Scottish covenanter Samuel Rutherford (1600–1661), in his attempt to exploit the antagonism of the king's two bodies in the interest of theocratic reform, stands out as an exponent of this radical conciliar politics,. On the other hand it will also examine the way in which conciliar politics could continue to blend with Neo-Platonic philosophy, leading to new affirmations of the cohesion and coinherence of individual and communal authority. Here the universal reform project of the Czech theologian Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who, as Jan Patočka has suggested, was in many ways a child of the fifteenth century, may be seen as the culmination of an irenic conciliarism with its roots in Cusa's own alternative vision of Christendom.

Simon Burton works at the Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw. He studied both Natural Sciences (BSc 2004) and Theology (Diploma 2005; MPhil 2006) at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He gained his PhD in Historical Theology from the University of Edinburgh (2011). The extended version of his dissertation, entitled *The Hallowing of Logic: The Trinitarian Method of Richard Baxter's Methodus Theologiae*, was published in 2012 in Brill's Series in Church History and Religious Culture.

Theology, Cult and Liturgy

Paweł Figurski, University of Warsaw

Liturgical Books and Sacral Kingship of the Piasts: A Reconsideration

Ernst Kantorowicz in his seminal work "The King's Two Bodies" brought about the impact of the liturgy on the political system of the Ottonians. He also formulated the concept of 'liturgical kingship' – a kingship defined and related to the 'God-man, the Son lying on the Altar' (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 78, 93). Therefore, the question is raised as to whether the royal and ducal power of the Piasts, who generally followed the ideology of the Ottonians, had also adopted the notion of sacral kingship centered on the liturgy.

The paper will analyze the impact of liturgical books on the elevation of political power of the Piasts into the supernatural order. It will discuss the most important manuscripts connected with the kings and dukes during the first and the second monarchy, namely: *Codex Mathildis, Sacramentary of Tyniec, Cracow Pontifical*, and two *Golden Codices*: from Pułtusk and Gniezno. The goal of the paper is to set the prayers embedded in these manuscripts into the context of the contemporary practices performed by post-Carolingian rulers. This context prompts a reconsideration of the previously held thesis about the sacral kingship of the Piasts.

The supernatural character of the dynasty seems to be rooted in the pre-Christian dynastic tradition, what Jacek Banaszkiewicz had explained interpreting the *origo* preserved in the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymous through the perspective of the Indo-European mythical heritage. The first rulers from the dynasty were expected to perform all three functions of the ideal king as formulated by G. Dumézil.

Directly after Christianization, the Piast rulers adopted new ways of stressing their sacral position. The oblation of the land to the Prince of the Apostles should provide special care of Saint Peter over the land as well as the actions undertaken by its leaders. It appears that the idea of

Saint Peter's patronage over Poland was alive, as it is witnessed in the texts of Brun of Querfurt. It was the Prince of the Apostles that defended the land of Bolesław the Brave before Henry II.

The Piasts adopted the instrumentation of Christian rulers quite quickly. In 1025 there were two anointments of Polish rulers, Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II. These kings were active as the founders that had religious as well as political significance. They spread Christianity, imposed new laws based on the Christian system of values and created fraternal bonds with Ottonian monasteries. Ottonian and Salian rulers served as role models in these undertakings. From this period the *Codex Mathildis* reveals how sacral kingship of the Piasts could have been perceived by Ottonian nobility.

The next important stage for the supernatural character of the dynasty is the royal coronation of Bolesław the Generous in 1076. The illuminated manuscript, the *Sacramentary of Tyniec* is most likely connected to this event. In the manuscript there are many liturgical prayers for rulers and they yet to be analyzed in the wider context in order to understand the significance of the orations for the notion of sacral kingship of Piasts.

Within the same period of the second monarchy, two manuscripts inscribed in gold were produced. *Golden Codex from Pułtusk* and *Gniezno* belongs to the very same milieu and could have been ordered either by the Bolesław the Generous or his brother Władysław Herman. As *codices aurei*, they are intrinsically connected with the royal ideology. The iconography of these manuscripts is however striking, as it seems to undermine the sacral notion of kingship.

Presumably around the government of Władysław Herman the *Cracow Pontifical* was produced. This liturgical book is considered an attempt to sacralise ducal power of the Piasts. In the manuscript there is a blessing for the duke, which might have been foreseen as the inauguration ritual, what was recently described by Zbigniew Dalewski.

In my paper, I argue that the prayers embedded in the *Cracow Pontifical* do not imply a strong connection between the Piasts and sacral kingship.

All in all the paper is meant to shed new light on the manuscripts traditionally associated with the sacral kingship of the Piasts. It questions the thesis formulated by Aleksander Gieysztor, Roman Michałowski and Zbigniew Dalewski and poses the liturgical material embedded in these manuscripts into the wider context of Ottonian and Salian liturgy. The results reconsider some of the commonly held views on these finest examples of liturgical books.

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Wojciech Kozłowski, CEU Budapest

Political Theology of Conflict between Political Bodies in Thirteenth-Century Latin Christendom

The idea of a common Christian society was conceived during the middle of the eleventh century, and was used to promote a form of unity which transgressed political divisions. This unity in turn allowed for collective actions – most notably the crusades – to be undertaken on behalf of all believers, which could no longer be reduced to the individual interests of separate lordships. This concept of Christendom as an 'international community' was grounded in a particular way of imagining the political and social organisation of mankind. Christian

political culture had a sense of hierarchy, devised and sustained by God, that could claim leadership of a universal community and place it under papal authority and pastoral guidance. It was the duty of both ecclesiastical leaders and secular rulers to protect, maintain and (when necessary) implement this order. The order, ideally guarded by the moral and religious authority of the pope and the secular authority of the emperor, aimed to create a world-wide community of Christians as a prelude to the end of history. This combined political and theological discourse was recognised by the elites of Christendom, and created the cultural setting for the formation of an 'international community'.

This idea of an 'international community' demanded that its members comply with modes of behaviour that were galvanised by the dominant political and legal culture. While the scope of this paper does not allow me to elaborate on the role of political theology in the formation of this international community, the paper will investigate how political theology contributed to the community's internal ordering. Specifically, it will examine how the 'international community' sought to resolve political conflict between its members, and whether this practice employed any forms of political theology. In other words, it will attempt to identify whether this 'international community' attempted to govern the conflicting behaviours of its member states with the help of political theology and, if so, how it was applied on a practical level. For this inquiry I will apply a comparative analysis of the political rulings of the thirteenth-century Church general councils (Lateran IV, Lyons I and Lyons II) and the thirteenth-century annals of Great Poland.

This approach is unconventional in so far as it applies concepts of political theology and political body outside their ordinary contexts. Traditionally, political theology refers to a type of legal theory that can be applied to the legitimisation of a political system within a single political unit, normally a state. In such cases, political theology is used as a means of employing, adapting or interpreting elements of divine authority to

determine the political order of a given society. In this paper I propose to go beyond these conventions by moving away from the standard perspective – which examines how divine authority and theological inspirations are used within the framework of an individual political entity – and adopting an approach which views 'political bodies' in interaction with one another. Thus, the goal of this paper is to determine whether the term 'political theology' can be effectively employed outside the internal structures of a 'political body'.

In conclusion, this paper has three principal aims. First, it will justify the unconventional application of political theology within the realm of international politics; in order to accomplish this it will be necessary to position this new understanding of political theology within the existing array of interpretations. Second, the paper will argue that thirteenth-century Latin Christendom may be viewed as a form of 'international community'. Finally, it shall make a comparative analysis of sources to determine how the 'international community' dealt with conflicts among its members, and the extent to which political theology played a role in these processes.

Piotr Kołpak, Jagiellonian University in Cracow

The Place of Saints in the Polish Kingdom's Political Bodies During the Jagiellonian Dynasty

Polish historiography has long assumed that the term 'the patron saint of the kingdom' is clear and unambiguous. This assumption, however, stems from a lack of thoughtful analysis, and the absence of precise criteria defining the nature of a state's patronage. In fact, sources

from the Jagiellonian era suggest that saints played a far more complex role in the varying conceptions of the state promoted by the ruling dynasty and the Polish Episcopate (especially the Kraków bishops). For both parties, the saints formed an important part of their vision of the state, and both sides exploited the saints through the creation of *corpus Ecclesiae mysticum* on the one hand, and *corpus Reipublicae mysticum* on the other (Kantorowicz 1957). Both sides needed the patron saints of the Polish Kingdom to constitute their visions through historical validation and heavenly *placet*.

The criteria for determining the suitability for a saint's patronage included: 1) the hagiographical elements of the saint's *vita* needed to be rooted in local or national historiography; 2) the cult of the saint needed to be in the official state ceremonial; 3) in the pre-Tridentine canonical books and calendars, the commemoration of the saint needed to be held in the high rite. Zenon Piech has further elaborated on the iconographical criteria, suggesting that: a) the saint had to appear in the group of other saints treated as the patron saints of the kingdom; b) the saint had to appear among the official state signs; c) the saint had to be depicted beside the king; d) the saints had to appear on the official artifacts (e.g. a seal) (Piech 1999). Last but not the least, the saint needed to be labeled *expressis verbis* as 'the patron saint of the kingdom'.

One of the fundamental sources relating to the question of patron saints is the fourth article (*de horis*) of the synodal statues from the Krakow diocese (1436). The article concerns Kraków bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, who decided to give a higher rank to St. Florian's liturgical commemoration. Within this text, we read about a commitment of particular piety toward these saints, whose 'heavenly intercession we feel the most. Our cathedral received the relics of the saint martyr Florian and thanks to his intercession, the whole Kingdom of Poland solidified and grew in faith. That's why we decided to glorify him amongst the other brilliant patron saints of the Kingdom of Poland, namely St. Adalbertus,

St. Stanislaus, and St. Wenceslaus' (Zachorowski 1915). In addition to explaining of the spiritual assistance of the saints, this passage also points to a group of four patron saints of the Polish Kingdom.

According to the Chronicle of Jan Długosz, king Władysław Jagiello said the following prayer before the Battle of Grunwald in 1410: 'I will beseech to Him as to the most righteous avenger of the pride, and to His Mother Virgin Mary and to the patron saints of mine and my kingdom: Stanislaus, Adalbertus, Wenceslaus, Florian and Hedwig'. The consequential phrase *patronos quoque meos et regni mei* indicates the interplay between the king's patronage and that of his kingdom. However we should bear in mind that the creator of this chronicle was also the personal assistant of bishop Oleśnicki.

Within the various sources, one can see the emergence of a fixed group of patron saints. St. Wenceslaus was the first patron saint of the Kraków cathedral; St. Florian was also connected with the Kraków cathedral; St. Adalbertus had a primary place in the group on account of his patronage of the archdiocese of Gniezno; however his role in the Christianisation of Poland was downplayed by fifteenth-century Krakovian lecturer Jan of Dąbrówka. Finally, St. Stanislaus, the bishop of Krakow who was killed by the knights of Boleslaw II the Bold in 1079, was the most popular Polish saint in the Late Middle Ages. He became a symbol for the Kraków bishops in their struggles with successive rulers.

Medieval hagiographical sources focused on the courageous resistance of St. Stanislaus against the oppressive policy of Boleslaw. For this reason, stories of the heroic bishop of Kraków became attractive for the successive shepherds of the Kraków diocese. Oleśnicki was particularly artful in evoking the story of St. Stanislaus repeatedly in his confrontations with the Jagiellonian rulers. He frequently compared even his most trivial quarrels with the Jagiellonians to the life-threatening conflicts between St. Stanislaus and Bolesław. In the chronicle of Jan Długosz, the Kraków bishops may be divided into two distinct types –

the good ones were almost always fighting against oppressive rulers, and were almost always following the model of St. Stanislaus. This is a superb example of how heroic narratives helped to define the shape of political issues, as well as the identity of the Polish Episcopate.

As a foreign dynasty, the Jagiellonians must have accepted the Krakovian version, in order to legitimise their authority. One example of their activity is found in an engraving in the collection of laws *Commune inclitii Regni Poloniae* compiled by Jan Łaski at the request of king Alexander. The engraving shows the group of the four patron saints of the Polish Kingdom, demonstrating both the idea of a united kingdom, and the requirement of unified laws within its territory.

This paper will present the role of the patron saints of the Polish Kingdom as understood by both the Polish Episcopate, and the political bodies of the king and his kingdom. While the two visions contained numerous differences, they could also complement one another, as in the event of *adventus regis*, the solemn arrival of Polish kings to the capital city of Kraków (Fałkowski 2010). Various processions came out of all the churches and, together with the people, they greeted the ruler. The king, the clergy and the people would then proceed to the cathedral where they would pay tribute to St. Stanislaus, the 'Dispensor of the Polish Crown'.

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Corpus politicum in Conflict

Elena Kiryanova, Independent scholar

The Metaphor of a Monstrous Body in the English Civil Wars

Corporeal metaphors were an important part of early modern European culture in general, and of British political culture in particular (Grantley & Taunton 2000; Burke 2004). By the mid-seventeenth century there existed several well-established theories based on corporeal metaphors, such as the idea of the 'body politic', the idea of the political body with the king as its head, and that of 'the king's two bodies' (Kantorowicz 1957). Within the framework of a major political crisis – which resulted in civil war, the execution of Charles I, the abolition of the monarchy, and the existence of a short-lived Commonwealth – the previous political theories were questioned, reconstructed and sometimes deconstructed. The corporeal political metaphors, largely used in these debates as a means of elaborating a particular author's ideas regarding the state, its integrity, and the role of the king in the political system, underwent similar changes.

In this paper I will examine these changes, which very often involved metaphors of monstrosity. The most obvious manifestation of monstrosity could be found within pamphlets about monsters which had become increasingly prominent. In some cases these pamphlets were 'miracles reports' which, although they added to the atmosphere of unrest, sent a purely religious and moral message (Crawford 2005; Soergel 2012); but many of them were explicitly political or contained political undertones (Cressy 2004). My purpose here is to analyse their meaning and to compare these expressions of political 'abnormalcy' with those of 'normalcy'.

One of the crucial topics of these debates was that of sovereignty. Royal sovereignty was a well-established and important part of the theory of the divine right of kings, the ideological cornerstone of the early Stuart monarchy. Even before the beginning of the Civil Wars,

Parliament began to contest this idea, claiming that sovereignty lay within it as a representative body of the nation. Corporeal metaphors played their part within this debate. Numerous tracts began to appear, one of which, written at the very beginning of the wars, took the traditional form of counsel to the king (*Examples* 1642). The tract stated that the body politic couldn't exist without a head, but the head couldn't change the laws of the body, thus calling for a restriction of royal power.

The escalation of hostilities led to an exaggerated rhetoric which reduced the traditional political metaphors to absurdity: the author of another anonymous pamphlet compared Charles I with 'the inhabitants of Bedlam', claiming that the absence of the king from his capital was the sign of his 'madness'. According to him the fact of separation of the head from the body politic signified, that this head was 'an empty scull' or 'a mad head' (*Animadversions* 1643).

The royalists turned to the idea of 'monstrous', 'unnatural transformations' of the body politic. The Bishop of Ossory, Gryffith Williams, speculated on this topic, using the classical metaphors of the rebellion of the snake's tail against its head, and the revolt of different body members against its stomach (Williams 1643). The snake's body was thus an example of the transformation of the body politic, implying that it had become 'possessed' by diabolical forces. The other metaphor implied the 'malnutrition' of the body politic and different 'disorders' resulting from this.

The other major topic of debates was that of the king's 'evil counsellors', who became the first target of parliamentary criticism of the political system. One of the most spectacular examples of this image of the enemy was an engraving with accompanying rhymes, entitled *The kingdom's monster uncloacked from heaven*. The monster, it was claimed, was the main enemy of Parliament (Monster 1643). The monster had three necks with many heads – one of the 'group of heads' stood for the Pope, Cardinals and Bishops, the second for 'malignant plotters', and the

third for 'the bloody Irish'. This image embodied the well-known metaphor of the hydra, which was widely used by the Royalists, who depicted Parliament as a 'many-headed monster'.

With the victory of the parliamentary army, these multiple discourses underwent deep changes: the theory of the divine right of kings was mostly discredited, but some of its crucial elements and methods of argumentation were used by the champions of the parliamentary cause. The same applies to the corporeal political metaphors: the 'normal' body politic was transformed into a 'monstrous' body, the well-known 'news' of monstrous births or an appearance of a monster were used to demonise a political opponent, and the king's two bodies were intentionally 'split' to justify war with the king. The gradual transformation of these 'abnormalcies' into a new 'normal' paved the way for the radical changes in English political culture and, in some way, made revolutionary changes in the political system acceptable.

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Emilia Olechnowicz, Institute of Arts of the Polish Academy of Sciences

The Beheaded King and the Separation of the King's Two Bodies: The Case of Charles I Stuart

This paper will examine a special moment in the history of European kingship: the trial and the public execution of the rightful sovereign of the United Kingdom, Charles I Stuart. His death in 1649 marks the moment – 'the great separation' as Mark Lilla puts it – at which the sacred and the secular identities of king become divided.

Paradoxically, Charles I sought to strengthen his royal prerogative throughout the course of his reign. In fact, he made forceful attempts to establish an absolute monarchy based on the idea of the divine right of kings. Both Charles I and his father, James I, developed a specific political doctrine asserting that the king's right to rule derives directly from the will of God, and cannot therefore be restrained or controlled. Subjects are bound to obey kings in the same way that they obey God, because the king is God's representative on earth. According to this doctrine, only God can judge an unjust king; any attempt to depose the king or to restrict his powers runs contrary to the will of God and constitutes a sacrilegious act. James I even wrote that the king is 'a little God to sit on his throne, and rule over other men'. (James I 2006, p. 64)

In a 1610 speech to Parliament, James I set forth his idea of kingship: 'The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods […] and so their

power after a certain relation compared to the Divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers of families; for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man'. (*Select Statues*, p. 293)

This doctrine, like many early modern ideas of power, has strong religious subtext. The exercising of royal authority was not merely a political aim: the early Stuarts understood the divine right of kings as an extension of the apostolic succession. Thus, the main obligation of the king was to execute God's plan of salvation: to protect the perfect order God had established, to defend the true faith, to uproot vices and to make virtues flourish – in other words, to restore the perfect harmony of nature and men that the ancients called the Golden Age.

The absolutist ambitions of Charles I collided with the English political tradition, and lead to the erosion of the separation of powers. While James's ambitions were tempered by a desire to compromise with his subjects, Charles believed that he had no need to explain his actions. Seeking to strengthen his royal prerogative, he questioned the political function of Parliament, and for eleven years – a period that would become known as the 'eleven years' tyranny' – he even ruled without it. His doctrine of government, however, was unpopular among the subjects and would become one of the major causes of the Civil War.

Paradoxically, both the supporters and opponents of the king believed that the political body of the kingdom could be equated with body politic of the king: his immortal, sacred royal persona. But for the royalists, the king's body was inseparable from the body politic, whereas Charles' opponents wished to fight the king in order to save the institution of kingship. Both sides of the conflict accused each other of treason: for the puritans, the king was a tyrant who had betrayed his royal duties and his own subjects, and was therefore no longer a rightful ruler. The royalists, on the other hand, claimed that the subjects had no right to judge their monarch: he was accountable to God alone, and no

human institution could question his divine right. During his trial, Charles I said: 'no earthly power can justly call me (who am your King) in question as a delinquent […], on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded in both the Old and New Testament'. (Gardiner 1906, p. 374)

The victory of the Puritans over the royalist army sealed the king's fate. Charles I, who saw himself as a sacred majesty blessed by God, was dethroned, tried, and convicted by his own subjects. He was executed for high treason in January 1649 and to the last moments he believed that 'a subject and a sovereign are clean different things' (Gregg 1981, p. 444). He ruled as God's anointed King and died as a 'tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy'. It would be difficult to find a more striking example of the separation of the king's two bodies.

The fact that it was possible to bring a king to trial and legally sentence him to death was an important step in the process by which kingship became secularised. The king's natural body proved to be vulnerable and, although the puritans hoped it would not affect the body politic, history proved otherwise. After Charles' death, the monarchy was abolished and a republic called the Commonwealth of England was declared. When the monarchy was restored to Charles's son, Charles II, neither the king, nor his subjects ever mentioned the divine right of kings as a source of royal prerogative. From that point onward, the king was no longer God's lieutenant on Earth; his prerogatives were now controlled by Parliament and limited by his people. Over the course of time subjects became citizens and the mystical body of kingship became a modern state.

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Dressing Political Body

Anna Wyszyńska, Jagiellonian University in Cracow

The King's New Clothes? The Dress of Sigismund I the Old and the Power-Dressing of European Sovereigns

Dress plays a significant role in creating one's image. In sources created at the threshold of the early modern period it was regarded as an important statement, an element of a sovereign's portraits that reveals not only their wealth or social status, but also their ancestry and their political and religious views. As it became more common to depict rulers in private (or even informal) clothes, it became possible to introduce and convey even more information, while the art of employing specific elements of one's attire to make an impression on the viewer (power-dressing) was a significant element of court etiquette, as is made plain by the wardrobes of Henry VIII, Charles V, or Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, among others.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the figure of the sovereign was rendered distinct not only through physiognomy, but also through specific attributes or garments. A group of portraits and effigies of Sigismund I the Old, created during the course of his forty year reign, may serve as a confirmation of this statement. These images provide splendid evidence of transformations in the depiction of royal garments, while the frequent reproduction of certain effigies managed to elevate certain distinctive elements of the king's clothing to the rank of symbols, rendering them as fixed parts of his very body.

The golden coif of Sigismund I the Old of the Jagiellon dynasty (reigned 1507–1548) offers evidence of this transformation. A large collection of portraits and effigies of this king – including paintings, etchings and medals – are still available today. Starting at some point during the 1520s, all of these images repeat the figure of the sovereign dressed in certain garments: the *szuba* (a long-sleeved fur coat), the *sayan* (a full-skirted and low-necked jerkin) and, most importantly, a coif of

gold. Although this headdress appears at the end of fifteenth century in numerous portraits of city dwellers in German States, it remains unknown how it became both an inseparable part of the Polish king's dress, and a constant presence in depictions of the sovereign.

Drawing on the publications of Maria Hayward and others, this paper will examine the manner in which the dress of Sigismund I the Old is depicted in portraits, etchings and medal effigies. It will focus specifically on the way in which the body of the sovereign is shaped through his clothing, and will attempts to trace the origins and iconographic function of this clothing by placing it within the context of the power-dressing practiced by modern European rulers.

Andrzej Probulski, Jagiellonian University in Cracow

What Does the "S" Stand for? Costume and Authority in the Superhero Fiction

What is it that allows a superhero to operate above and beyond the law? How are Batman, Superman or The Punisher allowed to violate the civil and legal rights of others? If there is a source 'superhero vigilantism', is it somehow represented or reinforced in the depiction of the superheroes and their hypermasculine bodies? This paper aims to offer a brief answer to these questions by examining the way in which comic books and movies depict the relationship between a superhero's costume and the law.

Drawing both on the notion of 'body politic' and the anthropology of costume, this paper discusses the connection that exists between a superhero's costumed body and his ability to act as a leader and protector of the community. While the paper is intended to provide a

broader conceptual framework in which the relationship of costume and power in superhero narratives may be discussed, it will be focused specifically on the character of Superman, and the different meanings attributed to his iconic "S" emblem over the years.

In the first issues of *Action Comics*, Superman's emblem took shape of a yellow shield, similar to the policeman's badge – and as early as his first appearance, in *Action Comics* No. 1, he is presented as undertaking tasks appropriate for a street-level police officer (e.g. approaching a domestic abuser).

However, in some of the later Superman narratives – for instance, *Superman: The Movie* (Richard Donner, 1978) – the emblem no longer acts as an analogue of the policeman's badge, but rather as a nobleman's coat of arms. It is a symbol of a power which has been inherited rather than conferred, and with it comes a responsibility for the 'low-borns'.

Other comic books and movies featuring Superman provide more abstract explanations concerning the meaning and origin of the character's emblem and its relationship to authority: the 1986 comic book *The Man of Steel*, for example, considers the emblem as a Native American symbol for a snake, granted with healing powers. In this instance, the superhero is defined not as a policeman, or as a nobleman bestowed with the responsibility of defending his community, but rather as a metaphorical healer, restoring peace and balance.

The alternative versions of Superman – as depicted in Elseworlds comic books such as *Superman: Red Son* – provide yet another take on superhero's relationship with the community and its rules: in bearing totalitarian symbols on his chest, the hero becomes not an individual agent, but rather an embodiment of an oppressive regime.

Representing Power Today

Anca Baicoianu, University of Bucharest

Sovereign Bodies: Authority and Authorship in Renaissance Cabinets, Surrealist Displays, and Postmodern Installations

The body politic, as we read in Plowden's *Commentaries* (1571) is 'a Body that cannot be seen or handled' (quoted in Kantorowicz 1997 [1957], p. 4). In other words, it is a *persona ficta*, a fictional corporeality put together for political, legal or economic purposes; and, unlike physical bodies, is not subject to natural extinction and decay. However, the localisation of agency in the image of the crowned head is forever haunted by the spectral presence of the mortal body (Kantorowicz 1997, chapter 1); and the displacement of sovereignty from the monarch to the body popular – that is, the placement of power within the indistinct shape of 'the people' – intensifies rather than reduces the threat of disunity and fragmentation.

Against this background, the aim of my presentation is to suggest an alternative reading of sovereignty based not on the contested unity of the body, but on what Adalgisa Lugli calls a 'unity of the visible' (Lugli 2000, p. 28). My paper will explore how, from Renaissance cabinets to Surrealist exhibitions and postmodern installations, the creation of such unity points to a different incorporation of knowledge and power which gradually authorises the artist to take 'the place of the king' (Foucault 1966). This disposition challenges the spatial conception of sovereignty as a law-enforcing authority within a given territory and replaces it with an international, boundary-free 'aristocracy of the eye' (Schama 1999, p. 166), while at the same time allowing for an extended understanding of the variety of roles played by the *corpus* in modern European culture.

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Alicja Curanović, University of Warsaw

Vladimir Putin is Back on Air, Again! The Annual President's Conversation with the Nation as a New Ritual of Power in Russia

The image of a political leader is strongly determined by archetypes of power. The more a leader corresponds to these archetypes, the greater the legitimacy of their regime. Modern media has given figures of political authorities the tools to tailor their image of power to these archetypes, and to influence its reception on an unprecedented scale. *Telemost* (*Priamaja Linia*, *Rozgowor z Putinom. Prodolzhenije*) – an annual meeting of Russian president Vladimir Putin with citizens via different modes of communication (e-mail, sms, phone, direct live conversation with citizens from particular cities) – provides an interesting case study on the image of political power in Russia. It has been twelve years since the first meeting took place; since that time, its format has evolved and the records from ten sessions provide a

fascinating body of source material offering insight into the image of power and the way it is shaped.

Telemost is a unique formula of direct communication between the leader and the nation. It is intended to refresh the bond between power and society, to reaffirm the leader's mandate, and it is designed to give the impression that the holders of power are accessible and accountable to the common citizen. *Telemost* is a dialogue between the leader and society, the latter of whom has been cast in a double role co-creator and audience. It is known that the *Telemost* is staged, at least to some extent, by the authorities. From this, we can ascertain how the power elite wishes to be perceived by society, and how they try to influence cultural memory. In short, *Telemost* has become a political ritual during which the cultural archetypes of the (ideal) leader are linked to the current holder of power in order to strengthen the legitimacy of his position.

It is interesting to note how changes in the programme's format have reflected changes in the regime. In the beginning (2001–2003), the regime, which had not yet solidified, treated *Telemost* as an innovation, a new form of communicating and influencing society; it was an experiment that offered a certain amount of room for spontaneity. In the second phase (2005–2008), when the popularity and self-confidence of the regime were at their peak, the programme developed on a grand scale. In the third phase (2008–2011), marked by Medvedev's succession, *Telemost* became increasingly staged and more controlled, with less and less being left to chance. The organisers cared less for the programme's credibility, and the propagandistic nature of the show became all too obvious. This tendency reached its apex in the 2011 programme, which turned into a large support rally. The fourth (still ongoing) phase started in 2013. Although the Kremlin realised the risk of 'overdosing' *Telemost* to Russian viewers, they nevertheless kept the format basically unchanged.

Vladimir Putin may have realised that if he discontinued *Telemost* it would be perceived as a retreat in face of pressure from his opponents.

The programme in 2013 was staged and carefully directed. In fact, it seemed that the main goal was not to win new supporters for Putin, but to close the ranks of the hard-core electorate, a move which may be interpreted as evidence of the regime's faltering sense of its own legitimacy. By 2013 it seemed that *Telemost* was losing its original function of a channel of communication between a leader and society, and was increasingly becoming a tool for influencing and disciplining the elites. The 2014 *Telemost* was unique: after the annexation of Crimea, it served as a tool for presenting a united front of Russian citizens and authorities in face of possible sanctions from the West. After a drop in popularity the previous year, the 2014 programme turned out to be the most popular *Telemost* ever. The majority of viewers identified with the president's views. It should be emphasised, however, that this success was due to the special geopolitical circumstances. Sooner or later weaknesses of the programme will make themselves felt.

Although the programme is modern in its form (its success was made possible partly due to the use of new technologies), it is archaic in its content. The 'annual conversation' format turned out to be an obvious tool for aligning the image of the leader with the Russian archetypes of power; it helped Putin to come close to the ideal '*vsiem dla vsiekh*'. However, the credibility of the programme is also its Achilles' heel. This has become increasingly evident in the more recent editions of *Telemost*, which started to resemble a carefully staged talk show. With each year, the role of society has become increasingly marginal, while the role of the state has become more and more of a focal point.

At a time when nobody seriously challenged the legitimacy of president Putin – who was confirmed twice in the first round of public elections – the programme was more attractive. But during the final years of Medvedev's presidency, the political ritual of *Telemost* started to lose

its appeal. On the eve of the third presidential term of Vladimir Putin, the programme seemed no longer able to project a credible image of the leader nor to strengthen his legitimacy. In fact it could be argued that the programme has evolved into one of many dummy institutions associated with *Putinism*. On the evidence of *Telemost,* it seems that the regime has lost its ability to adjust to public sentiment and effectively manage it. The euphoria connected with the annexation of Crimea momentarily turned the attention of Russian citizens away from the stagnant economy and provided a boost for Putin's popularity. Meanwhile the Kremlin – perhaps in a sign of decreasing confidence in its ability to maintain its long-term popularity through other means – has started to limit the freedoms of civil institutions, introducing restrictions for bloggers and suppressing critical media such as Lenta.ru or Echo of Moscow. Once the Crimean enthusiasm is over, the question of legitimacy – both of the president and the whole regime – will re-emerge.

Olimpia Dragouni, University of Warsaw

Political Theology and Emblems of Da'iš (ISIS) as a Symbolic Arch between the Middle Ages and the Present

The emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant/Syria known as ISIL/ISIS/IS, or, according to the Arabic-based abbreviation: Da'iš, caused considerable worries in both Islamic and non-Islamic world. ISIS originated as Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad in 1999 and within the next 15 years grew significantly, in 2013 re-naming itself to Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, in 2014 self-proclaiming as a worldwide

caliphate – Islamic State with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as its caliph, and claimed religious, political and military authority over all Muslims.

This paper will focus on the religious foundation of the political rhetoric and emblems employed by ISIS/Da'iš. It will provide an explanation of the various religious sources – including relevant ayas of the Qur'an, hadith, and their Medieval and Modern interpretations – that have been used by ISIS/Da'iš. Since Da'iš is a worldwide organisation known for its well-funded web and social media propaganda, the basic source for analysis would be Dabiq, a propaganda periodical published by the State, with its rich visual material.

The basic aim of the paper will be to set the rhetoric of ISIS/Da'iš in a relevant historical, philosophical and religious (theological) context in a way that is accessible to those who are not specialists in the field of Islamic Studies. Although the paper represents a preliminary stage of research, it will nonetheless propose that many of the research questions posed by the organisers of the conference are relevant to this subject, from the question of anatomical metaphors, through that of the cultural artefacts as mediators between theory and practice, as well as the justifications of exercising power, the role of technology and media in the discourse of power, community and identity-building processes, sacred fetishes of power and so forth. It will provide the context for understanding a culture that is rooted in Medieval philosophical concepts (theocratic caliphate), yet is very much engaged in shaping the present.

Transhumanism and Biopolitics

Gábor Szegedi, Wiesenthal Institute in Vienna

The Biopolitics of Future Generations: Meddling with the Fate of Non-entities and the Messy World around Them

In the morning hours of 1 January 2015 the Hungarian media reported, as they always do, on the first birth in the country, which took place in the small town of Makó just 1 minute after midnight. The boy weighed 3370 grams, measured 49.5 centimetres and received the name Péter Rikárdó. Member of Parliament Előd Novák, of the ultra-right wing party Jobbik, quickly reacted on his Facebook page, saying, 'the first one to be born in 2015 – as a third child of a 23-year-old mother! – was Rikárdó, but beside this the Hungarians are also procreating sometimes.' In addition, he posted a photo of his own family: three small children, the last one less than half a year old.

Only ten days later, in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attacks, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán spoke out against economic immigration to Europe, concluding that 'we do not want to see a significant minority having different cultural characteristics and backgrounds amongst us, we want to keep Hungary as Hungary.' In a parliamentary debate entitled 'Hungary does not need benefit migration' a Fidesz MP mentioned that the used clothing of refugees needed to be collected, for who knows what pathogens they might carry.

If we bear in mind Foucault's idea of the 'tactical polyvalence' of racism and its inherent role in modern biopolitics, these recent developments in Hungary come as no surprise. As the history of Hungary in the twentieth century shows, exclusion (or 'elimination', in Foucault's broad definition of the word) for the sake of preserving the life of the 'normal' majority is not merely the exception that once lead to the deportation and slaughter of nearly all Jewish Hungarians in 1944. It has manifested itself in anti-Roma discourses, in the mass expulsion of ethnic Germans after 1945, and in the Stalinist attempt to single out and deport

class enemies. In addition to these obvious examples, one can also find the same impulse in the 'institutional violence' that created and still creates a significant gap among the life expectancy of various subgroups of society. All of these together represent a single and open-ended story, one with disruptions and new beginnings, but with an unquestionable continuity.

I agree with Thomas Lemke's critical understanding of Giorgio Agamben's so-called thanato-politics; Lemke suggests that Agamben's analysis is 'too state-centered', with an understanding of power as 'repressing, reducing, reproducing' that does not take into account the 'relational, decentralized and productive aspects of power.' In Lemke's view, an analysis of biopolitics should not only focus on those excluded from society in a legal manner, but the ones who become economically 'redundant' and are considered 'useless' even though they possess full political rights. At the same time, the State often places the decision-making process in the hands of the 'private sphere', that is the biotechnological corporations or the individual (e.g. when parents can decide on the genetic makeup of their children). This is where the contemporary discourse on a Roma newborn and 'benefit immigrants' converge: in both cases there is a struggle to defining these groups as economically 'useless' or 'dangerous' from a perspective of normality.

In this paper I will focus on how the most innocent of all, namely children (born or unborn), have become a key target of biopolitical racism and how this racism – while occasionally shifting its tactics and its targets – has remained grounded in the very same principles and has, over a number of decades, pursue strikingly similar goals through a variety of actors. I will focus specifically on public health in twentieth-century Hungary and the tendency of this ever-growing pool of discourse to set strict criteria regarding desired and undesired children, wanted and unwanted pregnancies, appropriate and non-appropriate birth processes.

The paper will draw upon materials from three distinct research projects. The first one is premarital counselling and sex education in interwar Hungary, where the focus was on eugenics related to social diseases, as well as on post-Trianon nationalism. The second one is the race defilement cases of the early 1940s, where antisemitic provisions made state racism arguably the most explicit and radical in the history of the nation; as in the first example, the focus was on procreation and the production of appropriate children. Thirdly, I will discuss the Stalinist state's rush to institutionalise childbirth in the 1950s, where drastic measures were taken against midwives, and lower class women were forced to re-learn the process of pregnancy and childbirth, and hand over competencies involving deep trust to highly bureaucratised state organs. In all three cases unborn children were not merely allocated a certain fate before their birth (or immediately following it) but were used as a politico-rhetorical weapon to normalise the unruly, and to further marginalize those already considered 'unnecessary'.

For these case studies I will rely on the work of Gil Anidjar (*Blood: a Critique of Christianity*), who aims to blur the distinctions between the theologico-political and the bio-political. He claims that the community of (Christian) blood, and the differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' blood, suggests that the modern idea of the state is built upon a deeply Christian foundation; this, in turn, suggests that the importance of the apparatus of sexuality – and the mighty relevance of procreation – appeared much before the evolution of a modern biopolitical state. From this, one can argue that the existence of the fundamental toolkit appropriated by modern biopolitics goes much further back than the eighteenth century. At the same time, one must re-think the focus on sovereignty, law, state power – and indeed the role of Christianity – when discussing 'race' in the context of biopolitics.

Ion Iuga, Romanian Academy Iasi Branch "Gheorghe Zane", Institute for Economic and Social Research

Techno-utopian Transhumanism and its Eschatological Meaning

The rate of technological innovation has reached an astonishing rate in the last decades. Given this fact, the prophets, futurists, supporters, and theoreticians of the process have become promoters of what we call transhumanism. The specific aim of transhumanists is the achievement of human enhancement through the so called emergent technologies as genetics, robotics, artificial intelligence, and nano-technology. Yet how did the reality of these emerging technologies come to be seen in an ideological perspective? What are the meanings and implications of such approaches? These are the general questions of my research initiative today.

It is important from the outset to specify that transhumanism cannot be reduced to a genre of fictional literature. According to Max More, transhumanism represents a philosophy of life, an intellectual and cultural movement and a field of study. While transhumanism remains a complex and broad issue, I will nonetheless attempt to investigate its ideological meaning.

In this regard I will narrow my analysis to the representative theory of *singularity* as elaborated by Ray Kurzweil in his book *Singularity is Near.* He starts from the hypothesis that intelligent machines will exceed human performance in the near future. This will occur in such a way that they will be able to enhance themselves infinitely: on the other hand they will interfere so intimately with human beings that the boundaries between technology and humans will be abolished. Among the principles of singularity, Kurzweil enumerates: 1) The rate of technological innovation doubles every ten years; 2) By the end of the 2020s there will be no difference between computational intelligence and biological intelligence; 3) Non-biological intelligence will be able to

download abilities and knowledge from other machines, and eventually from humans; 4) Computers will be able to access the complete knowledge of our civilization through the Internet; 5) Nanotechnology would be capable of making nanobots at a molecular scale and they will have multiple functions such as the inversion of the aging process, or the creation of virtual realities at the level of nervous system; 6) The human ability to manifest emotions will be also dominated by machines (Kurzweil 2005). Singularity will mean the fusion between our biological existence and technology, resulting in a world that remains human, but is biologically transcendent. As a matter of this fact there will be no distinction between humans and machines, or between physical and virtual.

Consequently, singularity will bring about a future state in which human nature, human life and human society are radically changed. But what will this future look like? Hugo de Garis relates technological acceleration with globalisation and politics. Technological progress will create a global media, a global education system, a global language, a homogeneous global culture, and the proper conditions for a global democratic system. We may note the possibility of 'radical globalization.' Democratisation, which was inherent to globalisation, is now taken for granted by the transhumanists. De Garis anticipates the emergence of a peaceful global state. On the one hand political leaders will feel greater pressure by being exposed to a global opinion; on the other hand people will get the consciousness of living in a global state. Global media, the flow of knowledge, and the global economy will decisively transform the nationalist mentality into a 'globist mentality'. It is interesting to observe that de Garis starts with transhumanist praise of technological enhancement, which will lead to a complete transformation of the political order, resulting in democratic theory becoming embedded into a global democratic state: 'Globa', the utopia global state will finally be built.

Hereinafter I intend to reveal the meaning of the ideological and unitary transhumanist worldview from which these paradigms have emerged. First I will suggest that transhumanism might be integrated into the general secular humanism with an eschatological statement. In this regard it perpetuates a specific teleology in which technological progress will ultimately bring radical changes to human nature and thus to human history.

I will consider furthermore that transhumanism promotes a new form of utopia which I refer to as 'techno-utopia'. There are two features of transhumanism that I want to highlight: transhumanism is essentially evolutionary and materialist. Kurzweil regards Singularity as 'the inevitable next step in the evolutionary process that started with biological evolution and has extended through human-directed technological evolution.' Transhumanism is thus a narrative of progress. It also preaches the real possibility of transcendence, a transcendence which will occur in the world of matter and energy.

Moreover transhumanism, by predicting a new form of transcendence and a radically new form of society, reveals its secular eschatological philosophy in a quasi-religious manner. In fact, transhumanism may announce a post-human and post-historical age. It can therefore be seen as a narrative of ending. A literature of ending has emerged since the beginning of '90s, after the end of the Cold War. Francis Fukuyama, author of *The End of History* was perhaps the most notable representative of this trend. The historicist and materialist paradigm of Fukuyama, with its obvious eschatological nuance, questioned the universalising forces associated with modernisation: world order, world history, progress, and liberal democracy. These universalising forces are still debated today. Transhumanism with its strong techno-utopian orientation approaches these issues in a specific way. Kurzweil issues a similar paradigm to Fukuyama, but uses a totally different vocabulary. One might argue that de Garis speculates only

about a possible future, but we should not forget that his hypothesis comes from the same 'tradition' as Singularity and the predictions of human enhancement.

The paper will conclude with the suggestion that, in transhumanism, we face the end of utopia as we know it. While it remains historicist, materialist and deeply eschatological, it predicts a totally new imaginary community, a globalised one. The notion of progress is reassessed together with the very essence of human nature and human condition.

In his book *Imaginary Communities,* Phillip Wegner argues that the narrative utopia played a crucial role in the constitution of the nation-state as an original spatial, social, and cultural form. In the same way, we may assume that the techno-utopia of transhumanism might bring its own contributions to the constitution a new global order.

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