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articles|

Judit Majorossy

Community and Individuality in Medieval Urban Space. The Social Topography of Butchers Through the Case of Pressburg in Comparison¹

Abstract | The main focus of this study is the social topography and the urban space of the butchers in fifteenth-century Pressburg (*Posonium*, Pozsony, present-day Bratislava). The topic in general was already investigated from the point of view of the determining elements in the urban topography of medieval butchers as well as from the point of view of case studies of several individual towns. However, I took the determining pattern elements of the butchers' space in urban context – the closeness of water, visibility and social control – only as a starting point, to present how and to what extent they determine the urban topography of this occupational group. While, parallel to that, with some selected German towns I tried to draw a circle of comparative examples around my own social topographical analysis concerning Pressburg and tried to demonstrate how the character of the town (e.g. its elite recruitment) influences a general community pattern for the butchers and what other possibilities are offered by a comparative approach to this question.

Medieval urban history, social topography, space usage, the butchers' realm in medieval Pressburg

.....

On the basis of Henri Lefebvre's basic suggestion (back in 1974) that space is a social production,² many scholars described the city of late medieval Europe as "a spatial being – not just a creation in space but also a creation of space", and stated that "the space of the medieval city was itself re-divided, imagined and lived as a collection of distinct spaces."³ On the other hand, "the urban space [...] was a reflection of the needs of merchants and of the artisans primarily, and may thus well be considered as a very close expression of the economic organisation."⁴ Consequently, as a result of a two-sided process the social topography of a given town was partially shaped by the size, the economic profile and the importance of trade in that community. However, the overall urban inner control of communal life also partially influenced what kinds of realms developed and which social groups occupied which of these realms. At the same time, such urban communities are composed of individuals whose perception and usage of space can be modified

¹ The research presented here, as part of a larger project on the social topography of medieval Pressburg, was financed by OTKA PD27698 (Hungary) and by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung (Germany).

² H. Lefebvre, *La Production de l'Espace*, Paris 1974. For its English edition: H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford 1991.

³ For the city as a collection of spaces see M. C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity", in: M. Boone – P. Stabel (eds.), *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, Leuven – Apeldoorn 2000, p. 3, 7.

⁴ W. Blockmans, "Urban Space in the Low Countries 13th–16th Centuries", in: A. Grohmann (ed.), *Spazio urbano e organizzazione economica nell'Europa medievale. Atti della session C23: Eleventh International Economic History Congress: Milano, 12–16 settembre 1994*, Napoli 1994, p. 166.

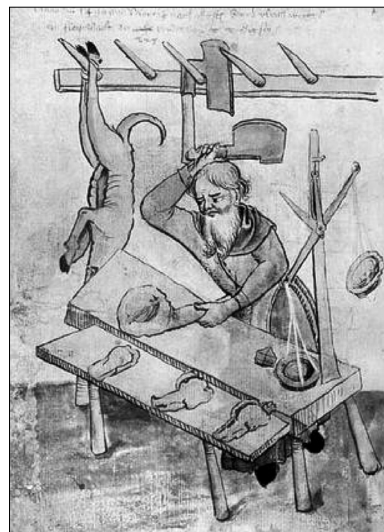


Fig. 1 “Anno Domini 1499 am montag nach obersten starb Vrich Weygel ein fleischhacke, der 227 pruder, dem Got genedig sey”. An illumination from the *Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung zu Nürnberg*, fol. 113v (<http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de>).

by the spatial perception of others. Their position within the space is dependent also on their own personal circumstances and viewpoint. Thus, individuality and individual space are not necessarily equals with the space of a single burgher but that of a group of similar background.

The realm of the town and the town of “different” realms – this statement then can be related to a more basic question: how can one research spatial issues and the usage of space for everyday or even representative purposes, especially in a medieval context. There are different theories and ways of approach to historical social space,⁵ but the basic element behind all, is apparently – at one point – the factual reconstruction of a given urban space: the definition of its area, borders and dimensions, the layout of its streets, squares and other signifying elements (such as gates, towers, bridges, public buildings), as well as, in a very favourable situation, the system of its burgages or at least its house-islands. This rather objectified research of topography can be then expanded to the social level, concentrating on the different urban groups within the defined space, be they those of occupations, “nationalities”, or the elite. As a next step comes the investigation of the usage of this space either for rituals or just for simple everyday events (such as, for example, marketing). The objective topography – and, since determined by a given physical space, to some extent, also the social topography – are unique for each town, therefore can be defined with the help of the written and non-written evidence available concerning the investigated town. Nevertheless, elements of the usage, the formation or even the perception of space show at several points similarities with each other in different urban context.

The social structure of towns and the distribution of urban groups in late medieval and early modern towns have been the focus of research in Europe – especially in Germany – since the 1960s, therefore a good deal of detailed material is available for social topographical comparison.⁶

⁵ From Henry Lefebvre, through Barbara Hanawalt, until Marc Boone and many others, such as Peter Arnade, Daniel Smail, Edward Muir, Richard Trexler, Andrea Löther. Without a full list of their relevant writings, see for example, among many others, collected studies editions, such as: B. Hanawalt – M. Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, London – Minneapolis 2000; C. Goodson – A. E. Lester – C. Symes (eds.), *Cities, texts, and social networks 400–1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, Farnham 2010.

⁶ E. g. Lübeck, Hamburg, Stralsund, Greifswald, Osnabrück, Köln, Trier, Göttingen, Augsburg, Regensburg, or others. For a general introduction see M. Meinhardt – A. Ranft (eds.), *Die Sozialstruktur und Sozialtopographie vorindustrieller Städte*, Berlin 2005.

At the same time, as it was just stated, the character of the composition of burghers, the different importance of the several social and occupational groups in a given town can modify a general pattern. The aim here is to present how and to what extent.

The main focus of my research is generally the socio-topography and the usage of space in fifteenth-century Pressburg (*Posonium*, Pozsony, present-day Bratislava),⁷ the second most important trading town at the western border of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. In this paper, however, I limit the analysis to one social group, namely I examine the social topography of the medieval butchers (as the sources name them: *Fleischhacker*, *Knochenhauern*, *Metzger* or *Carnifex*, *Macellarius*) in comparison.

Naturally, the topic in general was already investigated from the point of view of the determining elements in their urban topography as well as from the point of view of case studies of several individual towns. However, I would take the determining pattern elements of the butchers' space in urban context – to put it short, basically the closeness of water, visibility and social control – only as a starting point, to present how and to what extent they determine the urban topography of this occupational group. While, parallel to that, with some selected German towns I try to draw a circle of comparative examples around my own social topographical analysis concerning Pressburg and try to demonstrate how the character of the town (e. g. its elite recruitment) influences a general community pattern for the butchers and what other possibilities are offered by a comparative approach to this question.

The early rules issued in relation to the butchers – like the one from Paris⁸ in 1182 or the one from Tüln⁹ in 1237 – basically determined the days on which meat can or cannot be sold, ban the selling of meat on the day of slaughter or states that bad meat was to be confiscated.¹⁰ However, the classical example, namely the Regensburg butchers' regulations¹¹ from 1376 already clearly testify the importance of visibility and control over meat-processing and meat-selling, stating that it is forbidden to slaughter any kind of animal outside the slaughter house or to bring it out

⁷ The studies on guilds and crafts in Pressburg, on the one hand, do not touch socio-topographical questions and, on the other hand, in general in many cases touch their medieval history with a few sentences and concentrate mainly on the early modern period – e. g. M. Ferber, *A pozsonyi céhek története a XVI. században. Művelődéstörténeti értekezés* [The History of the Guilds of Pressburg in the Sixteenth Century. A Cultural-Historical Dissertation], Budapest 1912; A. Špiesz, *Remeslo na Slovensku v období existencie cechov* [Craft in Slovakia During the Existence of Guilds], Bratislava 1972; or recently in a popularised edition V. Segeš, *Remeslá a cechy v starom Prešporoku* [Crafts and Guilds in Old Pressburg], Bratislava 2010 – or highlight only the social status of the craftsmen – eg. J. Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* [Towns and Artisanry in Fifteenth-Century Hungary], Budapest 1955. My aim is to demonstrate what can be detected about the topography of the crafts (here about the butchers) from the contemporary, fifteenth-century sources themselves without projecting a later situation backward in time.

⁸ The charter of privileges to the butchers of Paris (1182) was edited in: G. Fagniez (ed.), *Documents Relatifs a l'Histoire de l'Industrie et du Commerce en France*, Paris 1898, I, p. 174. For its English translation see R. C. Cave – H. H. Coulson (eds.), *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*, Milwaukee 1936 (repr. New York 1965), p. 239–240.

⁹ The regulations of the master butchers of Tüln (1237) was published in: F. W. E. Keutgen (ed.), *Urkunden zur städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1901, p. 360–361 (Satzungen der Fleischer). For an English translation also see R. C. Cave – H. H. Coulson (eds.), *A Source Book*, p. 240–241.

¹⁰ Tüln regulation (1237): “[...] Secundum est, quod nullus carnificum pecora mactata eodem die vendere presumant. [...] Statutum est etiam, quod si aliqua carnificum immundas carnes emerit, ipsi magistri eundem carnificem detineant dum ad presentiam iudicis pro emenda.” F. W. E. Keutgen, *Urkunden*, p. 361. For English: R. C. Cave – H. H. Coulson (eds.), *A Source Book*, p. 241.

¹¹ See C. T. Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik*, Bd. I–II., Regensburg 1800, 1803; unveränderter Nachdruck der Originalausgabe, mit einer Einleitung, einem Quellenverzeichnis und einem Register neu herausgegeben von H. Angermeier, München 1971, p. 181–182.

before the quality of the meat was inspected and the necessary fees were paid (“*Letztern war verboten, auser dem Schlachthaus klein und grosses Vieh zu schlagen, das Fleisch aus selben zu tragen, ehe der Kammerdienst oder Aufschlag [...] bezahlt war*”). It also forbade slaughtering during the night, after the sign of the big bell/clock (“*die Fleischhauer durften auch nicht des Nachts, wenn die grosse Uhr ausgeschlagen hatte, Vieh schlachten*”). One finds it described that meat is never to be sold in stables, but exclusively in open markets (“*der Stallkauf war nicht zugelassen, es sollte das Vieh auf offenem Markt gekauft werden*”). And similar to the earlier rules, the bad meat was to be confiscated (“*finniges Fleisch wurde weggenommen*”), while the selling days were controlled (e.g. “*des Sonntags vor Tisch durfte man kein Fleisch feil haben*”). In 1394 and also later during the fifteenth century some rules were added,¹² such as, for example, that the meat should be cut and quartered in the slaughter house in order that the blood should flow out there on the spot.¹³ In case of Regensburg, no wonder that the role of water was not separately stressed – as was done in the case of other towns –, since at the time of the issue of the regulation the slaughter house (*Fleisch- und Schlachthaus*) was at the fish market (*Neuer Fischmarkt*) behind the town hall and its square, and thus the Danube was right behind the building itself.¹⁴ Meanwhile the undated regulation of Wiener Neustadt¹⁵ mentions that there could not be slaughter banks (*slachpanngkh*) in private houses and pointing out that everyone was allowed to cut meat only at open banks, also putting an emphasis on disembowelling the animal near running water and that the streets must have also been cleaned afterwards.¹⁶

The regulation of the Pressburg butchers was issued in the same year as the one in Regensburg cited above,¹⁷ and could be related to the fact that not long before the given date (namely, in

¹² T. Engelke (ed.), *Eyn grosz alts Statpuech. Das “Gelbe Stadtbuch” der Stat Regensburg. Forschungen und Edition*, Regensburg 1995; p. 356, no. 661 (Ratsordnung zum Fleischverkauf – Preisfestlegung und Einsetzung einer Kontrollkommission, 1394. Juni 24.); p. 358, no. 668 (Abschrift einer selbstgegebenen vom Rat nicht anerkannten Handwerksordnung der Fleischhacker, 1406 vor Juli 30.); p. 359, no. 669 (Verbot der selbstgegebenen Fleischhackerordnung durch den Rat, 1406. Juli 30.); p. 455–456, no. 854 (Ratsordnung zum Fleischverkauf). For the texts see C. T. Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik* II, p. 310, 370, 181.

¹³ “[...] Item si sullen auch daz fleisch im schlachthaws auf hahen vnd virtailn, daz daz plut da von rinn.” in: C. T. Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik* II, p. 310. For further details on rules and the butchers in Regensburg in general see Ch. Forneck, *Die Regensburger Einwohnerschaft im 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialtopographie einer deutschen Großstadt des Spätmittelalters*, Regensburg 2000, p. 62–63.

¹⁴ For the location see H. Stoob (ed.), *Der Deutsche Städteatlas. Lieferung 1/8: Regensburg, Warburg – Dortmund 1973*. References for the location in F. Bastian – J. Widemann (eds.), *Regensburger Urkundenbuch. Bd. II.: Urkunden der Stadt 1351–1378*, München 1956.

¹⁵ M. Scheutz – K. Schmutzer – S. Spevak – G. Stöger (eds.), *Wiener Neustädter Handwerksordnungen. 1432 bis Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 1997, p. 157–158, no. 43, Fleischhacker (sine dato).

¹⁶ “Erstlich das ain yeder fleischagkher zu dem grossen viech kain aigne slachpanngkh in seinem haus habe, sonnder auf offner slachpanngkh, wie von allter herkomen, slachen soll. [...] demnach sollen sy nu furan derselben kains in gemelten iren hewsern abtun, sonnder an ainer gewondlichen statt ains wasserfluss, so solh unsawberkeit hinweg tregt, sawber aufarbeitten [...] unnd kain unsauberkeit in den hewsern noch auf die gassen schutten lassen bey sonnder straff.” M. Scheutz – K. Schmutzer – S. Spevak – G. Stöger (eds.), *Wiener Neustädter Handwerksordnungen*, p. 157.

¹⁷ The text itself remained extant in a townbook which was mainly dedicated to the material of the Corpus Christi Confraternity, but all the early guild rules were either written or copied into this book. Archiv mesta Bratislavy (AMB) [Town Archives of Bratislava], 3.a.1., fol. 58v. A copy of the townbook on microfilm is to be found in Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL) [Hungarian National Archives], Df. 277806. For literature about law and regulations in the town relevant for the period see J. Király, *Pozsony város joga a középkorban* [The Town Law in Pressburg (Bratislava) in the Middle Ages], Budapest 1894, p. 166–200 (on guilds in general); here 188–190 (for the butchers). For the much later regulations of the butchers see A. Špiesz, *Štatúty bratislavských cechov. Dokumenty* [The Statutes of the Guilds in Pressburg. Documents], Bratislava 1978, p. 218–222 (from the year 1563) and 223–228 (from year 1726).

1370)¹⁸ the shambles were on royal order replaced from the market square (*Markcht*) – the later fifteenth-century main square (*Platz*) – to a backyard plot which was bought up from a burgher¹⁹ behind the later established and built town hall and next to a plot that was owned by the archbishop of Gran/Esztergom (see the 15th-century map of the town, Fig. 6). There forty stalls (*penckhe*) were built up at that time. (Supposedly altogether for the meat, bread and other selling, since later on in the same document seventeenth shambles are mentioned.)

It was most probably a consequence of the formation of the butchers' (and bakers') new selling circumstances that some years later the rules of selling meat (and bread) were also established in written form. The regulation of 1376 fixed the number of butcher masters and also that of the shambles in the given year at twenty-eight.²⁰ (For comparison in the same year the bakers²¹ and their stalls were numbered at sixteen.) The number of the shambles obviously have changed during the times – similarly to the later case of the capital town of Ofen/Buda, where their number in the early sixteenth century fluctuated between forty and thirty²² –, but as the analysed sources, that will be later presented, testify during the fifteenth century it must have been still around fifteen or twenty.²³ The Pressburg butchers' rule, similarly to the above-cited French and German examples, stated that the cattle could not be taken out of the town, the animals must be slaughtered within (*“Das ersten das man nicht rinnder austreiben sol wag in der schut sey und zwischen hie und dem wage”*). Meat-selling was to be performed only by the shambles – no mention of night or backyard slaughter though – and only fresh and good meat should be in the market (*“Ez sol auch nymant in seiner penckh pfnungs fleisch fail haben und man sol es vor den penckhen fail haben”*). Quality control was entrusted to an inner councillor and two sworn butcher masters (*“Ez sullen auch ainer auss dem rat und zwen aus den fleischackeren den maistern alle jar darczu*

¹⁸ AMB, no. 273; MOL, Df. 238867, 1 April 1370. See also T. Ortvy, *Geschichte der Stadt Preßburg*, II/1, Preßburg 1892–1903, p. 80.

¹⁹ “Ich Jacob herrn Nichlas suⁿ peÿ dem tor dem Got genade zu^o der zeit richter ze Prespurg und der geswo^rn rat [...] mit disem brief allen lewten gegenwortigen und chunftigen, daz unser herre der chunig gepot, daz man die fleischpaⁿckche und auch protpenckche die auf dem markt gelegen warn solt fu^rder tuⁿ und [...] dieselben penckche fu^rrbaz do nicht haben wolt, [...] der richter und der rat und bestunden ain gancze hofstat ewichleichen umb einen ewigen dienst von Nichlasen dez Jansens suⁿ von Tirna und dez richter swester suⁿ ze Prespurch, purger ze Prespurch, und von seinen erben und dieselb hofstat leit hinder Stephans und Pawls dez alten richter suⁿe haws, daz do haizt daz Newhaws, und auch zenest des pischofhs haws von Gran, do man auf gepawt hat vierzich fleischpenckche, die ewichleichen do sein sullen [...]” AMB, no. 273.

²⁰ “Nota anno Domini millesimo CCCo LXXmo sexto das der rat und armen und reich die gancze gemayn das gemacht und erfinden habent, das achtundzwainczk maister fleischhackher und acht und zwainczig fleischpenckcht sullen sein in der stat zu Prespurg [...]” AMB, 3.a.1, fol. 58v.

²¹ “Item anno domini millesimo tricentesimo septuagesimosexto dominica letare zu mittervasten das der rat mitsambt den vierundzwaintzigisten genantten und aus der gemain die armen und reichen darzu erwelt erfunden und das gemacht haben das sechtzehen maister pecken so^llen sein und auch gesessen auf der stat gruⁿdt und gu^tter zu Pressburgk und sollen auch sein sechtzehen protpenk und die sollen ir maisterschaft treiben als hernachgeschriben stet.” AMB, 3.a.1, fol. 44r. A later rule of the baker journeymen from 1433 was edited in J. Király, *Pozsony város joga*, p. 428–429.

²² For the later times, between 1500 and 1529, in Buda see the analysis by A. Kubinyi, “Die Fleischerzunft zu Ofen im Mittelalter”, in: I. Kenyeres (ed.), *A budai mészárosok középkori céhkönyve és kiváltságlevellei / Zunftbuch und Privilegien der Fleischer zu Ofen aus dem Mittelalter*, Budapest 2008, p. 129–135.

²³ Here I would argue that the statement of Renáta Skorka for the early fifteenth century, (given a number of only twelve), is an underestimation. See R. Skorka, “Kézművesség és városi tér” [Handicraft and Urban Space], in: J. Szulovszky (ed.), *A magyar kézművesipar története* [The History of the Hungarian Handicraft], Budapest 2005, p. 146. The same problem is to be found by A. Špiesz, *Bratislava v stredoveku* [Pressburg in the Middle Ages], Bratislava 2001, p. 200. The problem in both cases derives from the fact that with the help of other sources from the period one can identify some additional butchers on the tax list of 1434 whose name does not appear as *fleischer*, but were known to belong to the craft.

geseetzt werden [...], das sy alle vertrag treulichen sullen beschawn). Among the orders, the town stated that the suspect meat – similarly to the undersized bread, as was stated in the rule of the bakers²⁴ – should be sequestrated and transported to the poor in the hospital (*Also das er die zwen geswornner maister sullen beschawen und ob er domit schelmigs viech slacht, das sol man in nemen und sol dar in das spital geben*).²⁵ As opposed to this, in Buda, according to its town law, bad fish and unbaked bread must be confiscated and thrown into the ditch around the town.²⁶

The prices were controlled by the town, thus the butchers could not arbitrarily change them. As elsewhere so also in Pressburg the selling times were regulated – from nine in the morning (*wann man zu dem andern mal neun lewtt, so sol yeder maister sein fleispankch auferenn und sol fleisch vailhaben mit züchten*)²⁷ – as well as the selling possibilities on certain feast and/or market days. For example, whole pork flitches (*ganncze pachen und seitten fleisch*) to be smoked one could sell throughout the whole year, while a half or quarter (*halbe pache und virtail*) only between Saint Martin's day and Shrove Tuesday, as opposed to the yearly market at which everything was allowed (*Ez sol auch yeder man an dem jarmarkcht frey sein fleisch hinczefailen und zuverkauffen, wer der welle*), similarly to Good Friday until nine in the evening (*so sol auch yeder man mer do vil an dem karrfreitag frei sein fleisch zuverkauffen von morgn uncz un die none zeit*). As another undated document testified, later, during the fifteenth century one could daily sell cut meat not only at the stalls but also in front of the town hall.²⁸

Finally, according to another rule from the same year of 1376 (partially extant in a fragment from the perished *Judenpuch*) the Jews were allowed to buy cattle for their own needs and could also slaughter them separately (*...was die juden fleysch bedürfen, dasselb vieh sullen sie lebentig kaufen, dass usllen sis selhe slachen oder lassen slachen*). While they were authorised to sell the parts of the animals forbidden to use according to their religious laws in or in front of their own houses, they could not sell them to other butchers (*...das ander fleysch, dass si nich essend und nuczent, das sullen sie selb verkauffen in iren haewsern oder vor iren haewsern und sullen dass keinem fleischhacker verkauffen*).²⁹

²⁴ “Und welcher maister ze klain pecht so sollen die zwen geschworn maister peken und ain geschworn purger darzu gen und sollen das prott haissen auf heben und sollen das in das spital geben armen lewten.” AMB, 3.a.1, fol. 44r.

²⁵ See also J. Majorossy – K. Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary”, in: M. Scheutz – H. Weigl et al., *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Wien – München 2008, p. 442; Z. Somogyi, *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye* [The Caring for the Poor in Medieval Hungary], Budapest 1941, p. 99.

²⁶ K. Mollay (ed.), *Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn*, Budapest 1959, p. 103 (Chap. no. 111), p. 110–111 (Chap. no. 145).

²⁷ This was in an undated fifteenth-century document (a short note from the master butchers) concerning Tuesdays (from eleven) and Saturdays (only in the afternoon) a bit modified: “[...] Item darnach genedigen herren von der fromden fleischaker wegen ist es also gehalten worden von alter das si am ertag nit lenger haben durren sten dann hincz auf anndlefe und am sambstag von vesper zeit hincz an abent [...]” AMB, no. 3613.

²⁸ “[...] da snitfleisch offennberlich und als teglich an offem markt vor dem rathaws und auch vor den penken vail haben, das da ist wider des hanntberchs und alte gewonhait da bey wir chomen in alles verderben [...] als von alter herchommen ist das si wol sweinen fleisch mogen vail haben und das verchauffen als virtual weis und auch ganncz seiten und pachen aber snit fleisch nicht.” AMB, no. 3613.

²⁹ J. Király, *Pozsony város joga*, p. 372. In Regensburg one finds a *Judenfleischhacker*, a Christian butcher who lived near the ghetto and supplied the Jews with kosher meat. See Ch. Forneck, *Die Regensburger Einwohnerschaft*, p. 63; C. T. Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik* II, p. 181. In Tüln the Jews also had the right to have cattle killed according to the dictates of their religion, but they were expected to pay for the privilege. See no. 4. in F. W. E. Keutgen, *Urkunden*, p. 361; R. C. Cave – H. H. Coulson (eds.), *Source Book*, p. 241. Concerning medieval Breslau (Wrocław) detailed accounts are extant concerning the problems that the different Jewish meat consumption caused. See H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce* [Jews in Medieval Poland], Warszawa 2011,

The above details strong and close control of all the medieval towns (which naturally derived from the fact, that production and selling of food was involved) influenced the topography of the butchers and resulted in a social topographical pattern, since as an obvious consequence the places of meat-selling, the shambles (but similarly to this also the controlled bread-selling stalls) were situated on or very close to the main square (*Markt or Rathaus Platz*) as it is visible, for example, in Osnabrück (Fig. 2), but as one can observe it – in one form or another – in case of almost any other medieval towns.³⁰

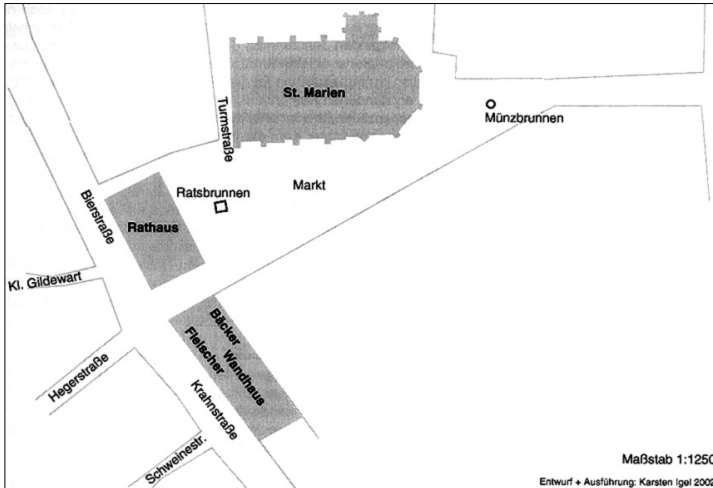
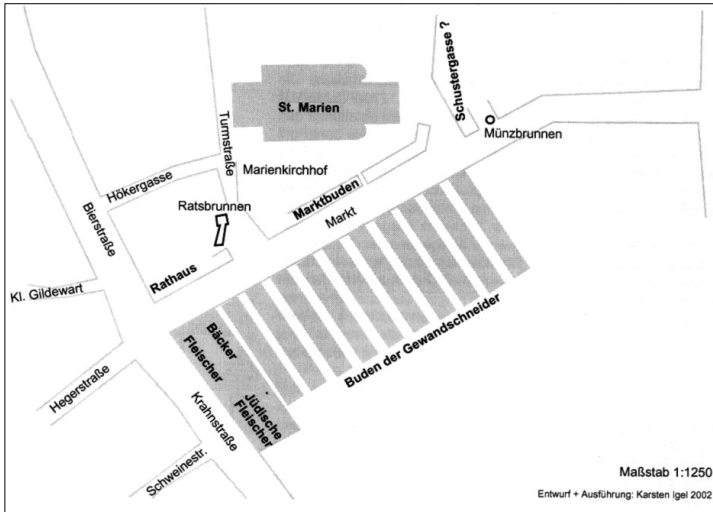


Fig. 2 Osnabrück:
The *Markt* in 1300 and in 1500
(© Igel Karsten)

p. 384–390; H. Zaremska, “Die fleisch das nicht taug den juden zu essen. Miasto wobec problemu żydowskiego uboju rytualnego” [The Meat that the Jews do not Eat. Urban Problems with the Jewish Ritual Meat Cutting], in: C. Buško et al., *Civitas & villa. Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej* [Civitas et villa. Town and Village in Medieval Central Europe], Wrocław – Praga 2002, p. 299–308.

³⁰ For a detailed analysis and also for the used drawings see K. Igel, “Geplant oder gewachsen – ein scheinbarer Widerspruch. Mittelalterliche Stadtentwicklung und den Beispielen Greifswald und Osnabrück”, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* 15 (2004) 17–23; K. Igel, “Stadt-Raum und Sozialstruktur: Überlegungen zu Quellen, Methoden und Problemen an den Beispielen Greifswald und Osnabrück”, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 122 (2004) 1–53; K. Igel, “Quellen zur Einwohnerzahl und Sozialstruktur des spätmittelalterlichen Osnabrück”, *Osnabrücker Mitteilungen* 106 (2001) 281–287.

The most pattern-like example, however, is provided by the trading town of Nürnberg, where the third determining factor – the river or brook – flowed across the middle of the town, therefore became a decisive element of its topography. Consequently, not only the selling places but also the meat-bridge (*die Fleischbrücke*) is to be found by the main market square, so the social control over the butchers was even more centrally present than elsewhere.³¹

Consequently, the social topography of the butchers themselves, in certain urban communities offer us a classical pattern, namely that these people are concentrated around the shambles and, accordingly, very close to the main centre of the town. In addition, one also finds somewhere in the vicinity the tower or the gate of which the butchers were in charge as well as the slaughter place itself. The Hansa town Lübeck offers us not only such a proto-type of this classical topography, but also the high concentration of the butchers alongside (Fig. 3).³²

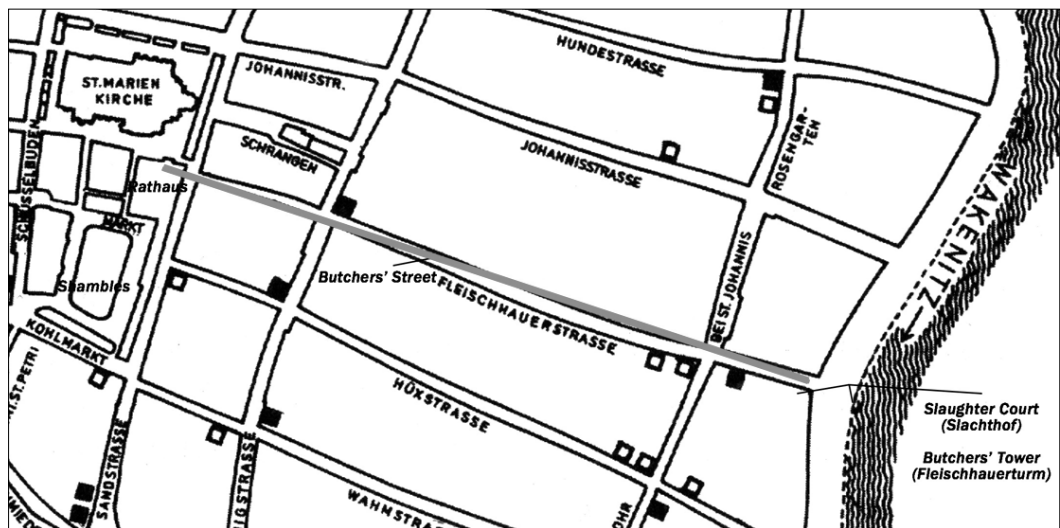


Fig. 3 Lübeck: Butchers' Street and its surrounding (cut out, © Rolf Hammel)

The butchers' street leads to the main square, the shambles are here in the visible distance from the town hall, while at the other end of the street, by the surrounding water-ditch are the butchers' tower and the slaughter court. And already the fourteenth-century social topographical analysis³³ testifies that the butchers – although yet not exclusively – lived along this axis. The concentration is even more obvious later, as the investigation of seventeenth-century tax-paying lists shows.³⁴ A similar example can be provided from the much smaller town of Hannover, where

³¹ M. Merian, *Topographia Germaniae. Bayern-Franken. Reprint edition from 1656*, Braunschweig 2005, p. 71–72 (next page for the town map), 75 (left side *die Fleischbrücke*).

³² For its topography: H. Stob (ed.), *Der Deutsche Städteatlas. Lieferung III/6: Lübeck*, Altenbeken 1984.

³³ R. Hammel, "Entwicklung und Berufstopographie Lübecks im Mittelalter", in: A. Graßmann (ed.), *Lübeckische Geschichte*, Lübeck⁴ 2008, p. 67–74; C. Veltmann, *Knochenhauer in Lübeck am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Neumünster 2006.

³⁴ M. Christensen, *Kleinhäuser in Lübeck. Zur Bau- und Sozialstruktur der Hansestadt. Die Stadt der Handwerker und Gewerbebetreibenden*, Neumünster 2006.

the *Knochenhauerstrasse* also well, and almost exclusively, defines the social topography of the butchers in the town.³⁵

Nevertheless, the structural formula is not always so clear-cut, that is the realm of the butchers determined by the rules directed at them do not necessarily correspond to the living space of those burghers carrying on such business. In case of the northern town of Greifswald,³⁶ for example, one sees the usual pattern with the butchers' street leading to the square with the nearby shambles and also with the tower, but projecting the results of the investigation of the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century living places onto the map, it is apparent that only a smaller group of the butchers is concentrated around this area, the rest of them one finds throughout the whole town.³⁷ A similar situation can be revealed in the case of Regensburg, too, where as opposed to the physical or natural potentials circumscribing the space of the butchers (namely, that the slaughter house was along the Danube and through the fish market a street leading it the town hall square easily connected it with the shambles),³⁸ the fifteenth-century analysis of the butchers' houses – although the sources seemingly did not allow the location of all – very much points to dispersion, and here one can see an even lower concentration than in Greifswald. In Regensburg the scattered living areas are presumably partially due to the fact that the town council – referring to older rights – in the fourteenth century gave its consent (*Ratsbestimmung*) to run two other shambles further away from the town hall square (one to the south – *Brunnleit* – and one to the east – *Osten*).³⁹ As a last German example, in Göttingen there was a complete house-island (a *Kaufhaus* complex) by the town hall square (south from the *Rathaus*) that incorporated the guild houses of the bakers, the shoemakers and the butchers with their shambles.⁴⁰ In case of this town, the analysis of the social topography of the butchers is available not only from one time period – as in most cases of the other above-cited examples –, therefore, here one can clearly see some changes over time. During the fifteenth century the butchers lived rather scattered throughout the town, and a higher concentration in the *Nikolai Viertel* “under” the main square – around the *Kaufhaus* – took place only by the mid-sixteenth century.⁴¹ Without

³⁵ K. Mlynek – W. R. Röhrbein (eds.), *Geschichte der Stadt Hannover. Bd. I: Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover 1992. For the topography of the town and for the location of the houses of the butchers see: P. J. Meier – K. Fr. Leonhardt (eds.), *Niedersächsischer Städteatlas, II. Abteilung: Einzelne Städte, 2. Hannover*, Braunschweig 1933; new edition Kassel 1983.

³⁶ Generally for Greifswald see K. Igel, “Greifswald um 1400. Zur Stadtgestalt und Sozialtopographie Greifswalds im Spätmittelalter”, *Baltische Studien* 88 (2002) 20–42; K. Igel, “Der Raum als soziale Kategorie. Methoden sozialräumlicher Forschung am Beispiel des spätmittelalterlichen Greifswald”, in: S. Kroll – K. Krüger, *Städtesystem und Urbanisierung im Ostseeraum in der früher Neuzeit: urbane Lebensräume und historische Informationssysteme. Beiträge des wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums in Rostock vom 15. und 16. November 2004*, Berlin 2006, p. 265–300.

³⁷ K. Igel, “Stadt-Raum und Sozialstruktur: Überlegungen zu Quellen, Methoden und Problemen an den Beispielen Greifswald und Osnabrück”, p. 43. Most recently: K. Igel, *Zwischen Bürgerhaus und Frauenhaus. Stadtgestalt, Grundbesitz und Sozialstruktur im spätmittelalterlichen Greifswald*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2010, p. 111–114, 124, 244–245, 248.

³⁸ H. Stob (ed.), *Der Deutsche Städteatlas: Regensburg*.

³⁹ Ch. Forneck, *Die Regensburger Einwohnerschaft*, p. 62–63, 7.2. Fleischhauer und Fischer.

⁴⁰ M. Last – S. Schütte – H. Steenweg (eds.), “Göttingen um 1400”, in: *Geschichtlicher Handatlas von Niedersachsen*, Neumünster 1989; O. Fahlbusch, “Die Topographie der Stadt Göttingen”, in: *Studien und Vorarbeiten zum historischen Atlas Niedersachsens, Heft 21*, Göttingen 1952.

⁴¹ For the fourteenth century: H. Steenweg, *Göttingen um 1400. Sozialstruktur und Sozialtopographie einer mittelalterlichen Stadt*, Bielefeld 1994. For the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries: M. Last, “Die Topographie der Stadt vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert”, in: D. Denecke – H.-M. Kühn et al. (eds.), *Göttingen. Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt. Bd. 1. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Göttingen 1987, p. 70–106; and D. Denecke, “Sozialtopographie der mittelalterlichen Stadt Göttingen von Dietrich Denecke”, in: D. Denecke – H.-M. Kühn et al. (eds.), *Göttingen*, p. 199–210 (see his maps for 1458, 1519 and 1550).

going into details concerning the reasons behind the presented topographical sketches in the case of these German towns, it can still be concluded at this point that if only the determining elements appointing the space of the occupational group of the butchers are taken into account, regularity can be strongly observed, but when the personal space of the individual burghers – who were by the way butchers – are examined, in certain – not necessarily in all – towns several individual factors can modify the picture.

And our last two comparative examples from the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, Buda and Ódenburg/Sopron can give other tones to this picture. The typical butchers' street as a main element can be explicitly found in both of them, their topography though does not fully coincide with the above patterns and also differ from each other. In case of the capital of the kingdom, Buda in the fifteenth century, the pattern is mainly modified by the fact, that there was a divided Hungarian and German town on the castle hill, with separate market places and as the sources testify also with separate groups of German and Hungarian butchers. Due to the available source material it is also not that easy to locate on the map the topographical elements in relation to the occupational group of the butchers. Most recently, the street of the German butchers – which was also entitled so –, who were united in a guild, was localised at the foot of the castle hill (most probably their street was the one that today still runs parallel to the Danube), in the vicinity of the supposed location of the slaughtering place by the River Danube (Fig. 4).⁴² While, on the other hand, the Hungarian butcher masters, who were most probably not even organised in a guild can be connected to the Saturday market square (*Szombatpiac*) near the Maria Magdalene church. There they had their own house for shambles and around there they might have lived – although they used the same slaughter bridge at the Danube which the German butchers did –, but their exact living places cannot be reconstructed. It was also suggested that the German shambles – which were, similarly to German territories, located in a two-lined stone house (Fig. 5) – were not only located in the castle at the Saint George market (*Szentgyörgy piac*),⁴³ but also at a cattle market at the bottom of the hill. The complex analysis of the members of the German guild (whose number before 1512 were around forty)⁴⁴ finally allowed the identification of house ownership and thus supposedly the living place of twenty-two butcher masters who – with a few exception – concentrated in the street named after them.⁴⁵

⁴² A. Végh, “Topographische Bezüge des Zunftbuches der deutschen Fleischer zu Ofen”, in: I. Kenyeres (ed.), *A budai mészárosok*, p. 139–158.

⁴³ For several marketing activities in medieval Buda on the basis of archaeological evidence and the reconstruction of the house of the shambles most recently see J. Benda, “A kereskedelem épületei a középkori Budán. I. Kalmárboltok” [The Buildings of Trading in Medieval Buda. Part 1: Merchants' Shops], *Budapest Régiségei* 42–43 (2010) 93–120; J. Benda, “A piactól az árucsarnokig. Kereskedelmi célra készült épületek a középkori Budán” [From Market to Commercial Hall. Trading Buildings in Medieval Buda], *Történelmi Szemle* 53:2 (2011) 1–24; J. Benda, “A kereskedelem épületei a középkori Budán. II. Mészárszékek háza, zsemlyeszékek háza, árucsarnok” [The Buildings of Trading in Medieval Buda. Part 2: The Houses of Shambles and Bread Selling Banks and the Market Halls], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 37 (2012): 23–58, under publication (used with the permission of the author).

⁴⁴ A. Kubinyi, “Die Fleischerzunft zu Ofen”, p. 133–135.

⁴⁵ A. Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* [The Medieval Topography of Buda], 2 vols., Budapest 2006–2008; F. Szakály – J. Szűcs (eds.), *Budai bortizedjegyzékek a 16. század első harmadából* [Wine Taxlists of Buda from the First Third of the Sixteenth Century], Budapest 2005.

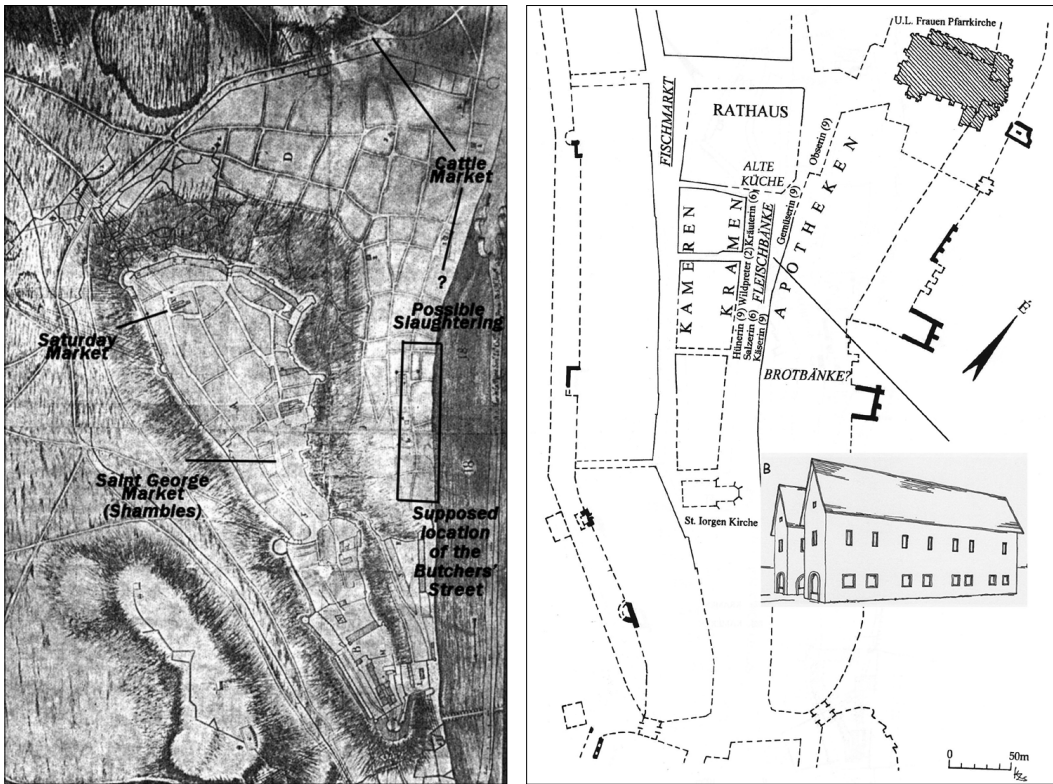


Fig. 4 The reconstructed living, slaughtering, and selling space of the butchers in medieval Buda (left, right © András Végh) and the Saint George market with the house of the shambles (right, © Judit Benda)

In case of Sopron, near the border of the Hungarian Kingdom, basically the very small size of the inner town itself – even Saint Michael’s parish church of the community was outside the walled inner town – caused modifications in the topographical patterns.⁴⁶ In addition, it is also interesting here, that despite the small size of the inner town, the butchers’ street occupied one of the most important axes, leading to the main square. The shambles, though originally were on the *Platz*, most probably disturbed the space of representation so much that the control was loosened, and the meat selling was moved to the other end of the inner town, to the salt market (*Salz Markt*), where there was another gate leading directly to the animal market (*Vieh Markt*) and presumably the bridge of slaughtering was also not very far (although its medieval location is still hypothetical). In 1532 – when it was thoroughly investigated – altogether fourteen butcher masters (corresponding to as many shambles) were in the town. Only two out of them were second generation butchers, while the others moved in after 1498. Within the community the social status of the butchers was rather high (as it was stated by earlier research, as a sign of indicator, more than half of them – nine – had already inherited family names instead of using the profession for that purpose), and this status is also reflected in the fact that only one

⁴⁶ For the detailed topography of the town, see F. Jankó – J. Kücsán – K. Szende (eds.), *Magyar Várostörténeti Atlasz / Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 1.: Sopron / Ódenburg*, Sopron 2010.

butcher – taking into account not only the masters – lived in the suburbs.⁴⁷ Some of these butchers became members of the outer or even the inner council and one of them was the judge for a while. With the only exception of Christoph Gräzer (who was mayor for eight years, therefore after 1519 lived on the main square) – in this time period they all live on the butchers' street.⁴⁸

In Pressburg, as in the case of all the above-mentioned examples, in order to analyse the social topographical distribution of the butchers, the primary task is the determination of the basic topographical elements (Fig. 6), some of which are evident – or identifiable – from the sources (and was done already by earlier scholarship), others are not that evident, therefore already at the beginning raise some problems. As it was already discussed, it is known that the shambles were originally located on the main square as elsewhere in Europe, which however, without a town hall (at that time the judge and the sworn jury, that is the councillors came together in the house of the judge in office) had not yet such a representative function as later but functioned basically as the main place of trade during the fourteenth century. In 1370 on royal order these shambles were moved behind the back of a (tower) building bought not long before for use as a town hall.⁴⁹ The number of these shambles (in 1376 was twenty-eight) in the light of the above two Hungarian towns actually indicates its size in relation to them, which means that in case of Pressburg one butcher master (and correspondingly one shamble) supplied approximately 200 to 250 people in the town – depending on which size of the population is accepted.⁵⁰

The location of the slaughtering place (*der fleischker slachpruk*), on the other hand, is not really facilitated by the available medieval sources. The suggestion of the nineteenth-century historian of the town, Tivadar Ortway – according to his own data too – can only be proved from the late sixteenth century onwards.⁵¹ Its existence on the same site before the late sixteenth century can be, however, doubted for several reasons. On the one hand, those scattered hints that can be gathered for the medieval period point to a farther direction, somewhere in the vicinity of the upper ferry crossing, around the old *Tabor* that was part of the outer, temporary (most probably not walled, but earth-worked) defence system (Fig. 6). One often finds references in the town account books to the (*fleischker*) *schlach pruckh*⁵² *am taber*, in which the outer defence camp does not have any adjective,⁵³ while the other parts of this defence system in the

⁴⁷ K. Mollay, “Családtörténet és társadalomtörténet. Az 1532. évi soproni mészárosok” [Family History and Social History. The Butchers of Sopron/Ödenburg in 1532], *Soproni Szemle* 42:4 (1988) 292–325; F. Dávid – K. Goda – G. Thirring (eds.), *Sopron belvárosának házai és háztulajdonosai 1488–1939 / Häuser und Hauseigentümer der Innenstadt von Ödenburg 1488–1939*, Sopron 2008.

⁴⁸ K. Mollay, “Családtörténet”, p. 292–235. Most recently on the elite of the town K. Goda, *A soproni városvezető réteg a 15–16. században. A polgármesteri és városbírói tisztség összehasonlító igazgatás és társadalomtörténete* [The Urban Governing Elite of Sopron in the 15th–16th Centuries. The Comparative Municipal and Social Historical Analysis of the Role of the Mayor and the Judge.], Ph.D. diss., Eötvös Loránd University Budapest 2011.

⁴⁹ In the given document which was referred to as *Newhaws*, see note no. 19.

⁵⁰ In Buda, according to András Kubinyi's calculation the forty butchers supplied 13,500 inhabitants, meaning that there 350 persons could be counted per master (A. Kubinyi, “Die Fleischerzunft”, p. 130–131). In Pressburg that would mean such a high population, which it had surely not.

⁵¹ At *Bruckgasse* (Hid-utca) he writes, that between 1582 and 1760 one finds at the end of the street the urban slaughter house. T. Ortway, *Pozsony város utcái és terei. A város története utca és térnevekben* [Streets and Squares of Pressburg. The History of the Town Through the Names of Its Streets and Squares], Pozsony 1905; repr. Budapest 1991, p. 164.

⁵² The only place where it was explicitly named as the butchers' slaughter bridge was the first account book, otherwise the butchers were not added to it. AMB, Kammerrechnungen, no. 1 (1434), p. 15. The confusion is caused by the fact, that the leaf-bridges at the several towers were also called *slachpruk* in the sources, as for example here: “an der slagbrugkn nynder s. Larenczen tor gearbait hat”. AMB, Kammerrechnungen, K41 (1478), p. 171.

⁵³ See a few examples: “Item mer I tagen denn kasten geraupt untter dem thaber pey der schlach pruckhen xx denar.” AMB, Kammerrechnungen, no. 71 (1518/19), p. 271. Or other examples: “zw dem taber pay der

same source-type were always somehow distinct (e. g., *taber pey den ledrer, taber pey dem pinter, wedritzer tabor, nydern tabor, taber in der newn stat*, etc.). Therefore, one might suppose, that without any further clarification, most probably in such cases the oldest defence camp (*alten tabor*) was indicated near Saint Lawrence's Gate.⁵⁴

On the other hand, beside the temporary bridge (*prugkscheff*) at the Water Tower (*Wasser Turm*), along the line of the river-bank, between two other *Tabors* in the fishermen's district (*Neustat-Piscatores*) – the *alter Tabor hinten den Lederern* and the *Neuen/Nydern Tabor* – a new bridge was built in the 1470s on the order of King Matthias which was accessible from the inner town through the Fishermen's Gate. Many references are to be read in the town accounts about the existence of a wooden pontoon-bridge here, that was occasionally also used by the king himself.⁵⁵

Consequently, it is more likely that the animals were slaughtered a bit farther away from this area. The medieval slaughter bridge, more plausibly, might have been by the anabranch of the Danube around the *Donauneusidl* and *Spitalneusidl* suburbs, “in front of Saint Lawrence's Gate” and somewhere “by the old *Tabor*”⁵⁶ although until the rather unlikely, incidental occurrence of a more precise source reference, this localisation still remains hypothetical,⁵⁷ which might be, however, further supported with the now to be outlined social topography of the butchers.

As opposed to the other towns presented so far, in Pressburg seemingly there was no clear-cut butchers' street, along which line one can start the research concerning their social topography.⁵⁸ Namely, there was no butchers' street or square named as such in the medieval sources, even though historians tend to call the square with the shambles as the butchers' square, rather

schlag pruk”; “der slachpruk am taber”; “zw taber pey schachpruk”; “pey der slag pruk pey dem taber”. AMB, Kammerrechnungen, no. 43 (1481/82), p. 136; no. 38 (1473/74), p. 108; no. 48 (1489/90), p. 101; no. 29 (1461), p. 93.

⁵⁴ Once it can read in such a form: “zu dem taber bei s. laurentzen tor”. AMB, Kammerrechnungen, no. 40 (1477/8), p. 159. Or at other times as: “die holcz gefurt zu dem taber pey dem urfar”. AMB, Kammerrechnungen, no. 36, p. 73.

⁵⁵ “bei dem nydern tabor die prugkh zu machn”; “aussern und innern Tunawprugkh”; “der Tünaw prugkn gespitzt haben, als das eyss die prugkn hatt hin gestössen, die prugkn bei dem nydern taber beschalt hat.”; “ausgeben auf die Tunawprukn bey den vischern”; Bratislava, Kammerrechnungen, no. 41 (1478) p. 176; no. 42 (1480/1), p. 85, 107, 161; no. 43 (1481/2), p. 122; no. 53 (1493), p. 101. See also T. Ortway, *Pozsony város utcái*, p. 162–163.

⁵⁶ “Item am sambstag vor Mathie apostoli hab wir mer gehabt viij kchlain arbaitter die auch pey dem Tain [Donau] gemacht haben an der schütt pey der slachprukch vor Sand Larenczen tor und so hab ich ainen geben per vij denar”; “die ausser prugkn S. Larentzn gemacht, die prügkn des taber bej der slachprugkn gepessert”; “die prukn S. Larenczen tor beschalt und bed prukn der taber bei der fleyschpruckh beschalt”. AMB, Kammerrechnungen, no. 36 (1471), p. 72; no. 45 (1484/85), p. 87; no. 46 (1485/86), p. 124.

⁵⁷ To complicate the matter, there was another small bridge (most probably over a little brook, the so-called Wedritz brook) somewhere at the *Tabor* of the tanners as the sources referred to it – “die slachpruk gemacht am taber pey dem lederren”; “zw taber zu der prukch pey den lederrer”; “pey dem taber pey den lederern die pruk an zw tragen”, Bratislava, Kammerrechnungen, no. 36 (1471), p. 75; no. 38 (1473), p. 84–, however, this was most probably a smaller scale bridge only for fleecing the animals.

⁵⁸ In the topographical lexicon of the town one finds an *Alter Fleischmarkt* also with medieval dates, but these dates are mistakenly attributed to a later (18th-century) location. V. Horváth (ed.), *Bratislavský topografický lexikon* [The Topographical Lexicon of Bratislava], Bratislava 1990, p. 199. In this lexicon the dates 1412, 1434 and 1439 indicated the *fleischprukk* and *fleischpenkchen* on the *Lange gasse* (*platea longa*), but in the medieval sources (although in the lexicon these sources are not listed, but they were an entry in the *Protocollum Actionale*, a fragmented tax-register, and the *Kammerrechnungen*) actually nothing connects them to the *Lange gasse*. In addition, in the given period from other sources – as discussed in the main text – the shambles can be proven to operate behind the town hall building. For this fact see also the research V. Jankovič, “Ulice a námestia historického jadra Bratislavy” [Streets and Square of the Historical Town Pressburg], *Zborník slovenského národného múzea, História* LXVI:12 (1972) 187–236; here p. 207–210 (*Lange gasse*), 220–222 (the square behind the town hall).

inaccurately,⁵⁹ since as we have seen also the bakers had their stalls here. The contemporary documents, however, only used the expressions *bei den fleischpenken* or *unter den fleischpengken* as a basis of relation or to position a house along the given square.⁶⁰ At the same time, the butchers' tower (see fig. 7) is an oft-recurring object in the fifteenth-century account books and its identification is relatively easy due to the phrasing, while already with its first appearance in 1434 one can read about the *Fleischker Thurn hinder den Juden*.⁶¹

After identifying the topographical elements (the shambles, the possible slaughtering place or the tower), if the above in length described pattern is valid for Pressburg, one would be able – without further research – to roughly circumscribe the square behind the town hall and the street leading to the butchers' tower as the space of the butchers in medieval Pressburg. Obviously, the basic research question before putting together this paper was whether it was really so? The two chosen Hungarian towns (Buda and Sopron) corresponded to the “Lübeck or Hannover type” with their clear-cut streets where most of the butchers lived. In the case of Pressburg do the shambles determine the haunted places like, for example, it was so with the *Nikolai Viertel* in Göttingen?

In order to answer this question, one must be able to locate the butchers to burgages and also to locate the actual burgages on the map, which is in an East Central European context usually a not-easily or in some cases a non-solvable task. However, the Pressburg written source material provides a feasible case. The description of the whole process of the reconstruction of the burgage-system for fifteenth-century Pressburg is not the object of this paper,⁶² here I would only present the administrative division of the town together with those sources which were

⁵⁹ The name *Fleischmarkt* was not used in the medieval sources, and in 1580 – after a great fire – when the shambles were again moved away from here, the square was named as *Traidmarkt* (see V. Jankovič, “Ulice a námestia”, p. 220–222). According to J. Holák, “Topografia historického jadra Bratislavy v 18. storočí” [Historical Topography of Pressburg in the Eighteenth Century], *Bratislava* 3 (1467) 117–163, here p. 130 – the *Fleisch Baenck* were transferred from the main square to the *Lange gasse* in the seventeenth century (ii between nr. 118 and 119) and in the eighteenth century outside the inner town walls, to the riverbank. These moves definitely resulted in certain changes of the social topography of the butchers, too. However, this already falls out of the scope of research concerning the medieval period.

⁶⁰ For example, in 1453 and 1454 the living place of Wilpold Gundaker tradesman and his wife was given as follows: “domum nostram quam nunc inhabitamus in hac civitate Poseniensi circa macella ex opposito fontis retro domum dicti Jacobi Haimburger situatam” and “mein haws...das da gelegen in der stat Prespurg bey den fleischpenken”. AMB, 4.n.1., fol. 78v and fol. 79r. While in the last will of Hans Weber in 1471: “Hans Weber von Prespürgk gesessen heysslich untter den fleischpengken.” AMB, 4.n.1., fol. 158v. For the edition of the given town book see J. Majorossy – K. Szende (eds.), *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)–1529. Teil 1: 1410–1487*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2010, no. 160, 162, 318.

⁶¹ AMB, Kammerrechnungen Nr. 1 (1434). Later with similar expression in 1458: “hinder den Juden bei dem Fleischhaker turn.” AMB, Kammerrechnungen no. 26 (1458). For the early (fourteenth-century) and later (fifteenth-century) location of the street of the Jews see: J. Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében” [The Role of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in the Life of the Citizens of Late Medieval Pressburg/Bratislava], in: E. Csukovits – T. Lengyelová (eds.), *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században* [From Bardejov to Bratislava. Towns in the Thirteenth–Seventeenth Centuries], Budapest 2005, p. 265; Slovak edition Prešov – Bratislava 2005, p. 185 with further references.

⁶² The maps (Fig. 6–10) represents the present stage of research concerning the reconstruction of the fifteenth-century topography of the town that includes, on the one hand, the long-known elements (T. Ortway, *Geschichte der Stadt*, II/1) and, on the other hand, the newly re-drawn plot distribution that was prepared on the basis of the monument-conservational surveys and the nineteenth-century cadastre map (as well as some eighteenth-century maps of the inner town). Here, I would express my thanks to Judit Bartel and Karsten Ley (from the University of Aachen) for their enormous help in the reconstruction and also to the director of the Pamiatkový úrad Slovenskej Republiky in Bratislava for help and providing access to the survey materials.

utilised both for establishing the burgage-system and their owners as well as for the presented social topographical maps of the butchers.

Pressburg in the fifteenth century was divided into four major administrative parts which were used – more or less consequently – to locate a building: two main suburban units (*prima et secunda pars*) and two inside the walls (*tercia et quarta pars – in der stat bey wedritzer tor; in der stat des andern tayls*). The suburban ones were further divided into smaller quarters (see Fig. 6), basically streets, which served as units for collecting taxes as well as units for circumscribing the houses (owners). To the reconstruction basically – though not exclusively – two source types were fully analysed. Firstly, the fifteenth-century tax-lists – both money and wine lists⁶³ – as well as the earliest one from 1379, and secondly, the property-registration (the so-called *Grundbuch*) which was put together in 1439 and which defined the amount of plots and named their owners in the given year, and its continuation, the *Satzbuch*, in which usually – unfortunately not always – the change of the property owners was inscribed.⁶⁴ The above tax-lists are not always relevant for the whole town, while some of them are only extant for a district (1412; 1415/6; 1430 – for the fourth main district), others only for the suburbs (1379). In addition, the wine-lists (1422, 1501/2) might have contained only those burghers who paid the wine tax, whose percentage was high in Pressburg but not the complete burgher population. The first main obstacle of the work was that beforehand the perambulation route of the tax-collection (*Steuerungumgang*) and also that of the property-conscription was to be remodelled in order to then project the identified butchers onto the map.

An approximate plot- and tax-collecting route reconstruction was only possible for the inner town, where evidently as a supplement to several other written sources, also a few mid-eighteenth-century maps could be of some use. They were helpful for a surprisingly great number of plots, while the inner town burgage-system did not change that much until 1750, except those few cases, when a major palace-, church- or monastery-building was erected after the capital (due to the Turkish occupation of the middle part of the Hungarian Kingdom) was moved there.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, as opposed to the inner town, in the suburban streets only the number of burgage-owners could be defined, but the plot-distribution not at all, and the tax-collecting routes could also be guessed rather hypothetically, thus in the suburbs the location of any of the burgages are rather difficult, almost impossible to plot. Consequently, in the streets of the first and the second suburban districts only the number of the property-owning or tax-paying butchers – or that of the members of any other social groups – could be defined, and their location on the maps are therefore indicative, but not exclusive.

In addition, due to the character of all the analysed sources, only a property or a plot/house where someone had to pay tax for one reason or another was definable, but not the property in which the given burgher actually lived (which might have even changed in time). Therefore, it was possible to project onto the maps all the properties that were owned by the butchers (their families),⁶⁶ but for any further refinement concerning the separation of the actual living places

⁶³ From the years 1412, 1415/6, 1422, 1430, 1434, 1452/3, 1482, 1500/1, and 1502/3.

⁶⁴ For a detailed introduction to the sources of the town (with all the archival references) see my contribution on Pressburg in the following article: K. Goda – J. Majorossy, “Städtische Selbstverwaltung und Schriftproduktion im spätmittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn: Eine Quellenkunde für Ödenburg und Preßburg”, *Pro Civitate Austriae, Informationen zur Stadtgeschichtsforschung in Österreich*, N. F. 13 (2008) 62–100.

⁶⁵ J. Majorossy, “Bridging the Gaps in the Evidence: the Reconstruction of Social Spaces in Late Medieval Pressburg” [Bratislava], Manuscript 2010, under publication.

⁶⁶ Therefore, the maps on the spatial distribution of the butchers in Pressburg (Fig. 8–11) only point out those which were plots owned and/or inhabited by butchers, and as a consequence, one can always see more dots for the butchers than their actual number might have been.

of each of them, dozens of case-studies would be necessary without the positive assurance that the sources would provide any relevant information.⁶⁷ The only properties which were left out of the analysis were the fruit gardens (*ortus*), empty lands (*öd*) and those *allodia* that there were landed property without a house.

The other difficulty derived from the identification of the butchers themselves. As was already hinted at in the Sopron case, name usage during the fifteenth century was rather mixed. Certain people still used the profession for identification (for example *Thoman Fleischker* or *Lienhart Fleischhacker*), others were circumscribed by their place of origin (for example *Niklas von Theben* or *Hans Tebner*) and some started using “family names” (for example *Ulrich Wider*, *Stephan Walich* or *Laurentz Viertzker*), which fact otherwise help to differentiate two butchers called, for example, Hans but only if it was also stated about the person that he was a butcher (which was not always the case). From this point of view the early regulation of the butchers from 1376 was of enormous use with its list of names of the master butchers in the given year,⁶⁸ especially because many of those families on the list (e. g. Kitzmagel, Kuepoden, Verel, Dauher, Virtzker, Liebel, Meindel, etc.) we still find in the fifteenth century among the butchers, when it is sometimes only known about them that they owned shambles. The compilation of the list of butchers for a hundred-and-twenty-year period between the 1400s and the 1520s – which is most probably still not complete and the appearance of possible new names and new clarifications are not at all to be excluded – was a much longer and complex process – with the involvement of other sources and the result of earlier research. There are two other problem-areas, besides that of names, especially for the early period when it was not often mentioned that someone was a *fleischacker* – besides the case where someone had a descriptive name. The first is that, on the one hand, the most influential butcher families were most probably also involved in trade – this is actually reflected on the social topographical maps as one analyses them – and many rich trading families, on the other hand, owned shambles. Therefore, in itself the ownership of shambles does not necessarily mean that we can count them among the butchers without a problem (e. g. the members of the Lachutel, Eylausmrock, Scharrach, Behem, Aigner, Gailsam, or Rutenstock families). Many of the wealthy burghers only let them by lease (and used them as a source of income). Nevertheless, one cannot also completely exclude that the ownership of shambles somehow related the family to the occupation, since the sources reveal that some members of such families were or considered themselves butchers (e. g. Mert Gailsam in the 1480s, Pancraz Rutenstock in the 1500s, Thoman Behem in the 1460s). From this point of view, the list of the master butchers in the regulation from 1376 is rather telling, because on the basis of other sources, for example, about the Kuepoden or the Kitzmagel families one would otherwise say that they were tradesmen. At the same time, it seems that the shambles-leasing within the burghers themselves was much more often in the second half of the fifteenth century than earlier. Consequently, the ownership of shambles was taken into account in compiling the list of

⁶⁷ Only the last wills (see J. Majorossy – K. Szende, *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum*, passim) and the individual property-purchasing charters might supply us with the necessary data, but their number in general and for the butchers in particular is not that high to be able to solve each individual case.

⁶⁸ The earliest and until now the only known full list of master butchers from 1376: “Item die maister fleischaker zu der zeit sind gewesen. Item Paul Chupodem, Johannes Liebel, Lewbel Peschinger, Hans der jung Chupoden, Mathes Fleischacker, Michel Newhauser, Nicolasch Vügerl, n. Meindel, Werentzel, Simon Grien, Lorentz Daucher, Erasem, Hans Freystetter, Hans Verel, Peter von Laa, Steffan Viertziger, Ulrich Kitzmagel, Conradt Knaurer, Linhart [fleischacker], Jensel Schimel und Stephan Schimel, Niclas Pikel, Andreas Saur, Ortolfus Aureus, Petrus filius Nachrichter, Perchtoldus Pörtzel, Rudel ain son Peter Schaym und Margretha filia fily Petri in Angulo habet ius.” AMB, 3.a.1., fol. 58v.

the butchers, but not exclusively and as an only indicator it was counted in cases when someone took them on lease, supposing that the person did it in order to sell his own meat products there.

The second problem field is that – especially for the early period again –, one might be able to define the butchers, but the sources concerning the topography of their properties are available only some decades later, from a period when in certain cases only the widows were still alive (e. g. Kuepoden, Kitzmagel, Daucher, and some others). Thus, the widows were also taken into account in those cases, when no other possibilities occurred for the topographical location of certain identified butchers. This is supported by the fact that the last *maister fleischaker(in)* in 1376 was a certain Margaretha, the daughter of the son of Peter in Angulo, showing that daughters or widows could actually be master butchers, too.

The earliest tax-list from 1379, due to the fact that it is limited to the suburbs and that the next list covering the same territories is extant from a good generation later, on the very surface, is not of great relevance concerning social topography, also because the other sources in regard to topographical issues are extant some forty years later. However, it is only seemingly so, since two relevant statements can still be made on its basis. The first remark is, that due to the fact that among the twenty eight master butchers listed three years earlier than this tax-list was compiled, only a *domus Viertzker* can be found in the *Donauneusidl* suburb (the sixth burgage), it indicates that the master butchers already at that time lived somewhere in the third or fourth taxing district, that is in the inner town. The second is, that one finds other (in relation to the mentioned list) new butchers among all the suburbs exclusively in the *Spitalneusidl* (*Ulricus Hakcher*, the second owner next to the old hospital of Saint Anthony) and the *Donauneusidl* suburb (*Stefanus Ffleischacker* together with *Viertzker* in the same, fifth burgage, as well as two other butchers not far from them), somewhere near Saint Lawrence's Gate. This fact might support our supposition concerning the place of the slaughter bridge, which might have been somewhere in this area and that is the reason for seeing the butchers – if not in the centre than – in this part of the town. And this would draw an early axis between the shambles first on the main square, later behind the town hall through the last part of the *Lange gasse* and out of the centre through Saint Lawrence's Gate to the slaughter bridge.

Otherwise, the extant tax-records allowed the preparation of three or four cross-sections in time, depending on whether we accept that the two early fifteenth-century tax-records which were relevant only for the half of the inner town (though the half that was interesting for us from the viewpoint of the butchers' space) can be still of use in that form, or we could base all the cross-section analysis on full tax (and not wine) registers only. Due to the existence of the register from 1379 for the suburbs and the wine-list from 1422 for the whole town, I have decided to create four cross-sections, in order to, at least partially, visualise the change that might have happened after the replacement of the shambles from the main square to the backyard square. Consequently the first map (Fig. 8) was prepared on the basis of the tax-registers of 1412, 1415/6, 1430 and the full wine-register of 1422 with the additional usage of the tax-register of 1379, and thus indicates the situation for the early years of the 1400s until 1430. The second map (Fig. 9) is relevant for the 1430s and the 1440s since it was based on the tax-register of 1434, the *Grundbuch* of 1439 and the entries of the *Satzbuch* between 1439 and 1450. The third (Fig. 10) stands for the period between the 1450s and the 1480s on the basis of a tax-list from 1452 and the entries of the property-register between 1450 and 1490. Finally, the last one (Fig. 11) shows the situation in the first decade of the sixteenth century and was prepared with the usage of the tax-list extant from 1503 and the inscription of property-owners between 1490 and 1510.

As part of the analysis there are some additional factors to be noted. Rather few of the identified butchers in Pressburg seemed to live in the vicinity of the supposed site of the slaughter bridge, which indicates that the master butchers lived in the centre commuting between two

spaces in the town, but considering the shambles as a more defining point of reference for their living space (as opposed to, for example, Buda). On the other hand, the fact that in the later years of the fifteenth century (Fig. 10) and in the early years of the sixteenth century (Fig. 11) more of them were to be found not far away from the market place (square) by Saint Michael's parish church outside the centre, a fact which must have had an explanation behind it. This phenomenon can back up a supposition for the medieval period which cannot be proved with the help of written documents, namely that cattle trade probably took place on the given square, which was an ideal junction for a *Vieh Markt* where the village people arriving from the direction of Holitsch (Holić) or Tyrnau (Trnava) could sell their animals.

It is also interesting that in the tax-list of 1502 the guild of the butchers as such paid tax on the plot by Saint Michael's Gate – the northern gate leading to the inner town – within the wall and not somewhere within the “clear-cut” space of the butchers around the shambles. Most probably the then master of the guild lived there (about whose person it is only known from the *Satzbuch* that he was a certain Wolfgangus, *maritus* of Clara, the former widow of Kuntz Saylor),⁶⁹ since in the practice of Pressburg the occupational guilds had no separate guild houses, but presumably the living place of the master served always temporarily as such. In this regard, with a date of 1493 one finds the *fleischacker zech* in the “ownership” of a burgage within the “butchers’ house-island” by the shambles,⁷⁰ probably as the beneficiary of a testamentary donated property (unfortunately, otherwise not documented), which was in seven years sold by the guild.

Investigating the first period of the fifteenth century (Fig. 8), even the social topographical analysis testifies to some extent the move of the shambles, since here it is still visible that certain butcher proprietors and/or tax-payers were to be found around the main square – around the previous location of the shambles. The later slight modification (Fig. 9–10), namely that we still find some of them on the main square and others also appear on the *Michaelsgasse* (the main axis for the trading families and the other highlighted space, besides the main square, of the urban governing elite) indicates two things. On the one hand, the difficulty to separate the trading and the butchering activities (see the above-discussed problem of tradesman contra butcher), and on the other hand, a phenomenon typical in the town (and in some other Hungarian towns) that butchers often became part of the urban elite occupying other realms within the town. The parallel phenomenon of the visible concentration of the butchers around the definite “butcher-realm” and the existing dispersion as, for example, in case of Göttingen can also be observed, and the highest density on a well-definable spot (along the square of the shambles, in the house-island south to this square as well as the houses in the last part of the *Lange gasse* leading to the gate) can be noted most explicitly and most exclusively at the end of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth century (Fig. 11). This is, by the way, parallel to the period, when the burghers themselves more often started to use for their own identification their profession, too.

In this particular town the image we can gather from the social topographical analysis of the butchers is also toned by the fact that a relatively high number of the members of this social group got into the governing elite. For example, Thoman Beheim *fleischacker* was eleven times inner councillor and four times lord mayor; Bernhard Viertzker *maister fleischacker* was a member first of the outer and later also the inner council (and as we have seen represented a family with a long past among the master butchers); Erhard Fleischacker was outer councillor, Stephan Walich *fleischacker* (the brother-in-law of another representative member of this group,

⁶⁹ AMB, 4.1.3, fol. 141r (plot no. 60).

⁷⁰ AMB, 4.1.3, fol. 162r (plot no. 146).

Burchard Scharrach) was also inner councillor and mayor, and the list could be continued.⁷¹ On the other hand, examining these individuals separately, their profession as butchers was not always exclusive. Namely, they owned the shambles but sometimes also owned mills, and some of them (e. g. Albrecht Gailsam or Pangraz Ruttenstock, the *vetter* of Ulrich Hass master butcher) can be more considered as tradesmen than butchers. In case of these highlighted examples the personal space of the given individuals is also individualised, since they existed in several overlapping realms within the urban space. It can be better conceived by contrasting the preferred location of the town ruling elite in the same period, the judges, mayors and inner councillors – who in the majority, besides their original professions were traders. Thus, it can be perceived that the spaces differing from the clear-cut butchers' space pattern define those butchers who stepped out of the circle of being only butchers.

To conclude, I would highlight only two major things. On the one hand, as hopefully demonstrated, the local – the physical – topography of a town (see e. g. Sopron), the ethnicity of the butchers (see e. g. Buda), or the social status of the butchers in a given community (see all the three Hungarian examples) can result in a certain deviation from the pattern concerning their spatial distribution. On the other hand, in the case of the socio-topographical analysis of the butchers in medieval urban space,⁷² the basic question implied by the above is: who was to be considered a butcher, the ones who stated so (e. g. *ich, Ulreich Hass fleischhacker*) but were involved more in other businesses, or only those about whom it is clear that they were definitely butchers and nothing more. Most probably this is also the breaking line between to what extent one can speak about the butchers' space as a pattern and about the individual butcher's space in a given urban community.

As the attached maps demonstrate (Fig. 8–11), the butchers' social topography in medieval Pressburg clearly tended and to a certain extent concentrated around or in the vicinity of (or along the way to) those “buildings” that were used by their profession (the shambles, the slaughter-bridge, the access way to the water). The general social status of the butchers within the given community – surely influenced by the importance of long-distance cattle trade in which Pressburg was deeply involved⁷³ – as well as the social control over food production and food

⁷¹ For example, Thoman Beheim: 1463/64, 1466/67, 1473/74, 1477/78, 1480/81, 1481/82, 1483/84, 1485/86, 1486/87, 1487/88, 1491/92 *Ratsherr*; 1475/76, 1476/77, 1478/79, 1482/83 *Burgermaister*; Bernhard Viertzker: 1455/56 outer councillor, 1457/58 and 1459/60 inner councillor; Erhard Fleischacker: 1455/56, 1461/62, 1462/63 outer councillor; Thoman Fleischacker: 1515/1516, 1518/1519 inner councillor; Stefan Walich: 1457/58, 1458/59, 1459/60, 1462/63, 1463/64, 1465/66 outer councillor, 1464/65, 1466/67 inner councillor, 1467/68 and 1468/69 *Burgermaister*. Sources: J. Majorossy, *An Archontology for Medieval Pressburg*, Manuscript 2011, under publication.

⁷² Another approach what is not part of the present discussion, but should also be considered talking about the space of the butchers is the issue of their place in urban processions such as, for example, the Corpus Christi procession. Unfortunately, concerning neither Pressburg, nor any Hungarian towns, are no such sources known from the period on which basis something closer could be hinted on this issue. However, for example, in Göttingen the butchers were almost among the first five to march, see G. von der Ropp (ed.), *Göttinger Statuten. Akten zur Geschichte der Verwaltung und des Gildewesens der Stadt Göttingen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Hannover – Leipzig 1907, p. 42–43 (no. 29), 304–305 (no. 29); H. Steenweg, *Göttingen um 1400*, p. 87. In Vienna, at the same time, the butchers were most probably among the last five to proceed. See M. Scheutz, “Hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät der Päbsliche Nuncius, Königl. Spanischer und Venetianischer Abgesandter. Hof und Stadt bei den Fronleichnamspzessionen im frühneuzeitlichen Wien”, in: R. Bösel – G. Klingenstein – A. Koller (eds.), *Kaiserhof – Papsthof, 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 2006, p. 173–188. Of course, one should also consider where the sacrament was carried.

⁷³ B. Nagy, “Trade in Animals as Creators of Wealth”, conference paper presented at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds 11th–14th July 2011 (under future publication). Used with the permission of the author.

selling assured their place (as opposed to certain other professions) in the centre,⁷⁴ within the walled inner town and some members of the craft – due to social rise – topographically even stepped into the highest elite spaces (on the main square, along Michael and Long streets). On the other hand, the move of the shambles after 1370 – as far as the sources allowed us to grasp – is also reflected in the slight topographical shift towards the new square of the shambles, and afterwards a more clearly visible butchers' space around this square crystallised by the end of the fifteenth century. However, the outlined picture most probably changed again after 1580, when the shambles here burnt down and consequently were moved away from their medieval place. As the study tried to demonstrate investigating the social topography of the butchers or eventually any other craft, the *longue durée* research attitude regarding some factors might be relevant, but due to many temporal elements involved (such as moving the shambles, the changing status of the craft members, the changing status of the craft itself, etc.) did, to certain extent, modify an earlier situation. Consequently, the temporal comparison is equally important to comparisons with other urban communities.

⁷⁴ For the social topography of the butchers in comparison to many other crafts see J. Majorossy, "A foglalkozás topográfiája. A társadalmi tértől a személyes térig: a társadalmi mobilitás térbeli elemei a 15. századi Pozsonyban" [The Topography of Craft. From Social Space to Personal Space: the Spatial Elements of Social Mobility in Fifteenth-Century Pressburg], *Korall: Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat* 45 (2011/3), 102–135.



Fig. 6 A map of mid-fifteenth-century Pressburg with the newly reconstructed plot distribution of the inner town on the basis of written sources and monument conservational surveys. (© Judit Majorossy)

List to the Abbreviations on the Map:	
Abbr.	Description
A	the plot of the <i>Academia Istropolitana</i> in the 1470s and 80s, (14 th century: <i>Münzhaus</i>), otherwise normal burgher's plot
B1–8	prebend houses for different confraternities (e. g. Corpus Christi, All Saints' etc.)
C	canons' house
CH	chapter house
DM	<i>Dürre Mautamt</i> , customs' house on land
F1–2	brothel (<i>Frauenhaus</i>) 1 = 1422; 2 = 1439 and afterwards
G	<i>Grünstübel</i> , normal plot of burgher families, but referred to it in the town documents under a special name and wine was stored in its cellars also for the town
H	a complex of smaller houses (or rooms) in a common courtyard, in 14 th -century sources referred to as <i>Christenhof</i> , while in the 15 th -century sources as <i>Judenhof</i>
K	<i>Kathreinhof</i> , a plot that belonged to the Cistercians of Heiligenkreuz until 1529 and originally was used as an economic building and storage place, but later some of the smaller houses (or rooms) were rented out and the town used it in reward of an annual payment, while during the 15 th century the small St Catherine's chapel was also a function urban ecclesiastical institution
M	after the 1470s it was used by the Paulines in the Valley near Pressburg as their urban residence and was called as the <i>Münichhof</i>
P (Pm; Pl)	the parish houses in the town (Pm = the parish of St Martin'; Pl = the old (1) and new (2) parish of St Lawrence)
S	most probably the place of the parish school of St Martin's
W	<i>Weitenhof</i> (or in some sources also named as <i>Mertenhof</i>), in earlier times most probably a normal urban plot, but later on was not used as such but as an economic – most probably – storage place and as such it is a point of reference and orientation
WT	<i>Wasserturm</i> , this was the location of the customs' collection on water transported goods
Roman Numbers I–XII.	the taxing units of the town <i>prima pars</i> (red): I. = Sluttergasse; II. = Gaissgasse; III. = Nonnenpeunt; IV. = Michalsgasse bey der Nonnenpeunt (a) und in Neusidl (b); V. = Hochstrasse; VI. = Schöndorfergasse; <i>secunda pars</i> (blue): VII. = Spitalneusidl (a) und Reichartsgasse (b); VIII. = Donauneusidl; IX. = Neustadt (a) und Piscatores (b); X. = Wedritz und Fudluck (a); <i>tercia et quarta pars</i> (green): XI. = inner town first quarter (<i>in der Stat bey Wedritzer tor</i>); XII. = inner town second quarter (<i>in der Stat des andern tayls</i>)

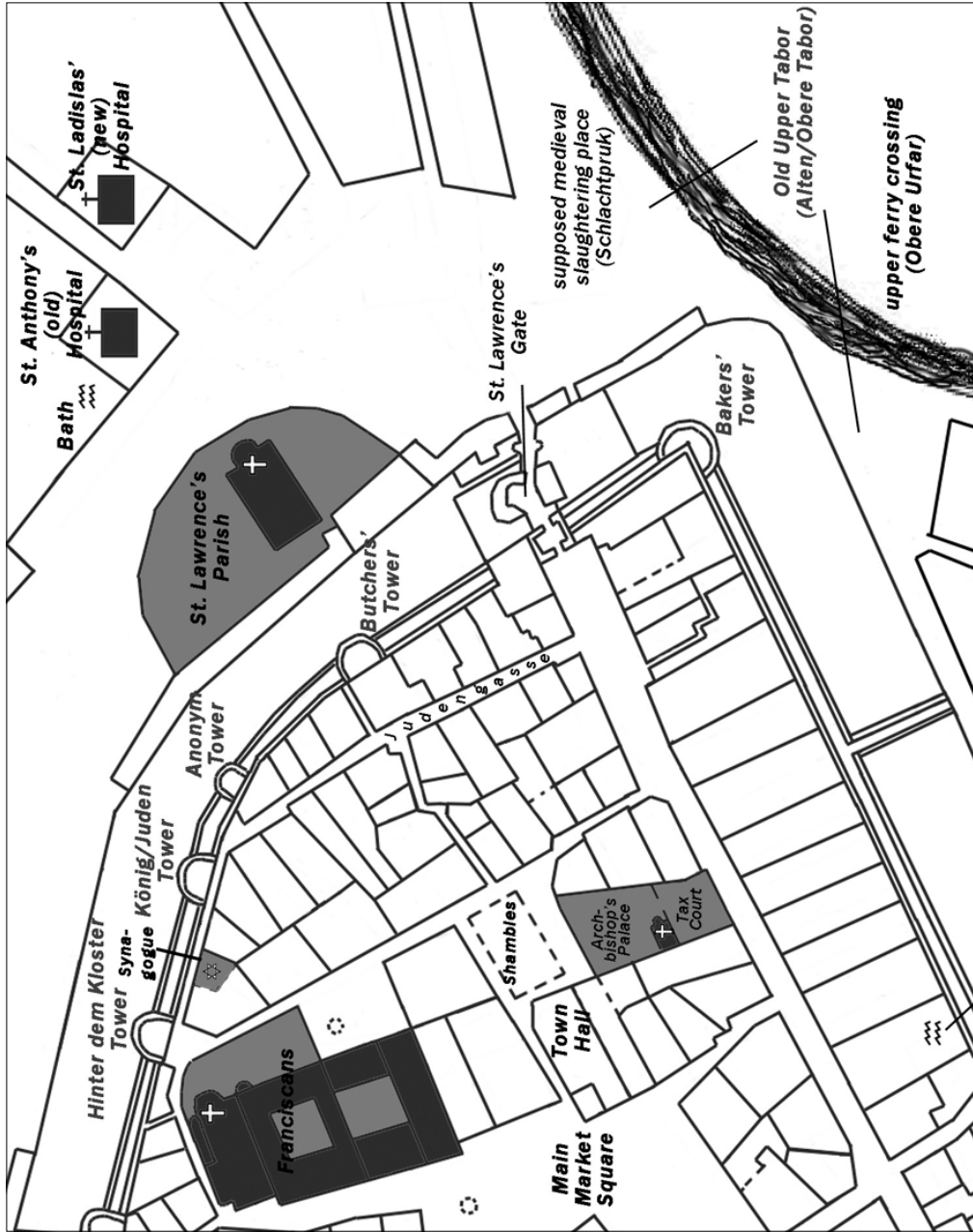


Fig. 7 The square behind the town hall in late medieval Pressburg with the possible position of the shambles and that of the slaughter bridge. (© Judit Majorossy)



Fig. 9 The living places and other owned properties by the butchers in Pressburg between 1434 and the 1440s. The dots indicate owned properties, while the crosses indicate that other tax-paying butchers were mentioned on the given plot.



Fig. 11 The living places and other owned properties by the butchers in Pressburg between the 1490s and 1510s. The dots indicate owned properties, while the crosses indicate that other tax-paying butchers were mentioned on the given plot.

Martin Barus

“Schweig, Meyde, Leyde, bess do kombt besser Zceyt”. Der Görlitzer Stadtschreiber Johann Frauenburg: Lebensweg, Amtstätigkeit und literarische Schriftwerke¹

Zusammenfassung | Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit dem Görlitzer Stadtschreiber Johann Frauenburg, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts tätig war. Charakterisiert sind besonders seine literarische Werke – zwei Tagebücher (öffentliche Diarium, darin er einige Gerichtsentscheidungen notierte, und heimliche *Secretarium*, wo wir unter anderen Einträgen Frauenburgs persönliche Meinungen entdecken können), die sog. *Bürgermeisterspiegel*, ergo Frauenburgs Instruktionen für die künftige Görlitzer Bürgermeister, und endlich eine Ratsordnung, die für die Erkennung der Funktionsfähigkeit des Görlitzer Stadtverwaltung im 15. Jahrhundert sehr wichtig ist. Erwähnt sind auch 14 Inschriften, die die er auf die Görlitzer Tore und Türme angebracht ließ und die, mit einige weiteren Wahrzeichen, zeigen, dass Frauenburg mindestens ein bisschen mit die neue humanistische Kultur vertraut war.

Johann Frauenburg, Stadtschreiber, Görlitz

.....

“Anno etc. lxxiiii^o Electus sum in Magistrum ciuuium”,² so schlicht und einfach vermerkte der Görlitzer Stadtschreiber Johann Frauenburg im Herbst 1474 in seinem Tagebuch eines der wichtigsten Ereignisse seines Lebens. Dieser Satz enthält fast alle Informationen, die aus dem “gemeinen” Stadtschreiber eine sehr interessante Persönlichkeit machen, die ein Tagebuch führte und auf eine erfolgreiche politische Karriere zurückblicken konnte. Aber das ist nur einer Teil seines komplizierten und abwechslungsreichen Lebens. Wie also war sein Schicksal? Was notierte er alles in seinem Tagebuch? Wie lange stand er an der Spitze der Görlitzer Stadtverwaltung? Nicht nur Antworten auf diese Fragen bietet uns der Görlitzer Quellenreichtum.

Johann Frauenburg wurde gegen 1430 wahrscheinlich in Danzig (Gdańsk) geboren.³ Die erste schriftliche Erwähnung von ihm stammt aus dem Jahre 1451, als er am 16. Oktober an der

¹ Dieser Beitrag stammt aus der Diplomarbeit des Autors – M. Barus, “Wirt euer stadt zu willen und dinst zu sein”. *Životní osudy, diplomatická činnost a literární díla zhořeleckého městského písaře Johanna Frauenburga (1430–1495)*. Katedra historie Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci, aufgerufen am 30. Mai 2011. Für die Hilfe bei der Übersetzung dieses Artikels muss ich hier meinem Kollegen Bc. Ivan Puš danken.

² M. O. Saupé (Hg.), “Das Tagebuch des Görlitzischen Stadschreibers Johannes Frawenburg 1470–1480 nach der Abschrift und mit Anmerkungen des Bartholomäus Scultetus”, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 65 (1889), S. 171.

³ Diese Datierung stammt von R. Jecht, *Geschichte der Stadt Görlitz*, Görlitz 1922–1934, S. 22; weitere Autoren sind derselben Meinung – z. B. zuletzt V. Honemann, “Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur im Leben und Werk des Johann Frauenburg von Görlitz (... 1495)”, in: R. Suntrup – J. Veenstra (Hgg.), *Stadt, Kanzlei und Kultur im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main 2004, S. 48. Den Namen “Frauenburg” kann man auch als einen Beinamen verstehen, der auf die Herkunft der Familie verwies – etwa 60 km östlich von Danzig liegt die heutige Stadt Frombork, ursprünglich Frauenburg.

Leipziger Universität immatrikuliert wurde. Er wurde hier als "Johannes de Gdanczk" gebucht⁴ und beendete die dortige Artistische Fakultät 1458 mit dem Grad *Magister Artium*.⁵

Dank seiner in Leipzig angeknüpften Kontakte mit den Söhnen einiger Görlitzer Familien, z. B. der Familie von Georg Emmerich, wurde er 1462 Rektor der dortigen Stadtschule.⁶ Schon ein Jahr später ist Frauenburg als Glied der Görlitzer Stadtkanzlei bekannt.⁷ Er wurde ein gewöhnlicher Schreiber – der Stadtschreiber war Johann Bereit von Jüterborgk und der Unterstadtschreiber Matthias Breitmichel. Ob Frauenburg diese Stelle wegen der üblichen Verbindung der Stadtschule mit der Stadtkanzlei⁸ oder wegen seiner Hochzeit mit Barbara, der Tochter des Görlitzer Ratsherrn Andreas Canitz bekam, ist nicht klar, weil das Datum seiner Heirat unbekannt ist. 1465 war er schon verheiratet.⁹ Wichtig aber ist, dass Frauenburgs sozialer Aufstieg während seiner ersten Monate in Görlitz rasant war. Der arme Universitätsabsolvent wurde in ungefähr zwei Jahren Mitglied der Stadtkanzlei und Schwiegersohn eines der bedeutendsten Bürger der Stadt, von dem er ein relativ großes Vermögen einschließlich eines Bürgerhauses erben sollte.

Als Johann Bereit im Jahre 1465 die Görlitzer Stadtkanzlei verließ, wurde Johann Frauenburg Stadtschreiber, während Breitmichel weiter als Unterstadtschreiber diente. Hier kam Frauenburg die Universitätsbildung zugute und wahrscheinlich auch die vielfältigen Kontakte zu den Görlitzer Patrizierfamilien.¹⁰ Zu den Pflichten eines Stadtschreibers gehört nicht nur die Führung der Stadtbücher und das Protokollieren der Ratssitzungen,¹¹ sondern auch die Aufsicht über die Bewahrung der Rechtskontinuität der Gemeinde und in einer so wichtigen Stadt wie Görlitz, war er auch als Diplomat und Repräsentant der Stadt an vielen politischen Verhandlungen beteiligt.

Frauenburgs Stellung in Görlitz wurde durch die Teilnahme in der sogenannten *Pulverschwörung* im Jahre 1467 stark gefestigt. Es ging um einen Streit zwischen den Familien Horschel und Emmerich, in dem die Horschelgruppe sich mit der Bitte um Hilfe an den böhmischen König Georg von Podiebrad wandte. Er war aber Hussite und 1466 wurde er von Papst Pius II. zum Ketzer erklärt. Die Emmerichgruppe beschuldigte ihre Gegner, dass sie im Kontakt mit den Häretikern stünden, und dass sie die Stadt König Georg preisgeben möchten. Mehrere Personen wurden ins Gefängnis gesteckt und nach einem peinlichen Verhör wurden sie hingerichtet oder aus der Stadt vertrieben. Frauenburg spielte in der Emmerichgruppe eine wichtige Rolle.¹² Er übermittelte oft geheime Informationen von der Horschelgruppe und be-

⁴ G. Erler (Hg.), *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae, II. Haupttheil, 16. Band – Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig, I. Band*, Leipzig 1895, S. 175.

⁵ G. Erler (Hg.), *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae, II. Haupttheil, 17. Band – Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig, I. Band*, Leipzig 1897, S. 173.

⁶ Am 8. März schrieb Frauenburg nach der Benachrichtigung von Georg Emmerich sein Gesuch um diese Stelle und schon am 23. April folgte ein anderer Brief Frauenburgs, in dem er dem Görlitzer Rat versicherte, dass er am Pfingsten nach Görlitz komme – R. Jecht (Hg.), *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris VI*, Görlitz 1931, S. 249.

⁷ V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 49.

⁸ Zu den persönlichen Verbindungen der Stadtschule mit der Stadtkanzlei siehe V. Spáčil, *Písaři a kanceláře města Olomouce do roku 1786*, Olomouc 2001, S. 68; Angaben zur Situation in Görlitz im 14. Jahrhundert macht R. Jecht, "Laurentius Erenberg. Görlitzer Stadtschreiber von 1425–1436", *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 117 (1941), S. 2.

⁹ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 201, 228.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 228.

¹¹ Mit dieser "üblichen" Kanzleitätigkeit möchte ich mich in diesem Beitrag nicht beschäftigen – dazu vgl. vor allem R. Jecht, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Görlitz bis 1600*, Görlitz 1909, passim; auch M. Barus, "Wirt euer stadt", S. 70–85.

¹² Seine Position in diese Gruppe war wohl selbstverständlich. Die Kontakte Frauenburgs zur Familie Emmerich wurden schon erwähnt und sie wurden wahrscheinlich auch durch seine Hochzeit verstärkt. Nach M. O. Saupe

sonders protokollierte er die Aussagen der Verhörten.¹³ Die siegreiche Familie Emmerich hatte die Leitung der Stadt bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts inne.¹⁴

Nach der *Pulververschwörung* beginnen die wichtigsten Jahre in Frauenburgs Karriere, die mit dem Krieg zwischen dem böhmischen König Georg von Podiebrad und dem ungarischen König Matthias Corvinus um die Länder der böhmischen Krone verbunden waren.

Die katholische Oberlausitz bzw. der Sechsstädtebund,¹⁵ kämpfte natürlich gegen König Georg und ab dem Jahre 1469 gehört sie zu den Ländern, die Matthias Corvinus beherrschte.¹⁶ Auf Grund der großen politischen und militärischen Bedeutung von Görlitz, war Frauenburg in diesem Krieg stark involviert. Er nahm an den wichtigen diplomatischen Verhandlungen seiner Zeit teil, z. B. an der Breslauer Tagung im Jahre 1469, wo Frauenburg, neben anderen Oberlausitzer Diplomaten, den neugewählten böhmischen König Matthias Corvinus huldigte, an der Friedenstagung zu Troppau (Opava) im Jahre 1473, an der Krontagung in Beneschau (Benešov) auch in diesen Jahr, an den vielen Schlesischen und Oberlausitzer Landtagen und an anderen diplomatischen Verhandlungen.¹⁷

Zu den wichtigsten diplomatischen Erfolgen Frauenburgs muss man die Oberlausitzer Ablehnung der Olmützer (Olomouc) Friedensverhandlungen rechnen. Diese wurden am 21. Juli 1479 beschlossen und sie bestätigten die bestehende Teilung der Länder der böhmischen Krone – Vladislav II. Jagiello und Matthias Corvinus blieben beide böhmische Könige, Vladislav II. regierte in Böhmen und Matthias in Mähren, Schlesien sowie in der Ober- und Unterlausitz.¹⁸ Diesen Frieden mussten noch die Landtage genehmigen, aber die Schlesischen Vertreter mit *“der Sechslände und stete des marggrafftumbs Ober und Nider Lusicz sendbotn”* nahmen ihn noch in Olmütz an.¹⁹

(Hg.), „Geschichte der Burg und des Cölestinerklosters Oybin 1“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 79 (1903), S. 199 wurde die Mutter der ersten Ehefrau Frauenburgs, Barbara, als Anna Emmerich geboren. Jedoch Richard Jecht erwähnt diese Verwandtschaft nicht – R. Jecht, „Urkundliche Nachrichten über Georg Emerich“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 68 (1892), S. 92; R. Jecht, „In welchen Häusern wohnten die berühmten Görlitzer: Johannes Frauenburg, Georg Emerich, Benigna Horschelin, Agnes Fingerin, Hans Frenzel, Johannes Hass, Bartholomäus Scultetus, Jakob Böhme, Karl Gottlob von Anton?“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 89 (1913), S. 216.

¹³ Es handelt sich um das *Protokollbuch über kriminelle Sachen 1466–1488*, das bis zum 2. Weltkrieg in der Bibliothek der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (sign. L I 256) in Görlitz aufbewahrt wurde und jetzt verschollen ist. Zur Verfügung steht aber seine Edition – E. A. Seeliger (Hg.), „Görlitzer Bekenntnisbuch aus den Jahren 1466–1489“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 85 (1909) 27–107. Andere Aussagen kann man im Ratsarchiv Görlitz finden vgl. Varia 59, fol. 74v–81r.

¹⁴ Zur Pulververschwörung neuerlich S. Hoche, „Die Familien Emmerich und Horschel. Hintergründe zum Heiligen Grab in Görlitz“, *Görlitzer Magazin* 17 (2004) 61–74; weiter auch G. Köhler (Hg.), „Magister Bartholomeus Scultetus gesammelte Nachrichten über die Pulververschwörung in Görlitz“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 35 (1859), S. 333; R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 197–198.

¹⁵ Es handelt sich um einen Bund von sechs Oberlausitzer Städten – Görlitz, Bautzen, Zittau, Kamenz, Löbau und Lauban (das heutige polnische Lubań). Er entstand 1346 und spielte im ausgehenden Mittelalter eine wichtige Rolle Ausführliche Informationen dazu siehe. z. B. in G. Oettel – V. Dudeck (Hgg.), *650 Jahre Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund 1346–1996*, Bad Muskau, 1997.

¹⁶ Zu dieser Problematik allgemein z. B. P. Čornej – M. Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české, svazek VI. 1437–1526*, Praha – Litomyšl 2007, S. 241–272, 403–471; A. Kalous, *Matyáš Korvín (1443–1490). Uherský a český král*, České Budějovice 2009, S. 122–194; K. Baczkowski, *Walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską w latach 1471–1479*, Kraków 1980; speziell zu Görlitz siehe R. Jecht, *Geschichte*.

¹⁷ Frauenburgs Reisetätigkeit versuchte Volker Honemann zu bearbeiten – V. Honemann, „Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur“, S. 61–63; mehrere Daten finden sich auch bei M. Barus, „Wirt euer stadt“, S. 245–247.

¹⁸ A. Kalous, *Matyáš Korvín*, S. 179–181, 193–195; P. Čornej – M. Bartlová, *Velké dějiny*, S. 435–437.

¹⁹ C. Grünhagen – H. Markgraf (Hgg.), *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter 1*, Leipzig 1881, S. 30–31.

Dieses Abkommen wurde jedoch von den Oberlausitzer Ständen nicht akzeptiert und während der Verhandlungen am Anfang Oktober 1479 in Breslau äußerten ihre Abgesandten vier Einwände, die dem Abkommen widersprachen.²⁰ Es handelt sich hier vor allem um die Privilegien, die die Einheit der Oberlausitz mit den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone garantieren – die Oberlausitzer denken, dass durch das Olmützer Abkommen diese Vorrechte gebrochen wurden –, und die von ihnen abhängigen kaufmännischen, wirtschaftlichen und anderen Freiheiten.

Frauenburg, der wegen seiner Gesundheitsprobleme in Olmütz fehlte,²¹ und andere Oberlausitzer Diplomaten, vor allem der Bautzner Bürgermeister Baltazar Pretsch, genannt Steinchen und der ehemalige Görlitzer Hauptmann Kaspar von Nostiz, fingen mit dem langandauernden Widerstand an.²² Als Frauenburg die Abschrift der "Olmützer" Urkunde bekam, bemerkte er "Hilf lieber hergot, mors est in olla".²³ Seine Meinung über das Olmützer Abkommen findet man auch in seinem *Secretarium* – "Et nihil fuit in re. Crede pauca, quia mors in olla, et sunt betrigeri".²⁴

Auf Grund des Briefes, den der Erlauer (Eger in Ungarn) Bischof Gabriel Rangoni am 3. Oktober 1479 an den Görlitzer Stadtschreiber schrieb, weiß man, dass Frauenburg am ungarischen Hof durch seinen Widerstand in Ungnade fiel. Er wird sogar als Hauptfeind bezeichnet, weil "Nemo magis aduersatur et nemo sit durior" als Frauenburg war.²⁵ König Matthias beschuldigte schließlich (14. Oktober 1479) Frauenburg falsch, dass er mit den Ketzern, d.h. Böhmen, vergesellschaftete, dass er dem König in Steuerfragen widerstand und vor allem dass er an der Spitze des Görlitzer Aufruhrs gegen den König stand. Daraufhin lud er ihn vor Gericht.²⁶ Johann Frauenburg kommentierte in seinem *Secretarium* zuerst ironisch, dass es durch "seyner grossen trewe halben by der Stadt" geschah, später aber notierte er "Hilff lieber trawer Herrgot".²⁷

Ob diese Angriffe oder seine sich verschlechternde Gesundheit – wahrscheinlich beide Gründe – Frauenburg zum Rücktritt vom Stadtschreiberamt zwangen, ist nicht sicher. Jedenfalls war er schon seit Anfang 1479 kaum noch öffentlich tätig und im Frühling 1481 verließ er die Stadtkanzlei.²⁸ Die Oberlausitz – als einziges Land der Böhmisches Krone – nahm jedoch das Olmützer Abkommen, trotz mehrerer Versuche des Königs Matthias, nicht an. Das war ein großer Sieg, obwohl nur symbolisch. Dieser Widerstand sollte aber an der Teilung der Länder der

²⁰ Erstens sollten die Oberlausitzer nach dem Abkommen dem König ihren Gehorsam schwören, was sie nicht machen wollten, weil sie ihm schon 1469 huldigten. Zweitens, wahrscheinlich der schwierigste Punkt, war die Meinung der Oberlausitzer Stände, dass sie mit der Annahme des Abkommens aus der Böhmisches Krone ausscheiden würden, was eben viele seinen Privilegien widerstehen sollten. Sie lehnten auch ihre Pflicht ab, die ungarischen Länder zu verteidigen. Das letzte Problem war, dass ob nach Matthias' Tod die Summe für die böhmischen Kronländer nicht bezahlt werde, sollten die Oberlausitzer Stände dem neuen ungarischen König huldigen. Diese vier Punkte wurden dem König Vladislav II. im Jahre 1480 ausführlich erklärt – B. Kronthal – H. Wendt (Hgg.), *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum, Band 14, Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus. Zweite Abtheilung 1479–1490*, Breslau 1894, S. 22–25, Nr. 338; R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 226.

²¹ Görlitz vertrat Hans Schneider in Olmütz. Frauenburgs Anwesenheit während dieser Verhandlung erwähnt unrichtig V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 63.

²² T. Scheltz, "Gesammt-Geschichte der Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz, 10. Buch", *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 58 (1882), S. 165; E. E. Struve (Hg.), *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum, Neue Folge 4*, Görlitz 1870, S. 132–133; G. Köhler (Hg.), *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum, Neue Folge 1*, Görlitz 1839, S. 205–206.

²³ B. Kronthal – H. Wendt (Hgg.), *Scriptores, Band 14*, S. 11, Nr. 327, Editionsanmerkung.

²⁴ M. O. Saupé (Hg.), "Das Tagebuch", S. 188.

²⁵ Nach der Abschrift von Rangonis Brief in Frauenburgs *Secretarium* – *Ibid.*, S. 188.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 228. Frauenburgs Nachfolger Georg Vogt ist erstmals als Görlitzer Stadtschreiber am 30. April 1481 bezeugt – H. Knothe, *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae, II. Haupttheil, 7. Band – Urkundenbuch der Städte Kamenz und Löbau*, Leipzig 1883, S. 110, Nr. 147.

Böhmischen Krone unter Vladislav II. und Matthias und praktischen Erfüllung das Olmützer Abkommen nichts ändern. Aber für das Selbstbewusstsein und die Besinnung auf die eigene politische Selbständigkeit der Oberlausitz, und vor allem des Sechsstädtebundes, war es sehr wichtig.²⁹

Man darf nicht vergessen, dass Frauenburg auch viele Jahre ein Mitglied des Görlitzer Stadtrates war.³⁰ Erstmals ist er im Verwaltungsjahr³¹ 1469/1470 als „Rathmann“³² belegt, in den nächsten Jahren blieb er wahrscheinlich in dieser Position. 1473/1474 war er Schöppe und im nächsten Verwaltungsjahr sogar erstmals Bürgermeister. Weitere Jahre saß er oft als Schöppe im Stadtrat und einmal (1478/1479) als Bürgermeister. Zum letzten Mal wird er im Verwaltungsjahr 1481/1482 als Schöppe erwähnt.³³

Wie oben bereits erwähnt wurde, heiratet Frauenburg spätestens 1465 Barbara, die Tochter des Görlitzer Ratsherrn Andreas Canitz. Dank dieser Heirat kam er in den Besitz eines Bürgerhauses (heutige Brüderstraße 11).³⁴ Alle seine Kinder, die Söhne Franz, Kaspar, Leon und Valentin, die im Jahre 1495 lebten,³⁵ hatte er nach Richard Jecht³⁶ wahrscheinlich mit seiner zweiten Ehefrau Barbara, der Tochter des reichen Görlitzer Bürgers Balthasar Landreiter. Diese zweite Barbara änderte auch einen Tag vor Frauenburgs Tod seinen letzten Willen³⁷ zu ihrem Vorteil – sie soll mit den Kindern im Haus bleiben, das ganze Vermögen soll sie bis zum Erwachsensein der jüngsten Kinder verwalten und auch Frauenburgs zahlreiche frommen Stiftungen wurden abgeschafft.³⁸

Johann Frauenburg starb am 5. Februar 1495 in Görlitz und ein paar Tage später wurde er, auf seinen Wunsch hin, in der Barbarakapelle³⁹ der dortigen Franziskaner Dreifaltigkeitskirche begraben. Seinen Grabstein, mit der Inschrift „Anno domini 1495 in vigilia sancte Doruthee obiit spectabilis [vir et magister dominus Johannes Frauenburg, cujus] anima requiescat in sancta pace. Amen.“,⁴⁰ und mit dem nicht eindeutig zu interpretierenden Wappen⁴¹ kann man dort noch jetzt finden (**Abb. 1**).

²⁹ T. Scheltz, „Gesamt-Geschichte“, S. 165–167; E. E. Struve (Hg.), *Scriptores* 4, S. 132–133; G. Köhler (Hg.), *Scriptores* 1, S. 205–206.

³⁰ Im 15. Jahrhundert hatte der Görlitzer Stadtrat 19 Mitglieder. An der Spitze steht ein Bürgermeister das ganze Jahr. Weiter saßen im Rat sieben Schöppe, die auch bei den Stadtgerichtsverhandlungen anwesend waren, und elf „Rathmänner“, unter ihnen auch drei Handwerker; L. Behrisch, „Die Görlitzer Ratskür im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin Neue Folge* 3 (2000), S. 50–53.

³¹ Der Rat amtierte nicht nach dem klassischen Kalender, sondern nach dem so genannten Verwaltungsjahr, das in Görlitz im 15. Jahrhundert am 1. Oktober, später am 1. September (seit 1476), begann.

³² In diesem Beitrag unterscheidet ich zwischen den Ratsherren, also allen Mitgliedern des Ratskollegiums, und den „Rathmännern“, also den weniger bedeutenden Ratsherren, die nicht Schöppe waren.

³³ V. Honemann, „Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur“, S. 49; M. O. Saupe (Hg.), „Das Tagebuch“, S. 171, 174, 175, 179, 183.

³⁴ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 228, 387; R. Jecht, „In welchen Häusern“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 89 (1913) 214–222.

³⁵ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, liber actorum 1490–1497, fol. 247r.

³⁶ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 229.

³⁷ Dieses erste Testament ließ Frauenburg schon am 13. Juni 1486 aufsetzen – Ratsarchiv Görlitz, liber resignationum 1470–1488, fol. 246v–247r.

³⁸ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, liber resignationum 1488–1505, fol. 130r. Über das eigene Durchführen dieses „zweiten Testament“ siehe Ratsarchiv Görlitz, liber actorum 1490–1497, fol. 247r–248r.

³⁹ Interessant ist der Name Barbara. Auch beide Ehefrauen Frauenburgs trugen diesen Namen. Ob es seine Lieblingsheilige oder ein Zufall war, ist unbekannt.

⁴⁰ Über Frauenburgs Grabstein siehe R. Jecht, „Die Grabsteine, Epitaphien und Gedächtnisfahnen in der Görlitzer Klosterkirche“, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 86 (1910), S. 165. Die Worte in der Klammer befinden sich heute nicht mehr auf dem Grabstein. Jecht ergänzte sie nach einigen älteren Autoren.

⁴¹ Auf der Abb. 1 kann man im Wappen wahrscheinlich die Buchstaben „i“ und „b“ erkennen. Nach R. Jecht (Ibid., 165) handelt es sich wohl um die Hausmarke. Aber nach R. Kaczmarek, „Das Werk des Hans von Olmütz – ein ungelöstes Problem. Über die Beweinungsgruppe in der Dreifaltigkeitskirche zu Görlitz“, in: T. Torbus – M. Hörsch



Abb. 1 Frauenburgs Grabstein in der Görlitzer Dreifaltigkeitskirche (Jecht, Grabsteine, 164)

Fast alle, die sich mit Frauenburg beschäftigten, schrieben über seine literarischen Schriftwerke.⁴² Gerade diese Tätigkeit unterschied ihn von den vielen anderen Stadtschreibern, die “nur” die Stadtbücher führten.⁴³ Als literarische Schriftwerke kann man den Teil der Schriftproduktion eines Stadtschreibers bezeichnen, der durch einen Autor verfasst wurde und der nicht gerade mit seiner üblichen Kanzleiarbeit verbunden war, obwohl es oft schwer ist, die Grenze zwischen der amtlichen Pflicht und der eigenen Aktivität festzulegen.⁴⁴

Johann Frauenburg verfasste vier unterschiedliche literarische Schriftwerke – zwei Tagebücher, ein teilweise amtliches *Diarium* und ein persönliches *Secretarium* sowie die *Anweisung* und die *Ratsordnung*. Streitig ist seine Autorschaft eines Liebesgedichts.

Das *Diarium* wird im Original in Görlitz aufbewahrt,⁴⁵ eine Edition wurde nicht verfasst.⁴⁶ Die vollständigste Beschreibung stammt daher von Richard Jecht.⁴⁷ Über den Inhalt des *Diariums* informiert uns bereits der Incipit “*registrum actiatorum in presencia consulatus pro memoriale*”.⁴⁸ Die Handschrift umfasst chronologisch geordnete Einträge aus den Jahren 1456–1474, die uns über die üblichen Rechtsangelegenheiten der Görlitzer Bürger aufklären – verschiedene Erklärungen vor dem Stadtrat, Auseinandersetzungen der Bürger, Rechtsurteile usw. Im Prinzip handelt es sich um die Regesten einiger Vermerke in den klassischen Stadtbüchern. Pro jedes Jahr enthält das *Diarium* etwa 10–15 Einträge, deren Auswahl somit sehr repräsentativ ist. Der Sinn der Führung des *Diariums* ist nicht klar. Meiner Meinung nach diente das *Diarium* zur Erfassung einiger ausgewählter und exemplarischer Verhandlungen vor dem Stadtrat,⁴⁹ um zukünftig das Aufsuchen von Präzedenzfällen zu erleichtern. Der vollständige Titel “*Memoriale actiatorum in presencia consulatus magistro Hyoanne de Frauenburg notario*”, den man auf dem Buchdeckel des *Diariums* zusammen mit Frauenburgs Motto “SML” (siehe unten) finden kann, weist eindeutig auf Frauenburgs Urheberschaft hin. Der erste Eintrag stammt zwar vom 31. Dezember 1457, als Frauenburg noch in Leipzig studierte, was auf die Entstehung des *Diariums* als klassisches

(Hgg.), *Die Kunst im Markgraftum Oberlausitz während der Jagiellonenherrschaft*, Ostfildern 2006, S. 127, Anm. 60 soll man die Buchstaben als “i” und “v”, also “*iohannes vraubenburg*” lesen. Diese Interpretation finde ich aber unwahrscheinlich, vor allen wegen der üblichen Schriftformen seines Namens “*Ffraubenburg*” bzw. “*Ffraubenberg*” oder auch “*Ffrawenberg*”, aber immer mit “f”.

⁴² K. O. Jancke, “M. Frauenburg”, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 19 (1841) 174–183; K. O. Jancke, “M. Johannes Fraubenburg’s Anweisung, wie sich ein Bürgermeister unter seinem Amacht halten soll”, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 23 (1846) 1–28; M. O. Saupé (Hg.), “Das Tagebuch”; R. Jecht (Hg.), “Die Pflichten eines mittelalterlichen Bürgermeisters”, *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter* 10 (1909) 89–102; J. Weidemann (Hg.), *Der Bürgermeisterpiegel des Johannes Frauenburg vom Jahre 1476*, München 1936; V. Honemann, “Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur”, S. 47–70.

⁴³ Über die Stadtschreiber als Verfasser siehe V. Honemann, “Die Stadtschreiber und die deutsche Literatur im Spätmittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit”, in: W. Haug – T. R. Jackson – J. Janota (Hgg.), *Zur deutschen Literatur und Sprache des 14. Jahrhunderts. Dubliner Colloquium 1981*, Heidelberg 1983, S. 320–353.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 320–322, 327.

⁴⁵ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 224 – Frauenburgs *Diarium*.

⁴⁶ V. Honemann, “Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur”, S. 52, Anm. 15 führt unrichtig aus, dass einige Teile des *Diariums* durch František Palacký gedruckt wurden – diese tagebuchartigen Notizen (F. Palacký (Hg.), *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II. Abtheilung, 20. Band – Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und seiner Nachbarländer im Zeitalter Georg’s von Podiebrad (1450–1471)*, Wien 1860, S. 449–451, Nr. 388) umfassten weder das *Diarium* noch das *Secretarium*. Sie stammen aus Frauenburgs politischen bzw. diplomatischen Tagebücher (siehe unten).

⁴⁷ R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 130–132.

⁴⁸ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 224 – Frauenburgs *Diarium*, fol. 1r.

⁴⁹ Dies würdigte auch sehr R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 131.

Stadtbuch hinweisen könnten,⁵⁰ aber während seiner Tätigkeit in der Görlitzer Stadtkanzlei war Frauenburg der einzige, der in dieser Handschrift Eintragungen vornahm. Gerade wegen der Möglichkeit die Vermerke ins *Diarium* nach seinem eigenen Willen eintragen zu können, kann man dieses "Tagebuch" auch als Frauenburgs literarisches Schriftwerk bezeichnen, obwohl es am meisten mit seiner Kanzleitätigkeit verbunden war.

Das zweite Tagebuch Frauenburgs ist persönlicher als das *Diarium*, wie bereits sein Name – *Secretarium* andeutet. Sein Autograf wurde in Görlitz noch am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts aufbewahrt, aber spätestens seit 1841 gilt es als verloren.⁵¹ Zur Verfügung steht nur die Edition von Moritz Oskar Saupe, die nach der auch seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts verschollenen Abschrift von Bartholomeus Scultetus verfasst wurde⁵² und die Richard Jecht als mangelhaft betrachtet.⁵³ Das *Secretarium* wurde in den Jahren 1470–1480 niedergeschrieben. Es beschreibt aber viele ältere Ereignisse aus der Görlitzer Geschichte. Es wurde wahrscheinlich zuerst von Frauenburg als Werk über die Vorfälle der städtischen Vergangenheit abgefasst, zu denen er seine Ansichten vermerkte, wie die Einträge aus den Jahren 1470 und 1471 zeigen. In keinem Fall handelt es sich jedoch um eine Chronik, weil hier ein klares Konzept fehlt und der historiographische Text sich mit den anderen Notizen abwechselt. Diese historiographischen Vermerke wurden meistens in Latein geschrieben. Später nehmen die zeitgenössischen Ereignisse aus Görlitz, aus Frauenburgs Leben usw., die auf Deutsch geschrieben sind, zu. Aus dem Schriftwerk mit "historiographischen" Charakters, geschrieben aus Frauenburgs Sicht, wird eine sogenannte zeitgeschichtliche Handschrift.⁵⁴

Die historiographischen Einträge im *Secretarium* kann man in etliche Gruppen einteilen. Die meisten Informationen sind hier über die böhmischen Könige. Seine Reihe fängt "*coecus Rex*" Johann von Luxemburg an.⁵⁵ Das scheint logisch zu sein, weil Johann die Oberlausitz dem Königreich Böhmen anschloss. Diese Kenntnisse hatte aber Frauenburg erstaunlicherweise nicht, was vom Standpunkt der Landesgeschichte bemerkenswert ist, da er über die Anschlüsse Schlesiens Bescheid weiß.⁵⁶ Über Kaiser Karl IV. gibt er nur wenig Auskunft und zeigt damit, dass er einen ungenauen Überblick über die Genealogie der Luxemburger hatte. Karl sollte einen Bruder, Jobst von Mähren, und auch "*tres Filios ex tribus matribus*" haben.⁵⁷ Die Teilung der Länder der Böhmisches Krone unter seinen drei Söhnen verzeichnete Frauenburg jedoch richtig. Selbstverständlich kannte er Herzog Johann von Görlitz, über den er denunzierend vermerkt: "*Johannes vero moribus prauus, impacientis libidinis, electas cepit virgines et matronas et eas stuprauit. Et exient ciuitatem Gorlicensem, denudauit posteriora. Unde Gorlicenses repudiantes*

⁵⁰ Ibid., S. 130, Anm. 1 beschäftigte sich wegen der ersten Eintragungen des *Diariums* ungewiss mit der Idee, dass Frauenburg schon 1457 nach Görlitz kam. Das finde ich, wie auch V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 51–52, unwahrscheinlich.

⁵¹ K. O. Jancke, "M. Frauenburg", S. 175–176, 182.

⁵² Bartholomäus Scultetus (1540–1614) war ein Görlitzer Politiker, Mathematiker, Astronom und auch Historiker. Dank seiner Tätigkeit werden in Abschriften (sog. Scultetus *Annalen*) viele dortige mittelalterliche Dokumente aufbewahrt. Der vierte Band dieser Annalen, der auch die Abschrift des *Secretariums* umfasste, ist seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts verloren, dazu K. O. Jancke (Hg.), "Sculteti Registrum Consulum Gorlicensium", *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 45 (1869), S. 304–305; R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 118–119.

⁵³ Ibid., 132.

⁵⁴ Diese Neigung der frühen städtischen Historiographie zur Beschreibung der derzeitigen Ereignisse war üblich, dazu M. Bláhová, "Nové Město pražské ve středověké historiografii", in: *Documenta Pragensia XVII. – Nové Město pražské ve 14.–20. století*, Praha 1998, S. 123–124.

⁵⁵ M. O. Saupe (Hg.), "Das Tagebuch", S. 157.

⁵⁶ Ibid., S. 157.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

*eum, sunt per Caesarem per patens Privilegium ab eo absoluti.*⁵⁸ Dieser Vorfall wurde in Görlitz das bekannteste Ereignis, das mit Herzog Johann verbunden wurde, und das die Berühmtheit des Görlitzer Hofes überschattete und Johanns Schaffen in Oberlausitz wurde vor dem Hintergrund dieser Denunzierung lange beurteilt. Lenka Bobková meint, dass diese Szene nicht authentisch ist, und dass sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Görlitzer Kampf gegen den "ketzerischen" König Georg von Podiebrad als ein Bild der böhmischen Verderbtheit geschaffen wurde.⁵⁹ In diesem Fall kann man Johann Frauenburg als möglichen Autor dieser Geschichte bezeichnen oder mindestens als denjenigen, der sie als der erste aufschrieb. Positiv bewertete er Kaiser Sigismund, der die Stadt Görlitz liebte.⁶⁰ Überraschend ist, dass im ganzen *Secretarium* Erwähnungen über die böhmischen Hussiten fehlen. Die Reihe der Könige schließt Albrecht von Habsburg, den Frauenburg ungebräuchlich als einen Gebildeten, Bakkalaureus der Wiener Universität und Kenner der lateinischen Autoren charakterisierte.⁶¹

Frauenburg kehrte im *Secretarium* auch zum Jahre 1405 zurück, als in Görlitz der für fast alle deutsche Städte im Spätmittelalter typische Streit zwischen dem Stadtrat und den Handwerkern stattfand, die größere Macht in der Stadt und vor allem im Stadtrat einforderten. Nach dem gewaltsamen Abwürgen des Streits kehrte König Wenzel IV. in Görlitz ein, um die Auseinandersetzungen zu schlichten. Er war aber nicht erfolgreich, weil die Zunftvertreter keine Klage vorlegten. Die Anspannung blieb daher in der Stadt. Am Anfang des Jahres 1406 fand in Görlitz ein Tanzzug statt, an dem 3 500 Handwerker gesellen teilnahmen. Als der Zug aus der Stadt hinausging, ließen die Ratsherren die Tore verschließen, töteten die übrigen Gegner und erneuerten ihre Herrschaft in der Stadt. "*Also worden sie aber mals zcüstrewet Dass y got dem Rothe geholfen hath*", bemerkte Frauenburg am Ende dieser Geschichte.⁶² Obwohl Richard Jecht beweist, dass der Streit anders verlief und dass die Ereignisse mit dem Zug nicht in einem Zusammenhang standen,⁶³ zeugt der Eintrag Frauenburgs davon, wie die Görlitzer Stadeliten, die durch ähnliche Auseinandersetzungen bedroht werden sollten, diese Begebenheit 70 Jahre später wahrnahmen. Die schwierige Situation regelte nicht der König, sondern – wie es für das selbstbewusste Görlitz typisch war – die Ratsherren, die bei ihrer kühnen Tat auf die Hilfe Gottes vertrauen sollten. Es handelt sich um ein Memento, das vor dergleichen Streitereien warnt, aber zugleich das Selbstvertrauen der Stadeliten, die diese Probleme lösen konnten und können, zum Ausdruck bringt.

Frauenburg war auch der erste, der die Begebenheit des Görlitzer Stadtschreibers Laurentius Erenberg vermerkte, die zur Stadtlegende wurde, ähnlich wie die oben erwähnte Geschichte mit Johann von Görlitz. Erenberg⁶⁴ hatte wichtige Stadtämter in der Zeit der hussitischen Bewegung inne, für deren Unterdrückung Görlitz viele finanzielle Mittel aufwandte. Nach Sigismunds Kaiserkrönung wurde Erenberg zu ihm gesandt, damit der Herrscher die Privilegien bestätigte. Der Kaiser bezeugte die Vorrechte und verbesserte darüberhinaus noch das Görlitzer Wappen. Aber die Görlitzer waren damit nicht zufrieden – Ratsherr Niklas Arnold sollte mit Blick auf

⁵⁸ Ibid., S. 157–158.

⁵⁹ L. Bobková, "Zhořelecký dvůr a rezidence vévody Jana", in: *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku II. Skladba a kultura dvorské společnosti*, Praha 2008, S. 213.

⁶⁰ M. O. Saupe (Hg.), "Das Tagebuch", S. 158.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., S. 165–166.

⁶³ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 139, Anm. 2.

⁶⁴ Ausführlicher zu seinem Leben R. Jecht, "Laurentius Erenberg".

den Zustand der Stadtkasse, erklärt haben, dass Erenberg lieber "eynen Esel mit güldenen hoden als eyn Backofenn gross" als Wappen bringen sollte.⁶⁵

Sehr interessant und unerwartet ist der Eintrag über die Görlitzer *Pulververschwörung* (siehe oben), der an der Wende der "historiographischen" und zeitgeschichtlichen Vermerke steht. Im *Secretarium* ist der Ablauf der Verschwörung nicht beschrieben. Frauenburg notierte hier nur die Daten der Hinrichtungen und einige "Merkwürdigkeiten"⁶⁶ wie z. B. den Inhalt des Gesprächs zwischen Jakob Bech, von dem Frauenburg diese Information bekam, und dem Ratsherrn Seifried Gosswin, über den "klaren" Verfolg der Verschwörung, weil die "*Boni Viri et Honor Civitatis*" hingerichtet wurden.⁶⁷ Einzigartig ist auch der Eintrag über die erfolglosen Bemühungen der Ehefrauen der Hingerichteten hinsichtlich der Abhaltung einer Leichenmesse für ihre Seelen.⁶⁸ Meiner Meinung nach vermerkte hier Frauenburg einerseits nur die wichtigen Daten vom Ende der Verschwörung, weil er ihren Ablauf gut kannte, andererseits jene Kleinigkeiten, die er wirksam "ausnützen" konnte.

Vom den langfristigen Widerhall der *Pulververschwörung* zeugt ein anderer Vermerk im *Secretarium*. Auf dem Oberlausitzer Landtag in Weißenberg im Jahre 1472 griff Martin Maxen, der Görlitzer königliche Richter während der Zeit der Verschwörung, die Görlitzer wegen der Hinrichtungen unschuldiger Personen an. Frauenburg verwahrte sich dagegen, aber eine Entschuldigung erreichte er nicht.⁶⁹

Die Einträge über die zeitgenössischen Ereignisse, die den größten Teil des *Secretariums* bilden, kann man in zwei Gruppen teilen. Erstens sind es die Informationen über das aktuelle politische Geschehen in der Oberlausitz und in Schlesien, über die verschiedenen Verhandlungen usw.. Zweitens geht es um den "Görlitzer Alltag".

Diese für Johann Frauenburg "normalen" Berichte haben für uns einen großen Wert. Der Görlitzer Stadtschreiber vermerkte z. B. einige richterliche Geschäfte, die an der Grenze zwischen der Gerichtsbarkeit des Landvogts und des Stadtgerichtes anzusiedeln sind,⁷⁰ die Besteuerung des Vermögens von Bürgern außerhalb der Stadt,⁷¹ die Weise der Ausnutzung der Stadtbücher in Gerichtsstreiten,⁷² oder das Görlitzer Ansuchen um Rechtsbelehrung an die Magdeburger Schöppen.⁷³ Reichlich äußerte sich Frauenburg auch zu Fragen, welche die Zukunft betrafen. Es handelt sich um Konflikte hinsichtlich des Lohnes der Handwerksgesellen, der Qualität und des Preises der Ware oder auf Grund schlechter Gewichte und Maße. Das *Secretarium* enthält ebenso Eintragungen über die Handwerksnormen bzw. die Aufzählung der Tätigkeiten, die bestraft wurden.⁷⁴ Einige Vermerke widmen sich auch dem strategischen Rohstoff der Görlitzer Tuchmacher und auch der Stadtkasse – dem Waid und seinem Transport.⁷⁵ Sehr wertvoll sind die Notizen über

⁶⁵ M. O. Saupe (Hg.), "Das Tagebuch", S. 158. Zitat nach E. E. Struve (Hg.), *Scriptores* 4, S. 131 (Görlitzer *Ratsannalen* des Stadtschreibers Johann Haß am Anfang des 16. Jahrhundert) – Edition des *Secretariums* (M. O. Saupe (Hg.), "Das Tagebuch", S. 158) zeigt hier seine Mangelhaftigkeit, weil Saupe in Scultets Abschrift das Wort "bod", statt richtig "hod" (d.h. die Hoden), ablas. Die Richtigkeit der Version von Haß bestätigte auch R. Jecht, "Laurentius Erenberg", S. 5–6.

⁶⁶ M. O. Saupe (Hg.), "Das Tagebuch", S. 159–160.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 159.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 160.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, S. 168–169.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 159.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, S. 161.

⁷² *Ibid.*, S. 171, 173.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, S. 164.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 175.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 181–182, 184–185, 187–188.

die Görlitzer Bautätigkeit. Alle Bewohner der Stadt sollten im Jahre 1471 bei der Berichtigung der Wasserleitung,⁷⁶ oder auch bei der langjährigen Verbesserung der Stadtbefestigung helfen.⁷⁷

Dank seiner Tätigkeit als Stadtdiplomat hatte Johann Frauenburg einen guten Überblick über die derzeitige politische Situation, die sich ebenso im *Secretarium* widerspiegelt. Die wichtigsten Einträge wurden im Lebenslauf Frauenburgs erwähnt. Andere informieren uns über die verschiedenen Verhandlungen mit den Landvögten und mit den böhmischen Adeligen,⁷⁸ über Feldzüge während des Krieges zwischen Vladislav II. Jagiello und Matthias Corvinus⁷⁹ oder über die Hochzeit dieses ungarischen Königs mit „*des koniges tochter von Cecilien*“ Beatrix.⁸⁰

Diese Vermerke hingen sehr eng mit Frauenburgs „diplomatischen Tagebücher“ zusammen. Die genannten Vermerke mit tagebuchartigem Charakter verfasste Frauenburg während seiner diplomatischen Missionen, um den Görlitzer Stadtrat über ihren Ablauf informieren zu können.⁸¹ Sie sind relativ kurz und umfassen die grundlegenden Mitteilungen über die Verhandlungen. Wichtig aber ist, dass sie nicht mit den Einträgen des *Secretariums* übereinstimmen. Man kann sagen, dass die „diplomatischen Tagebücher“ die fremde Perspektive und das *Secretarium* die Görlitzer Perspektive wiedergeben.

Das *Secretarium* können wir als frühes Werk der städtischen Historiographie bezeichnen, das nicht mehr in der klassischen Form der Stadtbücher geschrieben wurde, dessen Verfasser aber durch seine Amtstätigkeit stark beeinflusst wurde. Das *Secretarium* bildet auch dank Frauenburgs persönlicher Ansichten eine wichtige Quelle für seinen Lebenslauf.

Das bekannteste literarische Werk Frauenburgs ist wahrscheinlich die *Anweisung* für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister. In der historischen Literatur wurde dieser Handschrift schon Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts erwähnt,⁸² und seit dieser Zeit entstanden von ihr drei Editionen.⁸³ Das Original ist im Görlitzer Ratsarchiv aufbewahrt.⁸⁴ Es handelt sich um ein sehr repräsentatives

⁷⁶ Ibid., S. 166.

⁷⁷ Ibid., S. 175–176.

⁷⁸ Ibid., S. 160–161, 180–181.

⁷⁹ Ibid., S. 172.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Frauenburgs „diplomatische Tagebücher“ über den Breslauer Landtag im Dezember 1467 (F. Palacky (Hg.), *Fontes*, S. 503–512, Nr. 431), über den Breslauer Landtag und die Huldigung der König Matthias im Juni 1467 (Ibid., S. 589–598, Nr. 489, 490), über den Liegnitzer Landtag (Legnica) im August 1469 (Ibid., S. 602, Nr. 496), über den Breslauer Landtag im März 1470 (Ibid., S. 623–625, Nr. 513), über einen weiteren Breslauer Landtag im Oktober 1470 (Ibid., S. 623–625, Nr. 513) und über den Landtag in Braunau (Broumov) im August 1477 (B. Kronthal – H. Wendt (Hgg.), *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum, Band 13, Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus. Erste Abtheilung 1479–1490*, Breslau 1893, S. 222–223, Nr. 278) wurden aufbewahrt. Interessant ist, dass Frauenburg diese „Tagebücher“ nur während längerer Missionen schrieb. Über die verschiedenen Verhandlungen in der Oberlausitz schickte er an dem Stadtrat nur Briefe – F. Palacky (Hg.), *Fontes*, S. 547–557, 564–566, Nr. 463, 476.

⁸² S. Großer, *Lausitzische Merckwürdigkeiten*, Leipzig 1714, S. 147.

⁸³ K. O. Jancke (Hg.), „M. Johannes Frawenburgs Anweisung“; R. Jecht (Hg.), „Die Pflichten“; J. Weidemann (Hg.), „*Der Bürgermeisterspiegel*“.

⁸⁴ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister. Ihr Schicksal war sehr kompliziert – bis 1567 blieb die Handschrift in Görlitz, durch den Hofmann des Kaisers Rudolf II. Johann Scorler kam sie nach Prag, weiter eignete sich dieses Werk der Görlitzer Polyhistor Bartholomäus Scultetus und später der Schweidnitzer (Świdnica) Sammler Johann Gottlieb Millich, dessen Bibliothek nach Görlitz überführt wurde an– vgl. dazu die Handschrift selbst (Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 1r – diese Informationen vermerkt keine Edition) und R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 9–10, 120–121.

Werk. 21 Pergamentblätter⁸⁵ werden von Holzdeckeln, die mit einer braunen reich dekorierten Haut überzogen sind, sowie den auf ihnen angebrachten Buckeln und Beschlägen geschützt. (Abb. 2).

Johann Frauenburg übergab dieser Handschrift den Ratsherren, die er alle am Ende nennt, als ein wenig ungewohntes Geschenk zum Neujahr 1476.⁸⁶ Die *Anweisung* sollte für jeden Görlitzer Bürgermeister als Anleitung und Belehrung für seine Amtsausübung dienen.⁸⁷ Es ist klar, dass Frauenburg dieses Schriftwerk nicht im Auftrag des Stadtrates verfasste, aber dass dessen Entstehung durch seine Amtstätigkeit in der Görlitzer Stadtkanzlei beeinflusst wurde.

Das Werk ist in zwei relativ selbständige Abschnitte geteilt. In erstem Teil handelt es sich um "*Wy sich eyn Burgermeister by seinem Regiment einnemen unnd an seiner personn unnd thun haldenn sall*".⁸⁸ Diese Ratschläge und Empfehlungen haben eher allgemeinen Charakter und nehmen etwa fünf Blätter in Anspruch.⁸⁹ Der Bürgermeister sollte sich dem Schutz Gottes anvertrauen, Auseinandersetzungen im Stadtrat vermeiden und vor der Öffentlichkeit sein Amt und auch die Stadtgemeinde angemessen repräsentieren. "*Hynoch folget woruff der Burgermeister vliessige Achtung habenn sal unndir seinem am[m]acht*",⁹⁰ so beginnt die zweite Teil der *Anweisung*, der 14 Blätter mit konkreten Ratschlägen enthält.⁹¹ Diese betreffen Glaubensfragen, die Stadtprivilegien, die verschiedenen Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten, die Gerichtsbarkeit, den Stadtdiener, die Verhältnisse innerhalb des Stadtrates, die Kommunikationsmittel der Stadt usw.

Der erste Teil ist allgemeiner und er könnte repräsentativ für fast alle deutschen Städte im Mittelalter stehen. Das Problem ist die Idealisierung der Persönlichkeit des Bürgermeisters. Er sollte z. B. die Stadt ohne Rücksicht auf freundschaftliche und verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen führen⁹² oder die Amtsgeschäfte nicht in Eile aber zugleich ohne unnützes Aufschieben abwickeln.⁹³ Kurzweg alles sollte er angemessen verrichten, aber diese Angemessenheit ist eigentlich die Idealisierung. Der zweite Teil ist konkreter und beschreibt die Görlitzer Verhältnisse genau. Frauenburg weist hier den Bürgermeister auf die einzelnen Privilegien und Handelsrechte der Stadt,⁹⁴ auf den Vorgang der Erhebung der städtischen Steuern,⁹⁵ auf die konkreten Richtlinien

⁸⁵ Im 19. Jahrhundert wurden die verschollenen Folien 2, 12 und 20 durch Papierblätter ergänzt. Der Text wurde aus Scultetuss Abschrift abgeschrieben; R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 121.

⁸⁶ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 21r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 102. Ich entschloss mich, hier aus Jechts Edition zu zitieren, da sie die beste ist. Diese verfügt allerdings über keine Hinweise auf die Blätter des Originals und verwendet keine Transliteration, was finde ich als unzureichend. Dafür nütze ich auch die Handschrift, aus der die originalen Zitationen stammen, aus.

⁸⁷ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 20v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 102.

⁸⁸ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 2r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 91.

⁸⁹ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 2r–6r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 91–93.

⁹⁰ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 6v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 93.

⁹¹ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 6v–19v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 93–101.

⁹² Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 3v–4r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 91–92.

⁹³ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 4v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 92.

⁹⁴ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 8r, 9v–10v, 11v, 15r–15v, 17v–18r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 94–96, 98–100.

⁹⁵ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 9r–9v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 95.



Abb. 2 Der Einband der *Anweisung* Frauenburgs
(Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister)

hinsichtlich der Stadtbefestigung⁹⁶ usw. hin. Obwohl man nicht strikt festlegen kann, dass der erste Teil nur idealistisch und der andere nur praktisch ist, weil diese zwei Ebenen sich nicht teilen lassen, das Vorschreiten von allgemeinen zu konkreten Angelegenheiten ist sichtbar.

Von den sachlichen Ratschlägen ist einer mit einer moralischen Mahnung sehr interessant. Der Bürgermeister sollte in seinem Amt die Hoffnung nicht verlieren, aber "*h[er]tzlich vnnd getrewlich hoffe Inn dy crafft vnnd ere des gemeynen gutt[en]*", dessen Kraft ist "*so groß vnnd mechtig [...], das eß widdir alle tuckisch witzce vnnd widir alle getichte boßheyt lichtiglich sich selb[er] vorischt vnnd behuttet*".⁹⁷ Aber als den wichtigsten Ratschlag betrachtete Frauenburg die Belehrung, dass der Bürgermeister allzeit vorzugsweise "*seiner v[er]nunfft vnnd witzce*" benutzte.⁹⁸

Der Görlitzer Stadtschreiber Johann Frauenburg verwendete in seiner *Anweisung*, die er 1476 verfasste, einige Zitate antiker Persönlichkeiten.⁹⁹ Diese wurden hier als Beleg für die Bildung des Autors und als Autoritäten zur Abstützung der Wahrheit der Ratschläge angeführt. Sofort am Anfang der *Anweisung* findet sich das Zitat "*Mors vlti[m]a linia reru[m]*",¹⁰⁰ das meiner Meinung nach von Horaz stammt¹⁰¹ und das ein klassisches "Memento Mori" darstellt. Auf eine unbekannte These von Aristoteles stützte sich Frauenburg in einem Vortrag über die Gerechtigkeit der Urteile.¹⁰² Frauenburg verwendete auch Platons Gedanken, dass der Bürgermeister "*noch lere des meisters platonis*" zum Vorteil der Stadtgemeinde einwirken sollte und dass jeder Bürger mit seiner Tätigkeit der Gemeinde nützlich sein soll.¹⁰³ In dem Abschnitt, wo sich Frauenburg mit den moralischen Qualitäten des Bürgermeisters beschäftigte, forderte er ihn zum ehrlichen Benehmen auf, wobei "*Als Tullius [Marcus Tullius Cicero] schreybet das uff erdin nicht[s] nutzlich sal irfunden noch genannt werdin, eß sey denn ouch erlich*".¹⁰⁴ Alles, was also für das "gemeinen Wohl"¹⁰⁵ vollbracht wurde, ist ehrlich. Diesen Gedanken finde ich sehr idealistisch, weil der Stadtrat fast alle seine Taten als notwendig für das "gemeinen Wohl" und somit als ehrlich

⁹⁶ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 11r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 96.

⁹⁷ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 13r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 97.

⁹⁸ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 6r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 93.

⁹⁹ Diese Zitate wurden hier nur kurz erwähnt, ausführlicher dazu, M. Barus, "Wirt euer stadt", S. 140–146.

¹⁰⁰ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, vordere Vorsatz. Diesen Teil der Handschrift enthält keine Edition und deshalb wurde dieses Zitat nicht untersucht.

¹⁰¹ Vgl. dazu The Latin Library, Horatius, Epistulae, www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/epist1.shtml (3. 4. 2010); es handelt sich um das 1. Buch, XVI. Brief, 79. Zeile. Auf Deutsch vgl. auch Gutenberg-DE, Horaz, Briefe, www.gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/5537/17 (21. 5. 2011).

¹⁰² "*Wenn Ar[ist]o[te]les spricht Wer uß schwachheyt vnnd wenig obirtritt der sal vor keine[n] obirtreter gehalten werde*", Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 3v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 92. Es ist nicht bekannt, aus welchem Werk von Aristoteles dieses Zitat stammt.

¹⁰³ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 8v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 94. Diese Idee kann man auch, worauf K. O. Jancke (Hg.), "M. Johannes Frauenburg's Anweisung", S. 11, Anm. 54a hinweist, in Platons *Politea* finden – *Politea*, IV. Buch, S. 433–434, vgl. Gutenberg-DE, Platons Werke, www.gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/2430/113 (21. 5. 2011).

¹⁰⁴ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 18v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 100. Es handelt sich um eine Paraphrase des Zitats aus Ciceros Werk *De officiis*, 3. Buch, 18, vgl. Gutenberg-DE, Cicero's drei Bücher von den Pflichten, www.gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/1900/5 (21. 5. 2011).

¹⁰⁵ Frauenburg benutzte das Begriff "*gemeynen gutte*", vgl. z. B. Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 7r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 93.

ansehen konnte.¹⁰⁶ Weiter benutzte Frauenburg die für ihn bekannte klassische Geschichte als Quelle für die Beispiele einiger Ratschläge bzw. die Folgen ihrer Nichterfüllung.¹⁰⁷ Neben den antiken Autoritäten benutzte Johann Frauenburg auch das Werk einer berühmten zeitgenössischen Persönlichkeit – Enea Silvio Piccolomini bzw. Papst Pius II. In einer Angelegenheit, das Stadtgerichtswesen betreffend, führte Frauenburg ein Beispiel aus, der *“Bobst pius Inn eyner seiner epistel beschreybet”* an.¹⁰⁸ Um welchen aus der großen Anzahl von Piccolominis Briefen es sich handelt, ist vorläufig unbekannt. Auf dem ersten Blatt der *Anweisung* befindet sich ein sehr interessantes und auch sehr problematisches Zitat – *“Qua[n]doq[ue] bonus dormitat / Homerus Veru[m] opere In longo / phas e[st] obrepere sompnu[m] / fflaccus In de arte / poetica”*.¹⁰⁹ Es ist eine Paraphrase aus Horaz’ Werk *De arte poetica*,¹¹⁰ dessen Verfasser wahrscheinlich der Görlitzer Unterstadtschreiber Matthias Breitmichel war und dessen Interpretation nicht eindeutig geklärt wurde.¹¹¹

Eine Wichtige Frage ist, ob die *Anweisung* wirklich benutzt wurde? In den Quellen kann man nicht eine konkrete Handlung Frauenburgs finden, die mit den Ratschlägen aus der *Anweisung* zusammenhing. Dieses Schriftwerk Frauenburgs ist im Jahre 1476, als er es dem Stadtrat übergab, und später erst im Jahre 1567 im Nachlass des Görlitzer Bürgermeisters Petr Scorler belegt.¹¹² Vielleicht wurde die *Anweisung* nur ein paar Jahre nach ihrer Verfassung nach dem Wunsch Frauenburgs verwenden, um dem Bürgermeister als Anleitung in seiner Amtsausübung zu dienen. Aber in der schon im Jahre 1489 von Frauenburg(!) verfassten *Ratsordnung* (siehe unten), in welcher der Ablauf der Stadtratswahl und die anderen damit verbundenen Ereignisse sehr ausführlich beschrieben sind, kann man keine Erwähnung über die *Anweisung* finden. Auch der weitere Görlitzer Stadtschreiber Johann Haß, der in seinen *Ratsannalen* über Frauenburg und sein *Secretarium* berichtete, kannte die *Anweisung* nicht, obwohl er als Bürgermeister diese Handschrift lesen sollte.¹¹³ Die *Anweisung* ist somit eine Handschrift, in der wir viele sehr interessante Erkenntnisse über das Bürgermeisteramt und über den “Alltag” in Görlitz in der zwei-

¹⁰⁶ Meiner Meinung nach benahm sich die “Emmerichgruppe” während der Görlitzer *Pulverschwörung* ebenso (siehe oben).

¹⁰⁷ Der Stadtrat sollte die schweren Übeltäter aus der Stadt austreiben, sowie Cicero seine Gegner aus Rom verbannte (Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 16v; R. Jecht (Hg.), “Die Pflichten”, S. 99). Weiter empfahl Frauenburg dem Bürgermeister alle Briefe sofort durchzulesen und alle Sendboten sogleich anzuhören – wenn Caesar diesen Ratschlag eingehalten hätte, wäre er nicht ermordet worden (Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 18v–19r; R. Jecht (Hg.), “Die Pflichten”, S. 100–101). Nach K. O. Jankce (Hg.), “M. Johannes Frauenburg’s Anweisung”, S. 25, Anm. 152a handelt es sich um eine Geschichte aus Suetons Werk *De Vita Caesarum*, Teil *Divus Iulius*, S. 81, vgl. The Latin Library, Suetonius, De Vita Caesarum, Divus Iulius, www.thelatinlibrary.com/suetonius/suet.caesar.html#81 (21. 5. 2011).

¹⁰⁸ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 16v; R. Jecht (Hg.), “Die Pflichten”, S. 99.

¹⁰⁹ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol 1r. Diesen Teil der Handschrift enthält nur Janckes Edition – K. O. Jancke (Hg.), “M. Johannes Frauenburg’s Anweisung”, S. 3.

¹¹⁰ The Latin Library, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *De arte poetica*, 358–360, www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/arspoet.shtml (21. 5. 2011).

¹¹¹ Ausführlicher zur Verfasserschaft Breitmichels und einer möglichen Interpretation des Zitates siehe M. Barus, “Wirt euer stadt”, S. 141–143.

¹¹² R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 120.

¹¹³ Die Erwähnungen über Frauenburg in Haß’ *Ratsannalen* sind in T. Hoffmann (Hg.), *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum, Neue Folge* 3, Görlitz 1850, S. 77, 89; E. E. Struve (Hg.), *Scriptores* 4, S. 3, 124, 131, 133, 141, 144–146, 215, 265. In der *Anweisung* ist auch Frauenburgs Verfasserschaft verzeichnet, so ist eine Unwissenheit seitens Haß sehr unwahrscheinlich.

ten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhundert erfahren können, aber auch das Werk, das die weitere Görlitzer Stadtverwaltung wahrscheinlich nur sehr wenig beeinflusste.

Wie sollte also ein Bürgermeister nach Frauenburgs *Anweisung* sein? Er sollte eine natürliche moralische Autorität haben, die er z. B. nicht durch das Verschulden gegen seine Satzungen mindern sollte. Neben seiner persönlichen Frömmigkeit sollte er als Aufseher über das religiöse Leben der ganzen Stadt wirksam sein. Der Bürgermeister sollte vor allem bei allen seinen Handlungen ehrlich vorgehen. Er sollte allgemein so handeln und jederzeit angemessen angezogen und, damit er "*der Stat zcu eren, vnnd em selber zcu herlichkeyt*" war.¹¹⁴ Als Herrscher der Stadt, bei deren Verwaltung er sich am meisten von seinem Verstand und von seiner Weisheit leiten lassen sollte, sollte er bei seinen Mitbürgern eher Sympathie und Ergebenheit als Schrecken und Furcht erwecken. Der Bürgermeister stellte in der *Anweisung* den eigentlichen Kopf der ganzen Stadtgemeinde dar. Er sollte auf die Einhaltung der Stadtprivilegien achten, ähnlich sollte er an die Stadtsatzungen herangehen, ihre Verletzungen sollte er streng bestrafen. Eine grundsätzliche Rolle spielte er bei den Stadtgerichtssitzungen, wo er als harter und kompromissloser aber zugleich empathischer Richter auftreten sollte. Das Urteil würde er erst nach der gründlichen Anhörung der beiden zwistigen Seiten erlassen und nur auf Grundlage der Gerechtigkeit und nicht nach verschiedenen emotionalen Motiven. Den größten Teil der Zeit und der Energie sollte der Bürgermeister auf die Stadtwirtschaft verwenden – auf die Aufsicht über das Benutzen und die Befahrbarkeit der Handelsstraßen, auf das richtige Beheben der verschiedenen Gebühren, auf die Kontrolle der Zünfte, auf die Einhaltung des regelmäßigen Abhaltens der Märkte, auf die persönliche Aufsicht über die Bürgervermögensabschätzung für die Stadtsteuer, auf die Kontrolle der Einnahmen und der Ausgaben der Stadt usw.. Er wurde mit der Besichtigung über die Mode seiner Mitbürger beauftragt, die dekorativ aber nicht verschwenderisch sein durfte. Der Bürgermeister sollte die bestinformierteste Persönlichkeit der Stadt sein, bei ihm sollten alle Auskunftquellen zusammenlaufen, unter denen sollte er die größte Aufmerksamkeit den Briefe widmen, über deren Inhalt er ständig nachdenken sollte, und auch wirklich mit ihnen schlafen sollte. Weder in der Nacht sollte nach Frauenburg der Bürgermeister Ruhe haben, weil er die Stadtmauerwachen persönlich beaufsichtigen sollte. Ob könnte er nach allen diesen Anleitungen, Belehrungen und Ratschlägen sich benehmen, wie es am Ende der *Anweisung* geschrieben ist, würde er während seiner Amtsausübung nur wenig Ruhe finden, aber würde dafür im Gemüt große Freude, Wonne und Seligkeit spüren, weil der Gott ihn mit dem ewigen Leben belohnen wird.

Die *Ratsordnung* Frauenburgs gehört nicht zu den bekannten Teilen seines Werks. Diese Handschrift verfasste Johann Frauenburg am Ende seines Lebens im Jahre 1489. Das Original ist verschollen, aber nach der Abschrift des erwähnten Bartholomäus Scultetus, die seit Ende des 19. Jahrhundert auch verloren ist, gab Karl Otto Jancke 1869 seinen ersten Teil heraus.¹¹⁵ Aber Jancke starb schon im nächsten Jahr, und den zweiten Teil bearbeitete erst 1871 sein Sohn Johann Karl Otto Jancke.¹¹⁶ Seit dieser Zeit wurde aber die *Ratsordnung* relativ wenig begenutzt – weder Richard Jecht noch Volker Honemann erwähnten dieses Werk.

¹¹⁴ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 5r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 92.

¹¹⁵ K. O. Jancke (Hg.), "Sculteti Registrum", S. 305–307. Scultetus gab die *Ratsordnung*, wie auch das *Secretarium*, in seiner Sammlung *Consulum Gorlicensium (Kürbuch des B. Scultetus)* vollständig wieder. Sie wurden in den vierten Band seiner Annalen eingeordnet. Vgl. dazu R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 19, 118–119.

¹¹⁶ J. K. O. Jancke (Hg.), "Die Raths-Ordnung in Görlitz vom Jahre 1489, wie sie Bartholomeus Scultetus in seinem Registro Consulum, ex manu propria Frawenburgii, eingetragen. Fortsetzung und Schluß"; *Neues Lausitzisches*

Wie oben bemerkt wurde, verfasste Johann Frauenburg seine *Ratsordnung* im Jahre 1489, also zu der Zeit, als er schon kein Amt mehr ausübte. Diese Abfassung war somit keine dienstliche Aufgabe, jedoch deutet sie auf die andauernde Beziehung Frauenburgs zum Stadtrat. Dieses Werk handelt über *“Die Kühr des Rathes, Eldisten und Geschwornen, auch ander gewohnheite, gemeinen nutz disser königlichen Stadt Görlitz”* ab.¹¹⁷ Und der Zweck der Abfassung war, dass *“Eldisten Herrn, vnd förderlich der Stadtschreyber, der sie, als offte is noth ist, doran irynnern sol, wissen sullen, sint vmb guttes gedechtniss willen, jrrung vnd newigkeit zuvormeiden”*.¹¹⁸ Es sollte sich somit um eine Kodifizierung der in Görlitz üblichen Tätigkeiten bei den verschiedenen Amtsverrichtungen handeln. Warum diese *Ratsordnung* gerade im Jahre 1489 verfasst wurde, und ob vorher einige Veränderungen in der Stadtverwaltung durch erfolgten, ist unbekannt.¹¹⁹

Die *Ratsordnung* ist ein sehr umfassendes Werk, dessen Charakteristik kompliziert ist. Zu seiner vollständigen Bewertung wäre ein Vergleich mit anderen ähnlichen Quellen aus der Oberlausitz oder zumindest aus Görlitz¹²⁰ notwendig. Auch deswegen wurden hier der *Ratsordnung* nur ein paar Absätze gewidmet und die Informationen über die einzelnen Ereignisse wurden gekürzt wiedergegeben.

Die *Ratsordnung* fängt logisch mit der Wahl des Stadtrats an,¹²¹ weil mit dieser Begebenheit in Görlitz auch das Verwaltungsjahr begann. Wie oben erwähnt wurde, hatte der Görlitzer Stadtrat im 15. Jahrhundert 19 Mitglieder. An der Spitze steht das ganze Jahr ein Bürgermeister. Weiter saßen dem Rat sieben Schöppen bei, die auch bei den Stadtgerichtsverhandlungen anwesend waren, und elf *“Rathmanne”*, unter ihnen auch drei Handwerker. Neben dem Stadtrat bestand auch das Kollegium der Ältesten, das persönlich mit dem Stadtrat verbunden war und das eine Kontrollfunktion hatte.¹²²

Der Stadtrat wurde einmal pro Jahr gewählt, seit 1476 am Tag des Hl. Ägidius (1. September). Die Anordnung des Kollegiums fing jedoch am Abend 31. August an, wenn sich der Bürgermeister und alle ausscheidenden Schöppen im Rathaus versammelten. Der Stadtscheiber musste hier *“das priuilegium Sigismundi vber die Kuhr”* vorlesen,¹²³ dank dem der Görlitzer Stadtrat weder durch den Landesherrn noch durch den Landvogt bestätigt wurde,¹²⁴ was noch am nächsten Tag mehrmals wiederholt wurde. Der Bürgermeister mit den Schöppen wählten bzw. gewöhnlich aus

Magazin 48 (1871) 222–246. Diese Tatsache erschwert das Zitieren, weil es sich um ein Werk handelt, das aber nach zwei Artikeln der zwei Autoren zitiert ist.

¹¹⁷ K. O. Jancke (Hg.), *“Sculteti Registrum”*, S. 305.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 305.

¹¹⁹ Nur im Jahre 1476 wurde der Tag der Wahl des Stadtrates vom 1. Oktober auf den 1. September (Tag des Hl. Ägidius) verlegt (R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 237; R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 116–117). Obwohl es wahrscheinlich ist, dass diese Änderung mit der Tätigkeit Frauenburgs zusammenhing (dazu M. Barus, *“Wirt euer stadt”*, S. 153), kann man dieses Ereignis nur sehr schwer mit der um 14 Jahre älteren *Ratsordnung* in Verbindung bringen.

¹²⁰ Z. B. mit den Annalen von Johann Bereit von Jüterbogk, die auch einige Ratsordnungen umfassen (Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 59 – Johann Bereits von Jüterbogk Annalen) oder mit verschiedenen Görlitzer Statuten, die in G. Köhler (Hg.), *Scriptores 1*, S. 384–424 abgedruckt sind.

¹²¹ Obwohl es jetzt üblich ist, dieses Ereignis als die Neuherstellung des Stadtrates oder die *“Setzung”* der Ratsherren zu bezeichnen, benutze ich in diesem Beitrag den Begriff *“Wahl”* nach dem Text des Originals – *“Die Kühr des Rathes”*.

¹²² Dazu ausführlicher L. Behrisch, *“Die Görlitzer Ratskür”*, S. 50–53.

¹²³ K. O. Jancke (Hg.), *“Sculteti Registrum”*, S. 305.

¹²⁴ Nach dem Herausgeber (K. O. Jancke (Hg.), *“Sculteti Registrum”*, S. 305, Anm.***) handelt es sich um ein Privilegium des Kaisers Sigismunds, das in Čáslav am 3. Oktober 1420 erteilt wurde. Ausführlicher zu diesem Privilegium siehe R. Jecht, *Der Oberlausitzer Hussitenkrieg und das Land der Sechstädte unter Kaiser Sigismund, Band I*, Görlitz 1911, S. 35, Anm. 2; L. Behrisch, *“Die Görlitzer Ratskür”*, S. 53.

dem Kollegium der Ältesten aussuchen die ersten neun Mitglieder des Stadtrates, unter denen drei Vertreter der Handwerkerzünfte sein sollten.¹²⁵

Am 1. September versammelte sich der "alte" Stadtrat im Rathaus, wo die am Abend gewählten Ratsherren vorgestellt wurden. Sie wurden einzeln in die Ratsstube geführt und mussten den Schwur ablegen.¹²⁶ Dann bedankte der Bürgermeister sich bei den ausscheidenden Ratsherren, ließ sie weggehen und blieb in der Ratsstube mit den neuen Mitgliedern des Ratskollegiums. Sie zusammen wählten bzw. aus dem 18 "alten" Ratsherren aussuchen die übrigen neuen neun Mitglieder des Rats. Diese wiedergewählten Ratsherren mussten natürlich auch den Schwur ablegen.¹²⁷ Der "alte" Bürgermeister sprach sodann zu den anderen "*Wir sein nw gar, js ist noth, das wir vnder vns ein hewbt kysen*" – alle einigten sich auf drei oder vier Kandidaten, die in der Ratsstube blieben, während die übrigen in ein anderes Zimmer gingen, um dort den neuen Bürgermeister zu wählen.¹²⁸ Am Nachmittag des 1. September versammelte sich der neue Stadtrat im Rathaus und legte fest, wer Schöppe wurde. Nach Lars Behrisch¹²⁹ setzten sich die Schöppen aus dem "alten" Bürgermeister und den sechs am Abend gewählten Ratsherren zusammen, d.h. also unter ihnen waren keine Vertreter der Handwerkerzünfte. Weiter wurden unter den Schöppen zwei "*Cammerern*", zwei "*Saltzherren*" und zwei "*Weinherren*" ausgewählt.¹³⁰

Ich muss noch bemerken, dass der Stadtschreiber bei dieser Ratswahl eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielte. Er war nahezu während der ganzen Wahl anwesend, er las das wichtige Privilegium des Kaisers Sigismund mehrmals vor und er notierte auch die Ergebnisse der Wahl. Mit dem "*Thürsteher*" sorgte er für den Zugang der neuen Ratsherren zu ihrer Vereidigung. Weiter half er dem Bürgermeister bei der Platzzuweisung der Ratsmitglieder in der Ratsstube. Kurzweg er personifizierte die Kontinuität im Stadtrat und die Erhaltung der "*allder gewonheit*" bei diesem Ritual.¹³¹ Es ist klar, dass Frauenburgs Verfasserschaft der *Ratsordnung* die wichtige Rolle des Stadtschreibers während der Ratswahl (und natürlich auch in der Stadtverwaltung) nicht verkleinert, sondern wahrscheinlich eher verstärkt.

Das ganze System der Wahl sieht auf dem ersten Blick sehr gerecht aus – die ersten neun Ratsherren stammen von außen, die anderen neun garantieren die Amtskontinuität. Wie aber aus der *Ratsordnung* und aus den Bemerkungen Lars Behrischs¹³² hervorging, war es "ein bisschen" anders. Sechs der neun "am Abend" gewählten Ratsherren sollten aus dem Kollegium der Ältesten, also aus dem vorjährigen Stadtrat, kommen. Nach L. Behrisch wurden gerade diese Leute zusammen mit dem ausscheidenden Bürgermeister, der im Rat verblieb, zu Schöppen ernannt.¹³³

Wie also sollte es in einem mehrjährigen Horizont funktionieren? Den ausscheidenden Rat bildeten 19 Bürger. Im neuen Ratskollegium waren 10 Mitglieder. Der Bürgermeister und die sechs Mitglieder des vorjährigen Rates wurden als Schöppen wiedergewählt. Weitere neun ausscheidende Ratsherren (sieben Schöppen und zwei "*Rathmanne*") wurden als "*Rathmanne*"

¹²⁵ K. O. Jancke (Hg.), "Sculteti Registrum", S. 305.

¹²⁶ Ibid., S. 306. Hier ist auch der Eid sehr ausführlich beschrieben.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., S. 306–307.

¹²⁹ L. Behrisch, "Die Görlitzer Ratskür", S. 55–56.

¹³⁰ K. O. Jancke (Hg.), "Sculteti Registrum", S. 307.

¹³¹ Ibid., S. 305–307.

¹³² L. Behrisch, "Die Görlitzer Ratskür", S. 55–56.

¹³³ Das ganze System sollte nach dieser Idee funktionieren, aber einige Schicksale belegen, dass Ausnahmen gemacht wurden – z. B. war der schon erwähnte Georg Emmerich mehrmals in den zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Verwaltungsjahren Schöppe, obwohl er inzwischen nicht mehr dem Kollegium der Ältesten beisaß (R. Jecht, "Urkundliche Nachrichten", *Neues Lausitzischen Magazin* 68 /1892/, S. 109).

Mitglieder des Stadtrates bis auf einen der ehemaligen Schöppen, der Bürgermeister wurde. Die neun übrigen Mitglieder des ausscheidenden Rats wurden im neuen Verwaltungsjahr die Ältesten. Das neue Ratskollegium wurde noch mit drei Vertretern der Handwerkerzünfte ergänzt, die wir bei der Aufzählung der Übersicht halber nicht miteinbeziehen. In neuem Rat, zu dem wir auch den Bürgermeister zählen, saßen sechs Mitglieder des vorjährigen Rates und zehn Mitglieder des ausscheidenden Rates. Wobei von diesen zehn Bürgern acht (die ausscheidenden Schöppen und der Bürgermeister) ebenso im vorjährigen Rat waren. Insgesamt waren also 14 von 16 Ratsherren (ohne die Handwerker) auch Mitglieder des vorjährigen Ratskollegiums. In einem zweijährigen Horizont sollten so nur zwei Ratsherren wechseln. Obwohl es sich um ein Idealmodell handelt, das nicht ohne Fehler funktionierte, zeigte es sich, dass sich im Stadtrat immer die gleichen Personen bzw. die gleichen Bürgergeschlechter abwechselten, die maximal 30 sein sollten.¹³⁴ Dieses System kann man ohne Probleme als Oligarchie bezeichnen, die hinter den öffentlichen Äußerungen, vor allem *“Die Kühr des Rathes”*, versteckt wurde.

Frauenburgs *Ratsordnung* ist mit einer großen Menge an Informationen über die Stadtverwaltung und ihren *“Alltag”* gefüllt, die hier nicht alle charakterisiert werden können, deshalb möchte ich folgend nur einige nennen. In den Tagen nach der *“Kühr des Rathes”* schwören die Zünfte und auch die *“Gassenmeister”*, so wurden die Verwalter oder die Aufseher der einzelnen Straßen oder Stadtviertel genannt, dem neuen Ratskollegium die Treue. Frauenburg schrieb zwar nicht ihre genaue Zahl auf, aber dafür bemerkte er, dass sie *“dem Schlyssen der Schlege jtzliche auff jrer Gassen getrewlich vnd gebürlich halde wollet, vnd fleyssig uffsehen haben, das das Feuer bewrth werde, [...] Vnd was jr laso strefflichs irkennet, das jr das dem Rathe fürbrendet sullet”*¹³⁵ Noch im September wurden die Stadtbeamten (zehn Kirchenväter, Personen, die die Benutzung der richtigen Maße und Gewichte beaufsichtigen, andere Wirtschaftsbeamte, z. B. *“Bierschawer”* usw.) und Stadtdiener (*“Thürsteher”*, der dem Bürgermeister allzeit zu Diensten war, verschiedene Stadtboten, Wachkommandant, Büchsenmeister u. a.) bestimmt.¹³⁶ Sehr ausführlich sind auch verschiedenen Bestimmungen über die Bierproduktion, die für die Stadt und vor allem für die Stadtkasse sehr wichtig war.¹³⁷ Am Mittwoch nach dem Fest der Kreuzerhöhung, am Mittwoch nach der Hl. Lucia, am Mittwoch nach dem ersten Fastensonntag, und wahrscheinlich auch am Mittwoch nach Pfingsten¹³⁸ wurde in Görlitz auch die *“Vierteljahresabrechnung”* durchgeführt. Die Stadtbeamten gaben die Gebühren und Verdienste aus ihren Ämtern ab, die Stadtdienste und einige Handwerker hinwieder erhielten ihren Lohn.¹³⁹ Erwähnt werden nicht nur die Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsangelegenheiten, sondern auch ein *“Bürgersport”*, bei dem die Bürger versuchen *“den vogel abezuschissen”*, um bester *“Schutzenkonig”* zu werden.¹⁴⁰ Die *Ratsordnung* regelte weiter die Abgabe der Stadtsteuer und auch der untertänigen Abgaben, die Verkündigung der Stadtsatzungen, die Verstärkung der Stadtwache in der Zeit der Kirchenfeste, die Vorbereitung und den Ablauf der feierlichen Gastmähler im Rathaus und viele andere Ereignisse im spätmittelalterlichen Görlitz.

¹³⁴ Als bestimmte Begrenzung wurde aber festgelegt, dass niemand mehr als drei nacheinander folgende Verwaltungsjahre im Stadtrat sein dürfte, obwohl es auch hier die Ausnahmen gab; K. O. Jancke, (Hg.), *“Sculteti Registrum”*, S. 307.

¹³⁵ J. K. O. Jancke, (Hg.), *“Die Rathes-Ordnung”*, S. 225.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 226–227.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 227–231.

¹³⁸ Diesen letzten Termin enthält die *Ratsordnung* nicht (wahrscheinlich ein Fehler Frauenburgs), aber alle übrigen Daten fallen immer auf die Quatembern (vier Zeiten).

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, S. 231–232.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 240.

Die *Ratsordnung* ist eine andere Art von normativer Quelle als die *Anweisung*, vor allem ist sie konkreter und weniger idealistisch. Vielleicht wurde sie darum wahrscheinlich in den nächsten Jahrzehnten benutzt, wie die Eintragungen, des Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts wirkenden Görlitzer Stadtschreibers Johann Haß, über die Änderung der Beziehungen des Stadtrates zu den Kirchenvätern der Franziskanerkirche während die Reformation zeigen.¹⁴¹

Zu Frauenburgs literarischen Schriftwerken zählt man üblicherweise auch sein Liebesgedicht. Dieses Werk trug Frauenburg im Jahre 1471 in einem Görlitzer Stadtbuch ein, in dem üblicherweise die Kopien der eingetroffenen Briefe bemerkt wurden.¹⁴² Wie schon Gustav Köhler darauf hinwies,¹⁴³ ist es sicher, dass Frauenburg der Schreiber des Gedichtes war. Aber seine Verfasserschaft lehnte Walther Preusler aus sprachlichen Gründen (vor allem durch den Vergleich mit seinen anderen Werken) ab,¹⁴⁴ dem widersprach wiederum Volker Honemann.¹⁴⁵ Das Gedicht besingt "*Eyne schone Juncfrau*", die er aber nicht nennt. Der Autor beschrieb unter Verwendung von Metaphern die Düfte seiner Geliebten und die Leiden seines Herzens. Das Werk endet mit dem Wunsch – "*Gib du schones Junfraulein / Mir eyn kleines trunkelein / Wy du wilt doch bin ich dein / Sleuß mich yn deins hercz enschrein*".¹⁴⁶ Wenn Johann Frauenburg der Verfasser dieses Gedichtes war, dann ist es möglich, dass er hier (1471) schon seine zweite Ehefrau Barbara Landreiter beschrieb. Volker Honemann aber meint, dass es nur eine "*unbeholfene Reimerei*" ist, die dank der langweiligen Kanzleiarbeit entstand.¹⁴⁷

In den verschiedenen literarischen Schriftwerken Frauenburgs und auch in einigen Stadtbüchern kann man auch seine Devise finden. Es handelt sich meistens um die gekürzte Form "*SML*",¹⁴⁸ und nur einmal um die vollständig ausgeschriebene Variante des Mottos "*Schweig, Meyde, Leyde, bess do kombt besser Zceyt*".¹⁴⁹ "*SML*" – "*Schweig, Meyde, Leyde*" – bezeichneten als Frauenburgs Devise Richard Jecht und Volker Honemann,¹⁵⁰ aber ist es nicht sicher, dass dazu auch der Nachtrag "*bess do kombt besser Zceyt*" gehört. Beide Autoren benutzten für diesen Beisatz lieber Klammern.¹⁵¹ Meiner Meinung nach passen diese zwei Teile zusammen, weil der zweite Teil den ersten erklärt. "*Schweig, Meyde, Leyde*", also Schweige – (Ver)Meide – Leide, ist ein bisschen pessimistisch, obgleich für einen Stadtschreiber eine sehr passende und angemessene Devise. Der Nachtrag ergänzt sie und klärt ihren Sinn. Wenn der Stadtschreiber der Gemeinde dient und für sie leidet, so ist dies für die Stadt vorteilhaft. Er wird dafür mit dem

¹⁴¹ Ibid., S. 224, Anm.*

¹⁴² Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Urkundenbuch III, fol. 117v. Das Gedicht wurde dreimal gedruckt – K. Gottlob von Anton (Hg.), "Dritter Beytrag zu alten deutschen Gedichten", *Deutsches Museum* 2 (1777), S. 324–328, Nr. 2; G. Köhler (Hg.), "Ein Liebesgedicht von Mgr. Johann Frauenburg", *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 43 (1866), S. 435–436; W. Preusler, "Ein Gedicht Johann Frauenburgs?", *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 117 (1941), S. 68–70.

¹⁴³ G. Köhler (Hg.), "Ein Liebesgedicht", S. 435, Anm.*

¹⁴⁴ W. Preusler, "Ein Gedicht", S. 69–70.

¹⁴⁵ V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 60.

¹⁴⁶ W. Preusler, "Ein Gedicht", S. 69.

¹⁴⁷ V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 61.

¹⁴⁸ Konkret finden sich diese Buchstaben am vorderen Vorsatz des *Protokollbuchs über kriminelle Sachen 1466–1488*, das durch Frauenburg angelegt wurde (E. A. Seeliger /Hg./, "Görlitzer Bekenntnisbuch", S. 27–28), an den Vorsätzen den zwei Görlitzer Statutenbüchern (*Statutenbuch vom Jahre 1434*, *Statutenbuch vom Jahre 1476*), in denen Frauenburg Eintragungen vornahm (dazu R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 120–121), auf dem Deckel des *Diariums* Frauenburgs (Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 224 – Frauenburgs Diarium) und auch zweimal in seinem *Secretarium* (M. O. Saupe /Hg./, "Das Tagebuch", S. 155, 175).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., S. 164.

¹⁵⁰ R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 96, 120, Anm. č. 2, 130; V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 50.

¹⁵¹ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 229; V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 50.

ewigen Leben belohnt. Eine ähnliche Idee kann man auch in Frauenburgs *Anweisung* finden.¹⁵² Diese Interpretation bestätigte auch die Platzierung seiner Devise im einen Görlitzer Stadtbuch – *“Dulcis amor patrie. S. M. L.”*¹⁵³ Man kann sagen, dass Johann Frauenburg höchstwahrscheinlich nach dieser Devise lebte, weil seine Tätigkeit nicht nur Amtspflicht, sondern vor allem auch Berufung war.

Dank der Görlitzer Chronisten des 16. Jahrhunderts (Johann Haß, Christoph Manlius und Martin Mylius)¹⁵⁴ liegen auch ausführliche Informationen über die bis heute meist nicht aufbewahrten Inschriften Frauenburgs vor. Obwohl z. B. Richard Jecht einige dieser Inschriften kannte, bearbeitete sie ganzheitlich erst Volker Honemann, der auch nicht an Frauenburgs “Autorschaft” zweifelt.¹⁵⁵

Insgesamt handelt es sich um 13 Inschriften,¹⁵⁶ die am Rathaus, an der Stadtbefestigung, an der St. Jakobkapelle und am Schulgebäude angebracht wurden,¹⁵⁷ und die wahrscheinlich in den Jahren 1472–1488 entstanden. An dieser Stelle ist es nicht möglich und auch nicht sinnvoll, alle Inschriften zu nennen und zu interpretieren; auch kein Raum ist hier für die Vergleichung mit den ähnlichen Inschriftkollektionen, die aber relativ selten sind. Darum möchte ich nur einige Inschriften anführen. Allgemein kann man sagen, dass fast alle Texte der Inschriften als eine Quelle die antiken Autoritäten – Horaz, Cicero, Plato, Ovid, Tibull, Sueton u. a.¹⁵⁸ – benutzen, obwohl der ursprüngliche Wortlaut oft ein bisschen verändert wurde.¹⁵⁹

Eine große Kollektion von Inschriften wurde am Rathaus angebracht. Es handelt sich um sechs Gegenstände, durch die der Stadtrat seine Position repräsentierte. Treffend sind z. B. die

¹⁵² Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 8v, 20r; R. Jecht (Hg.), “Die Pflichten”, S. 94, 101.

¹⁵³ R. Jecht, *Quellen*, S. 121.

¹⁵⁴ Johann Haß erwähnte einige Inschriften in einigen Absätzen seiner *Ratsannalen*, in denen er sich mit Frauenburg beschäftigte – E. E. Struve (Hg.), *Scriptores 4*, S. 150. Manlius vermerkte diese Informationen in seinem Werk *De viris illustribus*, das nur einen Teil seines Buches *Lusatia* ist. Die Beschreibung von Mylius steht in seinen *Annales Gorlicenses* zur Verfügung. Die Werke dieser zwei Chronisten wurden schon Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts gedruckt – Ch. G. Hoffmann (Hg.), *Scriptores rerum lusaticarum I*, Lipsiae – Budissae 1719. Mylius’ *Annales Gorlicenses* auf den Seiten 1–94 und Manlius’ *Lusatia* auf den Seiten 99–463.

¹⁵⁵ V. Honemann, “Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur”, S. 64–68.

¹⁵⁶ Eine Inschrift mit dem Thema “Memento Mori” wurde am Haus Steinstraße 9 angebracht. Einige ältere Autoren meinten, dass es sich um das Haus Frauenburgs handelt und es deshalb Frauenburgs Inschrift sein soll (J. G. G. Büsching, “Die Alterthümer der Stadt Görlitz”, *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 3 (1824), S. 164). Obwohl Richard Jecht beweist, dass Frauenburg in der Brüderstraße 11 wohnte (R. Jecht, “In welchen Häusern”, S. 215–216), vermerkte er auch – ohne Zitation – Frauenburgs Autorschaft dieser Inschrift (R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 425). Da weder Haß, Manlius noch Milius von dieser Inschrift Ahnung haben, werde ich mich nicht mit ihr beschäftigen.

¹⁵⁷ Volker Honemann (V. Honemann, “Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur”, S. 64–68) beschäftigte sich ausführlich mit dem Inhalt der Inschriften, aber die meisten Inschriften wurden erst auf Grund meiner Diplomarbeit lokalisiert (M. Barus, “Wirt euer Stadt” auch die Karte an der Seite 229). Die Platzierung finde ich sehr wichtig – z. B. wurde die Inschrift “*Cave faxis Te quicquid indigni. 1488*” (T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 458), als deren Quelle ich Horaz’ *Sermones* – II. Buch, 3. Teil, 37.–38. Zeile; dazu vgl. The Latin Library, Horatius, *Sermones II*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/serm2.shtml#2.3 (3. 4. 2010) identifizieren konnte, an der Außenseite der Basteimauer des nahe der Frauenkirche gelegenen Friedhofes angebracht wurde. Die Inschrift war eine Warnung vor dem Selbstmord. Sie warnte die zukünftigen Selbstmörder vor der schicksalhaften Tat sowie dem Begräbnis außerhalb der Friedhofsmauern.

¹⁵⁸ Es handelt sich oft um dieselben Autoritäten wie in der *Anweisung*, was auch die Autorschaft Frauenburgs teilweise bestätigt.

¹⁵⁹ Fast alle Quellen bestimmte Volker Honemann anhand der Glossen von Manlius und Milius – V. Honemann, “Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur”, S. 64–68.

Texte "*Non dominus domo, sed domus domino cohonestanda est*"¹⁶⁰ oder "*Wer unsern Ehren ist gehass / Dem geben wir wieder sich, hab dir das. / Nihil decet invita Minerva 1472*"¹⁶¹, in dem die Stadt wohl als Minerva personifiziert wurde. Die interessanteste Inschrift umfasste auch einen Hinweis auf Plato, was in der Oberlausitz des 15. Jahrhunderts ein wenig überraschend ist – "*Wiltu ruhen Stadt und Land,¹⁶² / Eintrach Fried sey die bekant, / Darnach also beweiß dich rechte That / Also hält Platonis Rath / Wiltu fort gancz nützlich rothen / Zorn, Gunst, Neyd sey dir verboten*".¹⁶³ Einen ähnlichen Gedanken benutzte Frauenburg auch in seiner *Anweisung*.¹⁶⁴

Einige Innschriften an der Stadtbefestigung spiegelten die zeitgenössischen Ereignisse wider. Am Spittelturm am rechten Neißeufer befand sich der Text "*Pace bidens vomerque vigent 1477*"¹⁶⁵, der wahrscheinlich den Anfang der Friedenshandlungen in diesem Jahr vermerkte. Mit dem definitiven Frieden und dem Olmützer Abkommen im Jahre 1479 hing sicher die Inschrift am Pulverturm zusammen – "*Melior est certa pax, quam incerta victoria 1479*"¹⁶⁶.

Wahrscheinlich die bekannteste und bis heute am Dicker Turm¹⁶⁷ in der Komposition mit dem Stadtwappen und Statuen der Madonna und der Hl. Barbara überlieferte Frauenburgs Inschrift lautet "*in via virtuti nulla est via. 1477*"¹⁶⁸ und sie kann man auch als "Stadtdevise" interpretieren (**Abb. 3**). Jedenfalls deutet sie auf das Selbstbewusstsein der Stadt hin und Ernst-Heinz Lemper erklärte sie zum Symbol des Görlitzer Widerstands gegen die Hussiten.¹⁶⁹ Die zweite bis heute erhaltene Inschrift – "*Nil actum credas, cum quid restabit agendum. 1479*"¹⁷⁰ – befindet sich am sogenannten Waidhaus, das zur Zeit Frauenburgs als Stadtschule diente,¹⁷¹ wo auch Frauenburg am Anfang seiner Tätigkeit in Görlitz angestellt war.

Wenn wir eine Chronologie der Inschriften¹⁷² erstellen, dann kann man sagen, dass zuerst die Texte am Rathaus, später an der Stadtbefestigung und am Ende an den anderen Gebäuden angebracht wurden. Hypothetisch ist es möglich, dass Frauenburg zuerst die "repräsentativen

¹⁶⁰ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 457. Es handelt sich um den 39. Teil des 1. Buches von Ciceros Werk *De officiis* – vgl. The Latin Library, Cicero, *De officiis I*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/off1.shtml#139 (2. 4. 2010).

¹⁶¹ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 457. Die Quelle des deutschen Teils des Textes ist unbekannt. Der lateinische Satz stammt auch von Cicero, *De officiis*, 1. Buch. 31. Teil, vgl. The Latin Library, Cicero, *De officiis I*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/off1.shtml#110 (2. 4. 2010).

¹⁶² Diese Bezeichnung war in der spätmittelalterlichen Oberlausitz sehr typisch.

¹⁶³ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 457. Nach Volker Honemann stammte diese Idee Platons aus Ciceros zweitem Buch seines Werkes *De divinatione* (V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 66).

¹⁶⁴ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 3v–4r; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten", S. 92.

¹⁶⁵ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 19. Es geht um eine Paraphrase des Texts Tibulls *Elegien* – 1. Buch, X. Elegie, S. 49. Zeile – vgl. The Latin Library, Tibullus, *Elegiae I*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/tibullus1.html (3. 4. 2010).

¹⁶⁶ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 19. Es handelt sich um einen ein bisschen veränderten Satz aus dem Werk *Ab urbe condita* (30. Buch. XXX. Kapitel) von Titus Livius – vgl. dazu The Latin Library, Livius, *Ab urbe condita XXX*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/livy/liv.30.shtml (3. 4. 2010).

¹⁶⁷ Ursprünglich wurde sie am nahen Frauentor angebracht. Vor seiner Zerstörung wurde aber dieses Spalteisen gerettet und 1856 am Dicken Turm platziert. Vgl.: R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 553–557; E.-H. Lemper, *Görlitz. Eine historische Topographie*, Görlitz – Zittau 2001, S. 36–37.

¹⁶⁸ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 458.

¹⁶⁹ E.-H. Lemper, *Eine historische Topographie*, S. 37. Es geht um Zitat aus Ovids Werk *Metamorphosen* (XIV. Buch, 113. Zeile) – vgl. The Latin Library, Ovidius, *Metamorphosen, Liber XIV*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/ovid/ovid.met14.shtml (20. 5. 2011).

¹⁷⁰ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 458. Es handelt sich um ein ein bisschen verändertes Zitat aus Lukans Werk *Pharsalia* (auch *Bellum civile* genannt), II. Buch, 657. Zeile – vgl. The Latin Library Lucanus, *Belli civilis II*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/lucan/lucan2.shtml (3. 4. 2010).

¹⁷¹ R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 487–489.

¹⁷² Natürlich hatten nicht alle Inschriften eine Datierung.



Abb. 3 Das Görlitzer Stadtwappen mit den Statuen der Madonna und der Hl. Barbara sowie Frauenburgs Inschrift (Foto: M. Barus, 2010)

Inschriften" für den Stadtrat verfasste. Weiter sollten die Aufträge der wichtigen zeitgenössischen Ereignisse erscheinen. Die letzten Inschriften enthielten oft das Thema "Memento Mori", was wahrscheinlich mit Frauenburgs Alter und mit seiner privaten Initiative zusammenhängen könnte.

Die "Inskriptionenkultur" Frauenburgs war in Görlitz keine vereinzelte Angelegenheit. Der schon oben mehrmals erwähnte Stadtschreiber Johann Haß knüpfte wohl wissentlich an diese Aktivität Frauenburgs an, wie z. B. an seine Schrifttätigkeit. Seine vier auch vor allem aus den Werken antiker Autoren stammenden Inschriften ließ er ebenfalls am Schulgebäude, an der Stadtbefestigung und an der Rathausglocke anbringen.¹⁷³

In diesem Beitrag wurden mehrmals Frauenburgs Kenntniss der antiken Autoren angesprochen. Ihre Zitate erscheinen in der *Anweisung*, im Gedicht und in den Inschriften. Eine vorrangige Stellung nimmt hier Platons *Politeia*¹⁷⁴, ein deren Anwendung im Oberlausitzer Raum im Jahre 1476 überraschend ist. Deuten diese Zitate auf den Einfluss des Frühhumanismus hin, oder handelt es sich nur um die einfache Benutzung von aus dem Kontext gerissenen Sätzen?

Einige Beispiele beweisen, dass Frauenburg mehr als nur einen Satz kannte. Schon oben in der Anm. 156 wurde belegt, dass er zwar eine Inschrift mit relativ allgemeinen Text verwendete, aber dass er den Inhalt der anderen Zeilen kannte. Frauenburgs breite Kenntnisse bestätigten auch die Paraphrasen der Originalzitate in manchen Inschriften. Den ursprünglich von Horaz stammenden Satz "*Sed omnes una manet nox et calcanda semel via leti*"¹⁷⁵ veränderte Frauenburg z. B. zu einem Satz mit relativ gleichem Sinn "*Omnes una manet mors*", den er an der Spital – bzw. St. Jakobkapelle anbringen ließ.¹⁷⁶

Von einem bestimmten Einfluss des Humanismus zeugt ein Brief, den Frauenburg seinem "*optime frater*", dem bekannten Breslauer Stadtschreiber Peter Eschenloer, schickte.¹⁷⁷ Dieser persönliche Brief wurde im humanistischen Latein geschrieben. Frauenburg zeigte hier seine Kenntnis von den Klassiker (Juvenal, Vergil) und vor allem bekannte er sich dazu, dass er einen anderen Schriftstil als den üblichen benutzte, denn am Ende des Briefes entschuldigte er sich bei Eschenloer dafür, dass "*jam longa etate ex stilo rudi et indigesto novisti*".¹⁷⁸ Nach Volker Honemann deutet dieser Brief sicher auf die humanistischen Anklänge seines Autors hin.¹⁷⁹

Frauenburgs Interesse für die Antik bestätigt auch sein Siegelstock, mit dem er Ende der 70. Jahren des 15. Jahrhundert einige seine Briefe kennzeichnete. Nach Richard Jecht war auf ihm eine Gemme abgebildet, die wahrscheinlich Homer darstellte.¹⁸⁰ Über Frauenburgs Bibliothek, die sehr wichtige Erkenntnisse über die Quellen seiner Zitate der Klassiker bieten könnte, wissen wir nur, dass sie bestand und dass sie "*bucher gross vnd kleine*" enthielt.¹⁸¹

Natürlich müssen wir auch nach der Herkunft von Frauenburgs humanistischer Neigung fragen. An die Leipziger Universität hielt der Humanismus schon am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts

¹⁷³ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 458; V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 68.

¹⁷⁴ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Varia 23 – Frauenburgs Anweisung für den Görlitzer Bürgermeister, fol. 8v; R. Jecht (Hg.), "Die Pflichten" S. 94.

¹⁷⁵ The Latin Library, Horatius, Carminum I, www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm1.shtml (3. 4. 2010). Es handelt um I. Buch, XXVIII. Teil, 15.–16. Zeile.

¹⁷⁶ T. Hoffmann, *Scriptores*, S. 458; V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 67.

¹⁷⁷ B. Kronthal – H. Wendt (Hgg.), *Scriptores*, Band 13, S. 16–17, Nr. 23.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 17, Nr. 23. Natürlich sollte es sich auch um die Bescheidenheit des Autors handeln.

¹⁷⁹ V. Honemann, "Kanzlei, Stadt und Kultur", S. 60.

¹⁸⁰ R. Jecht, "Die Grabsteine", S. 165, Anm. 4; R. Jecht, *Geschichte*, S. 229.

¹⁸¹ Ratsarchiv Görlitz, liber actorum 1490–1497, fol. 248r.

Einzug.¹⁸² Wahrscheinlich stand am Anfang des Interesses Frauenburgs – wenigstens nach den mir bisher bekannten Quellen – Peter Eschenloer, seiner Kenntnissen des neuen humanistischen Latein sind unstreitig.¹⁸³

Bei Johann Frauenburg kann man eine starke Neigung zum Humanismus feststellen, aber wir können nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, dass er Humanist war. Er erfüllt gänzlich die Kriterien des mitteleuropäischen Humanismus, der sich bemühte, in seiner Form die italienischen und antiken Vorbilder nachzuahmen, aber deren Inhalt ihm entgeht. Meiner Meinung nach kann man sagen, dass sich bei Frauenburg Anzeichen für ein Interesse am Humanismus finden lassen, die sich aber nicht auf sein öffentliches Leben, z. B. während seiner Kanzleiarbeit oder während seiner diplomatischen Tätigkeit, auswirkten.

Im Jahre 1462 wird ein unbekannter *Magister Artium*, Johann Frauenburg, neuer Rektor der Stadtschule in Görlitz. Auf Grund seiner Verbindungen zu den Görlitzer Ratseliten wurde er Stadtschreiber und dank seiner Verheiratung und der Teilnahme an der Unterdrückung der *Pulververschwörung* wurde er auch ein bedeutender Bürger und Mitglied des Stadtrates. In dieser Position sollte Frauenburg nicht nur die Geschäfte in der Stadt wesentlich beeinflussen, sondern er hatte auch Anteil an der Außenpolitik der Stadt und auch des Sechsstädtebundes. Obwohl es für seine Zeitgenossen und für die Chronisten des 16. Jahrhunderts, die Frauenburg als tüchtigen Stadtschreiber, opferwilligen Vertreter der Stadtverwaltung und erfolgreichen Diplomaten achten, nicht so bedeutend war, kennen wir ihn heute vor allem dank seiner literarischen Schriftwerke (tagebuchartige Notizen, zwei normative Handschriften für die Stadtverwaltung), in denen sich auch Spuren des Frühhumanismus finden lassen. Wie Volker Honemann beweist,¹⁸⁴ gab es im spätmittelalterlichen Raum viele ähnliche Persönlichkeiten. Obwohl wir über ihre Schicksale – trotz einiger aufbewahrter Egodokumente – nur wenig wissen, entdecken wir in ihnen viele Berührungspunkte. Alle diese Menschen können wir als Stadtschreiber bezeichnen. Die bisher nicht komplex durchforschte Persönlichkeit Frauenburgs kann in die Reihe so bedeutender Persönlichkeiten wie Johann von Tepl, Bartholomäus van der Lake, Johann von Guben, Lazarus Spengler, Johann Rode oder den schon erwähnten Peter Eschenloer eingeordnet. Der konkrete Vergleich des Lebens und des Werks von Frauenburg besonders mit den Stadtschreibern weiterer oberlausitzer Städte bleibt eine Aufgabe für die zukünftige Forschung, aber schon dieser Beitrag umreißt verkürzt alle Seiten der Persönlichkeit des Görlitzer Stadtschreibers Johann Frauenburg.

¹⁸² Im Jahre 1462 hielt dort zwar ein paar Monate Peter Luder, einer der ersten Verfechter des Humanismus in Deutschland, Vorlesungen ab, jedoch wurde er von den Studenten vertrieben. Dazu F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart, Erster Band*, Leipzig 1896, S. 76–77, 92–93.

¹⁸³ Zu Eschenloer vgl. z. B. V. Honemann, „Lateinische und volkssprachliche Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter: Zur Arbeitsweise des Chronisten Peter Eschenloer aus Breslau“, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 52 (1996) 617–627; G. Roth, „Zwischen Pflicht und Kür. Der Stadtschreiber Peter Eschenloer als Botschafter, Übersetzer und Chronist. Mit drei Anhängen zu Gesandten, Prokuratoren und Boten des Breslauer Rates“, in: R. Suntrup – J. Veenstra (Hgg.), *Stadt, Kanzlei und Kultur im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit*, S. 15–46.

¹⁸⁴ V. Honemann, „Die Stadtschreiber“, vor allem im Anhang die Seiten 340–353.

Károly Goda

Buda Festiva: Urban Society and Processional Culture in a Medieval Capital City

Abstract | The study is concerned with the cultural history in general and with festive culture in medieval cities in particular. In comparison with other European cities the author explores the rise and nature of Corpus Christi processions in Buda, the capital of medieval Hungary.

Buda, Corpus Christi processions, Hungary, festive culture, Middle Ages

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Introduction

“Qu’est-ce qu’une procession?” – wonders surprisingly Jean-Claude Schmitt, the prominent French medievalist and historical anthropologist in one of the most recent publications on processional culture in pre-modern Europe.¹ The self-posed question for a proper definition is rather curious from a well-known doyen of cultural history considering the intensive and multi-faceted Western European scholarship of the last five decades on urban ceremonies, especially on religious and secular processions.²

Referring only to a few modes of late medieval urban celebrations, aside from general clerical and laic festivities, the magnificent *adventus* tradition and the splendid *extroitus* rituals have been in special academic limelight in the last quarter of a century.³ Nevertheless, probably the most popular research field of this sort has been dealing with medieval religious urban processions, especially with those honouring the cult of Corpus Christi. Thus, the call of the French historian for a definition is not in any way driven by a desperate deficiency of research, on the contrary, by the exponentially mushrooming number of contributions.⁴

The somewhat special topic blending the history of medieval religiosity with studies on urban politics has, on the one hand, invited in the last half century the academic attention of a considerable number of medievalists specialized on towns, e. g. in England, France the Low

¹ J.-C. Schmitt: “Conclusion”, in: K. Gvozdeva – H. R. Velten (eds.), *Medialität der Prozession. Performanz ritueller Bewegung in Texten und Bildern der Vormoderne / Médialité de la procession. Performance du mouvement rituel en textes et en images à l’époque pré-moderne*, Heidelberg 2011, p. 359.

² See e. g. the contributions in D. Altenburg – J. Jarnut – H.-H. Steinhoff (eds.), *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Paderborner Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes*, Sigmaringen, 1991, esp. p. 71–85, 201–213, 359–376, 491–540. and B. A. Hanawalt – K. L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Minneapolis – London 1999, esp. p. 3–86, 171–295.

³ J. D. Hurlbut, “Immobilier et Cérémonie Urbaine: Les Joyeuses Entrées Françaises à la Fin du Moyen Age”, in: A. F. Johnston – W. Hüskén (eds.), *Civic Ritual and Drama*, Amsterdam – Atlanta 1997, p. 125–142.; G. Kipling, *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, Oxford 1998, esp. p. 6–47, 182–225.; E. Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des ceremonies. Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*, Brepols 2004, p. 135–330.; P. Johánek – A. Lampen (eds.), *Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2009, esp. p. 1–84, 133–266.

⁴ See the following bibliographies: M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991, p. 383–419. and A. Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten. Politische Partizipation, obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, städtische Einheit*, Köln 1999, p. 371–400.

Countries or the Holy Roman Empire. On the other, an astonishingly wide variety of approaches has been mobilized to interpret and even deconstruct the cultural phenomenon of late medieval urban processions. In this respect the hard core of academic endeavour dedicated a special focus on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Western European ceremonial culture, however, the scope of research also paid some attention to the high Middle Ages and generally the various different urban regions within the Central European territories. Furthermore, the methodological spectrum of investigations has become almost infinite. Even the latest contributions are covering, e.g. traditional descriptive presentations, anthropological interpretations and lately deconstructive methodology of experts on visual and textual narratives, who are questing, among others, for the ontological status of the urban *processio*.⁵

Except for some rather traditional works and a few pioneering articles the research on Hungary, especially on its medieval period has hitherto showed less than a moderate interest in this field of urban studies.⁶ This lack of fascination is in a way certainly due to the relatively modest number of relevant historical sources and the anticlerical priorities of Cold-War era Hungarian historiography. Nevertheless, in the last two decades urban historians published landmark studies on the themes of Corpus Christi confraternities and religious processions in general.⁷ Nonetheless, the processional culture venerating the Eucharist in late medieval Buda (in German *Ofen*) has not yet been the subject of a thorough academic inquiry. Analysing the relating historical documents therefore not only promises to expand the geographical scope of late medieval processional studies, but to explore the cultural and political functions of Corpus Christi processions in an Eastern Central European capital and residential city. First and foremost, however, an extended accentuation of medieval religion and politics integrated in Corpus Christi festivities in Western and Central Europe provides a comparative context to the general and specific features of the processional mode in medieval Buda.⁸

⁵ See for a general overview S. Felbecker, *Die Prozession. Historische und systematische Untersuchungen zu einer liturgischen Ausdruckshandlung*, Altenberge 1995, esp. p. 29–34, 174–336.; K. Ashley, “Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance”, in: K. Ashley – W. Hüskens (eds.), *Moving Subjects. Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Amsterdam – Atlanta 2001, p. 7–34.; H. Nielsen, *Prozessionsfeste und dramatische Spiele im interreligiösen Vergleich. Eine religionsphänomenologische Studie zu Fastnacht, Fronleichnam, Ašura und Purim*, Berlin 2005, p. 123–138.; S. Hafner, “Monstranz – Gott zeigen. Das Fronleichnamsfest aus systemtheoretischer Perspektive”, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 60/1 (2008) 20–39.

⁶ For the rather traditional approaches see G. Seiwert, “Die Brüderschaft des heiligen Laichnams in Hermannstadt”, *Archiv des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge X (1872), 3, 310–360; L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [The religious life of Hungary under the Jagiellon kings], Budapest 2000, p. 22–49.; Gy. Balanyi, “Középkori magyar úrnapok” [Corpus Christi Day in medieval Hungary] *Vigilia* June 1953, 292–299.

⁷ S. Petényi, *Games and Toys in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*, Krems 1994, p. 44–50.; J. Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében” [The role of the Corpus Christi confraternity in medieval Pozsony/Prefßburg/Bratislava], in: E. Csukovits – T. Lengyel (eds.), *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. Században* [From Bártfa to Pozsony. Towns in the 13th–17th centuries], Budapest 2005, p. 253–291.; T. Fedeles, “Vallásos áhitat, közösségtudat, reprezentáció. A késő középkori körmenetek főbb jellemzői” [Religious devotion, communal identity and representation. The main characteristics of late medieval processions], *Aetas* 22 (2007), 3., 59–82.

⁸ Concerning some earlier results see L. Némethy, “Úrnap körmenet a budai várban” [Corpus Christi procession in the Buda Castle], *Religio*, 1878, 37., 13th July, 4. II., 1878, 29–31; 17th July, 5., 36–37; A. Kubinyi, “Courtiers and Court Life in the Time of Matthias Corvinus”, in: P. Farbaky et al. (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*. Exhibition catalogue. Budapest 2008, p. 21–33.; A. Kubinyi, “Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof der Jagellonen, 1490–1526”, in: W. Paravicini (ed.), *Alltag bei Hofe. 3. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Ansbach, 28. Februar bis 1. März 1992*, Sigmaringen 1995, p. 197–215.

Venerating the Host: a Comparative Perspective

Concerning the focal point of the cult and the different ceremonial modes, Corpus Christi as a feast was in truth a medieval *invented tradition* with a more than troubled beginning. Inspired by the vision in 1208/1209 of Julia of Mont-Cornillon (1193–1258) to establish a proper celebration of the Eucharist, the earliest known ceremony took place in 1246 as an episcopal initiative in St Martin's Church of Liège. In the middle of the 1260s Pope Urban IV (1261–1264) ordered in his bull "Transiturus de hoc mundo" (1264) to universally celebrate the new feast, but only as late as the 1310s, owing to the efforts of Popes Clement V (1305–1314) and John XXII (1316–1334), could the new feast reach an established status. Accordingly, aside from some north German dioceses (e. g.: Hamburg, Münster, Osnabrück, Cologne etc.) the universal recognition and liturgical integration of the new cult of the Host propagated even through the sacral mass written by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) in 1264 did not become ubiquitous until the first half of the fourteenth century.⁹

Nevertheless, this expansion meant by no way that these celebrations also involved a sacral procession, since the bull of foundation provided simply for a mass and an office. Moreover, none of the former papal initiatives dedicated even a word to this ceremonial mode. Such an explicit regulation came no earlier than in 1429 with the indulgences of Pope Martin V (1417–1431) supporting the processional participation within an urban context (e. g. in Nuremberg and Lübeck). The establishment of a *processio* honouring the Host, hence, was for the first time a bottom-up initiative within the church itself. Accordingly, the earliest known procession dedicated to and calling for the protection of Corpus Christi took place in the Chapter of St Gereon in Cologne sometime between 1264 and 1268. Interestingly enough, this celebration involved exclusively the members of the Chapter and its itinerary was restricted to the spatial *immunitas* of this ecclesiastical body. Nonetheless, concerning the Benedictine friars of Hildesheim the presence and involvement of laics in the cult is proven by the early fourteenth century. This is one of the earliest vivid accounts on how secular intentions merged into a religious form. The town council of Hildesheim simply co-sponsored the procession and the town-dwellers were, in return, blessed by the Eucharist.¹⁰

As for the different types of processional events the above-mentioned optional sponsorship later played a crucial role. Differing in this respect from the ecclesiastical or clerical foundations and organizations (in e. g. Cologne, Quedlinburg, Rheinau, Eichstätt, Mainz and Osnabrück), a significantly growing group of Corpus Christi processions were initiated as early as the 1300s by burghers or urban authorities. This happened for example in Augsburg, where in 1305 a very generous private donation established the new feast and celebration mode. In the following decades the towns of the Holy Roman Empire witnessed an exponential growth in the popularity of the cult. Even so, the newly introduced processions were many times neither spatially, nor socially

⁹ P. Browe, "Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamfestes", *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8 (1928) 107–143. and P. Browe, "Die Entstehung der Sakramentsprozessionen", *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 8 (1931) 97–117; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 164–199.; A. Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, p. 56–63; L. Remling, "Die 'Große Prozession' in Münster als städtisches und kirchliches Ereignis im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit", in: H. Lahrkamp (ed.), *Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*, Münster 1984, p. 197–233. Although recognizing the various spiritual levels of the Corpus Christi feast, this paper – instead of highlighting individual spirituality – focuses in the general and also in the Hungarian part on the macro level, i. e. on the structural characteristics of the cult and processions.

¹⁰ A. Mitterwieser, *Geschichte der Fronleichnamprozession in Bayern*, München 1930, p. 9–26; X. Haimerl, *Das Prozessionswesen des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter*, München 1937, p. 30–61; P. Browe, "Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamfestes", p. 113–116.; T. Schnitzler, "Die erste Fronleichnamprozession. Datum und Charakter", *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 24 (1973), 352–362.

all-inclusive partly due to smaller celebrations of churches or monasteries, which preceded the urban founding ambitions. This was the case, e. g. in Regensburg before 1396, in Cologne and also in Nuremberg, where initially the Holy Spirit Hospital and then the two parish churches were the main focal points.¹¹

Nevertheless, the installation of the first Corpus Christi procession in the latter imperial town demonstrates the former pattern, i. e. the donating initiative came in the 1330s from one of the wealthiest and most powerful burghers of Nuremberg. Beyond pious intentions this foundation preserved for the mighty merchant, and later for the town council, the right to organize the procession bound to the Holy Spirit Hospital. This dominant role of civic power was mirrored by the spatial hierarchy within the march, where the highest priest of the hospital carried the monstrance, while the members of the town council escorted him. Moreover, the active participation in the event was also exclusive, i. e. except for the group of clerics and the school children only the representatives of the urban authority and some artisans marched. While at the beginning of the fifteenth century the procession of the Holy Spirit Hospital was the only one and via its route it connected the other churches and monasteries, in the following decades the *processio* from here separately visited the two parish churches (St Sebaldus and St Lawrence), which on Corpus Christi Day even held their own ceremony from 1420 and 1493 at the latest.¹²

The case of Nuremberg is clearly to be attached to a pattern of the foundation and organization either on account of mighty burghers (see e. g. Augsburg) or urban authorities (see e. g. in Göttingen and Regensburg).¹³ Although this phenomenon of urban civic dominance over the festive events by no means became an all-covering model – there were relevant instances for a co-existing influence of civic and ecclesiastical authorities often represented by members of the same leading families –, such kind of foundations or later transformations showed the significance of civic power in urban culture within the Holy Roman Empire. The former social and cultural changes seldom meant, however, that the Corpus Christi processions turned to be either spatially or socially inclusive ceremonies. Consequently, in Nuremberg, e. g. civic authority over the procession from the Holy Spirit Hospital, and to some extent over the others, was because of the anti-artisan local power settings, an exclusive one, limiting the circle of active participants (primarily clerics and the political elite) and highlighting through the route the main churches (St Sebaldus, St Lawrence and the Church of Our Lady), the central market place and the town hall.¹⁴

Despite the manifold exclusivity of the latter processions, in Straßburg or in Eichstätt for example the whole urban community was entitled to actively join the celebration.¹⁵ Nonetheless,

¹¹ See e. g. M. Barth, “Die Einführung des Fronleichnamfestes und der Fronleichnamsprozession in der Stiftskirche Rheinau im J. 1308 bzw. 1314”, *Archiv für Elsässische Kirchengeschichte* 12 (1938), 391–393; P. Bruder, “Die Fronleichnamfeier zu Mainz um das Jahr 1400”, *Der Katholik* 81 (1901), 23, 489–507; R. Bauerreiß, “Zur Entstehung der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern”, in: A. W. Ziegler (ed.), *Eucharistische Frömmigkeit in Bayern*, München 1963, p. 101–108.; J. Günther, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession in Regensburg*, München 1992, p. 8–16.

¹² X. Haimerl, *Das Prozessionswesen des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter*, p. 32–57.; A. Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, p. 64–80.

¹³ R. Vogelsang, *Stadt und Kirche im spätmittelalterlichen Göttingen*, Göttingen 1968, p. 20–31.; for a more complex situation in Brunswick see e. g. H. Dürre, *Geschichte der Stadt Braunschweig im Mittelalter*, Aalen 1974, p. 180–188; and especially F.-J. Arlinghaus, “The Myth of Urban Unity: Religion and Social Performance in Late Medieval Braunschweig”, in: C. Goodson – A. E. Lester – C. Symes (eds.), *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400–1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, Farnham 2010, p. 215–232.

¹⁴ A. Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, p. 80–85, 105–111.

¹⁵ L. Pflieger, “Die Stadt- und Rats-Gottesdienste im Strassburger Münster”, *Archiv für Elsässische Kirchengeschichte* 12 (1937) 40–56; S. von Heusinger, “‘Cruzgang’ und ‘umblauf’ – Symbolische Kommunikation im Stadtraum am Beispiel von Prozessionen”, in: J. Oberste (ed.), *Kommunikation in mittelalterlichen Städten*, Regensburg

the specific characteristics of a socially integrative ceremonial mode were most powerful in the urban traditions of the Low Countries, where the control over the cult of Corpus Christi was at least to a limited extent a privilege of the civic authorities, even so, the staging of the linked processions was both socially and spatially thoroughly inclusive. One of the most significant Flemish centres, the city of Bruges and its Holy Blood procession expressively illustrates this pattern of ceremonial culture. The latter celebration, as one of the earliest Eucharistic processions in Europe, initially honoured the cult of the Holy Cross, however, during the late thirteenth century the local civic authority changed the focus of veneration to the notion of the Host, a sacral object by then supreme to holy relics.¹⁶

As an outcome of internal social conflicts, in 1302 the guilds of the artisans managed to seize control over the city, and this significant re-positioning empowered them to become a predominant factor in the above-mentioned procession as well. On top of the intensive involvement in the financing, the new urban magistrate adjusted the ceremonial route to traverse the city walls erected in 1297. In the course of the fourteenth century the inclusive character of the ritual event came to be even stronger. The celebration connected specific urban landmarks and, due to new initiatives, the moving groups visited almost every significant urban sight. As a consequence of this new, strong civic character, the representatives of the most important ceremonial units, i. e. the guilds marched not only in the inner town (Chapel of Holy Blood, the Burg, the Great Market etc.) but all along the city walls. Comparable to Nuremberg, the urban civic authorities of Bruges also dominated the processional sphere, still, thanks to the local settings of political power the active participation in and the spatial scope of the events turned out to be highly inclusive.¹⁷

In order to further interpret the latter Central European examples a brief look on English Corpus Christi processions could considerably contribute to the characterization of ceremonial modes venerating the Host. Supplementing the celebration with a clerical and/or secular *processio*, as it happened in Central Europe, even in England were the founding synodal decrees extended with an urban, in a number of cases, even civic initiative. Throughout the fourteenth century the new ceremonial mode explicitly came under the control of secular civic authorities, which charged the cult of the Host with local political meanings expressing the views of town councils, corporations and various crafts. The latter bodies, similar to Bruges, played an important role as organizers and actors in some of the mightiest urban communities. In York, for example, the financial power of the crafts meant a significant contribution to maintain the processions and during the festive event each of them exercised its right to active participation in the celebration (see also in Beverley and clusters of crafts in Ipswich), which linked the most important urban landmarks (Holy Trinity Priory, the Mickelgate, the Cathedral and the St Leonard Hospital) with each other.¹⁸

2007, p. 141–155; H. Flachenecker, *Eine geistliche Stadt. Eichstätt vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg 1988, p. 322–325, 379–397.

¹⁶ Generally see W. Blockmans – W. Prevenier, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530*, Philadelphia 1999, esp. p. 35–234; whereas about civic urban traditions in Bruges and Ghent: T. A. Boogaart II, “Our Saviour’s Blood: Procession and Community in Late Medieval Bruges”, in: K. Ashley – W. Hüsken (eds.), *Moving Subjects*, p. 69–116; and P. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent*, Ithaca – London 1996, p. 9–94.

¹⁷ T. A. Boogaart II, “Our Saviour’s Blood”, p. 80–92.

¹⁸ See in general M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 199–271; and for York, Beverley and Ipswich: A. F. Johnston, “The procession and play of Corpus Christi in York after 1426”, *Leeds. Studies in English, new series* 7, 1973–1974, 55–62; A. F. Johnston, “The guild of Corpus Christi and the procession of Corpus Christi in York”, *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976), 372–384; D. Cowling, “The liturgical celebration of Corpus Christi in medieval York”, *Records of Early English Drama Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 2, (1976), 5–9; and cf. P. Tudor-Craig, “Richard III’s triumphant entry into York, August 29th, 1483”, in: R. Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the north*, Hull 1986, p. 108–116;

Nevertheless, in most English towns the festive march was entirely, or to a certain extent controlled by local Corpus Christi confraternities possessing a predominant position not only in financing and organization but even in the processional landscape of prestige. The great inquest in the late 1380s into guilds and fraternities covering most of the East Anglian counties, the East Midlands, London and some of the West Country recorded forty-four Corpus Christi brotherhoods of which seventeen definitely joined the procession regularly marching, as a distinguished group, around the Host (see in Leicester and since the 1430s even in York). Membership in this confraternity was often the prerogative of wealthy burghers of commerce and/or luxury crafts. For example the gild-merchant of Ipswich ruling the town from its privileged status dating from 1200 adopted the Corpus Christi dedication in 1325. This act extended the group's authority through special contact with the Eucharist, since these merchants held in the march the most privileged position for laymen. Following the foundation of the same brotherhood in Coventry in 1343 this corporate body standing in the highlight of Eucharistic topography offered the junior offspring of office-holding families a symbolic preliminary entry into local high politics.¹⁹

Concerning the route, the more inclusive demarcating type of itinerary tracing boundaries and marking influences (see e. g. in Bruges), was in England less common than the linking version (see e. g. in Nuremberg), which connected a smaller number of significant urban landmarks (see e. g. in York) with each other and was sometimes even socially exclusive. As a well-known example, the most significant royal borough, the City of London owing in part to its size and social setting never established an all-inclusive procession of crafts. Alongside a number of smaller parish celebrations, it was the Corpus Christi fraternity of the skippers, which organized from 1393 a procession on the day of the Host from its confraternity hall in Dungate Hill to St Antholin's Church in Watling Street. By the 1440s this ceremony received a dramatic form with *tableaux vivants* described in a graphic poem by John Lydgate, a monk of Bury St Edmunds, court poet and devotional writer. This celebration represented an intermediary phase between procession and play, unfolded through the live staging of the Eucharistic tale. By the mid-sixteenth century it became a vast, still, by no means inclusive extravaganza involving as active participants not only the skippers, but two hundred clerics and priests, the sheriff, the city council, the mayor and even the aldermen.²⁰

Summarizing the main features of the above-mentioned processions, reflecting the medieval religious thoughts and politics integrated in Corpus Christi festivities, the cult of the Host started as a clerical and later papal scheme to propagate veneration of the Eucharist. Accordingly, until the late thirteenth century the new feast was an internal affair of the church, where the first spatially exclusive processions started as bottom-up initiatives. The growing influence of secular intentions merging into the former clerical initiative brought during the fourteenth century in a large number of cases a dominantly civic control over the feast. This either happened as a smooth transformation, which started with financial contributions and limited participa-

B. A. Champion, "The guilds of medieval Beverley", in: P. Riden (ed.), *The Medieval Town in Britain*, Cardiff 1980, p. 51–66; R. Horrox, "Medieval Beverley", in: K. J. Allison, *A History of the County of York East Riding*, vol. 6. *The Borough and Liberties of Beverley*. *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, London 1989, p. 2–62; H. F. Westlake, *The parish guilds of medieval England*, London 1919, p. 51–55.

¹⁹ H. F. Westlake, *The parish guilds of medieval England*, p. 50–52, 137–238; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 236–241; Ch. Phytian-Adams, *Desolation of a city: Coventry and the urban crisis of the late Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1979, p. 120–129.

²⁰ G. Unwin, *The guilds and companies of London*, London 1963, p. 105–110, 227; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 229–232, 275–276; C. Barron, "The parish fraternities of medieval London", in: C. Barron – Ch. Harper-Bill (eds.), *The church in Pre-Reformation society: essays in honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay*, Woodbridge 1985, p. 13–15; Ch. Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), *John Stow: A survey of London*, vol. 1., Oxford 1908, p. 230.

tion and ending in organization and dominance. Even the founding act could come from the political might of the town. Depending on the form of the initiating civic control, the issue of participation, the spatial dimension of the celebration and the ceremonial staging obviously showed a wide variety.

Nevertheless, three clear patterns of processional mode could have been identified through the above-mentioned examples. Where a relatively closed patrician authority introduced the ceremony and exercised further control, both the participation and the itinerary tended towards exclusivity. Accordingly, in this setting the active roles were reserved primarily for the clerics and the urban political mighty, while the relatively short route represented the linear, so-called linking type. The rule of a different, (semi-) open elite could produce a different processional initiative. Correspondingly, in a number of cases a significantly more inclusive and corporative participation was possible, while the extended itinerary belonged to the territorial, demarcating type. Finally, in the towns with the organizing dominance of Corpus Christi confraternities the active processing was not evidently exclusive, still, the latter bodies monopolized for themselves the most privileged position and frequently set the route in accordance with the linking type. Certainly, these processional patterns of the former civic communities were definitely not all-representative. Even so, their ceremonial features could be used to characterize the Corpus Christi processions of the functionally dissimilar capital and residential city of Buda.

How a different festive setting could generate the presence of a non-civic authority, is to be demonstrated through a case in Nuremberg. The both socially and spatially strong local patrician processional authority here was firmly requested in 1487 to modify the ceremony in order to fulfil the wishes of Emperor Frederick III (1452–1493). The circle of active participants was hence extended by hundreds of students and several hundred clerics living in the town. The route was only slightly modified, still, the ecclesiastical protagonist carrying the sacrament was not a priest of Nuremberg, but the abbot of the Lower Austrian Benedictine abbey of Melk. The ruler regularly visiting the imperial town was himself not among the active processioners, however, he observed the marching groups from one of the prestigious houses of the main market.²¹ Thus, the desires of the emperor could significantly change even one of the most conservative processional modes supervised by a patrician urban authority loyal to the head of the Holy Roman Empire. How did then the external political influences on the Corpus Christi feast and celebration manifest themselves there, where in a remarkable civic urban context a mighty secular ruler regularly resided?

Buda: the Capital and Royal Residence

The later capital city and ultimate royal seat of the kingdom of Hungary, a regional middle power with a late fifteenth-century population of around three million souls, was together with Vienna, Prague and Cracow one of the most important urban centres in Eastern Central Europe at the turn of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. By then the country had an urban population of around 7–8%, inhabiting approximately 180–200 functional urban settlements, from which 25–30 belonged to the elite group of privileged royal free towns with Buda on the top.²² However, the latter town was by no standards the youngest among them. Actually, the birth and even death

²¹ A. Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, p. 100.

²² P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*, London 2001, p. 244–266; A. Kubinyi “Einige Fragen zur Entwicklung des Städteneetzes Ungarns im 14.–15. Jahrhundert”, in: H. Stoob (ed.), *Die mittelalterliche Städtebildung im südöstlichen Europa*, Köln – Wien 1977, p. 164–183; A. Kubinyi, “Die Bevölkerung des Königreichs Ungarn am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts”, in: A. Kubinyi, *König und Volk*

of late medieval Buda was a consequence of hostile military invasions. The town was founded as a new, chartered and fortified city after the devastating Mongol raids in 1241–1242, while three hundred years later due to the Turkish conquest of Hungary Buda became after 1541 a regional military headquarter of the Ottoman Empire.²³

Although in the central region (“medium regni”) of Hungary significant settlements, e. g. the archepiscopal seat of Esztergom (*Gran*) and the royal coronation and burial town of Fehérvár (*Stuhlweißenburg*) originally preceded Buda, the central function of the latter grew gradually in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. King Charles I of Anjou (1308–1342) for example named the town as his “civitas principalis” as early as 1308, while another source from the same decade called it “sedes regni et maxima civitatum”. During the fourteenth century the principal seat of the royal court was in Visegrád (*Plintenburg*), however, the monarchs acknowledged and even strengthened the rights of Buda as a capital city.²⁴ Although the founding settlers of the hilltop area (*castrum*) and the suburb (*suburbium*) alongside the river Danube originated from the Lower Rhine region and the southern German territories, the rapidly-developing regional centre was transformed by the 1390s into a multi-ethnic city of Germans, Hungarians, Italians and Jews, where the first two played the most significant role (see Figure 1).²⁵

For a long period of time both the ecclesiastical and self-governmental settings mirrored the early dominance of the Germans. Although a royal foundation, the earliest parish church for example, which was dedicated to the Holy Virgin belonged to the latter ethnic group, while the Hungarians used the Chapels of St Mary Magdalene (within the fortified plateau) and St Peter the Martyr (in the *suburbium*), which both were until the late 1430s subordinated to the German parish church standing opposite the town hall. A clear segregation between the two groups, however, took place only in the mid-fifteenth century. Prior to that, the ethnic distribution of the houses was highly proportionate, which in the suburb remained so even after but within the *castrum* the Germans dominated by then St George’s Square, while the Hungarians seized the northern part of downtown Buda.²⁶ Concerning the executive power of civic self-government,

im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn. Städteentwicklung, Alltagsleben und Regierung im mittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn, Herne 1998, p. 148–183.

²³ Gy. Székely, “Städtische Agglomeration im Osten Mitteleuropas (13.–15. Jahrhundert): Berlin, Buda, Prag, Krakau”, in: M. Font – M. Sándor (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Häuser und Straßen in Mitteleuropa. Varia Archaeologica Hungarica IX*. Budapest – Pécs 2000, p. 9–16; M. D. Birnbaum, “Buda Between Tatars and Turks”, in: B. Krekić (ed.), *Urban Society of Eastern Europe in Premodern Times*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1987, p. 137–157; Gy. Gerő, “Buda als Residenzstadt der ungarischen Provinz der Osmanen (1541–1686)”, in: G. Biegel, *Budapest im Mittelalter*, Braunschweig 1991, p. 426–438.

²⁴ L. Gerevich, “The Rise of Hungarian Towns along the Danube”, in: L. Gerevich (ed.), *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, Budapest 1990, p. 26–50; A. Kubinyi, “Der königliche Hof als Integrationszentrum Ungarns von der Mitte des 15. bis zum ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts und sein Einfluß auf die städtische Entwicklung Budas”, in: E. Engel – K. Lambrecht – H. Nogossek (eds.), *Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Berlin 1995, p. 145–162.

²⁵ E. Fügedi, “Das mittelalterliche Königreich Ungarn als Gastland”, in: W. Schlesinger (ed.), *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, Sigmaringen 1974, p. 471–507.; A. Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Ofens*, Berlin 1972, p. 79–102; A. Kubinyi, “Ethnische Minderheiten in den ungarischen Städten des Mittelalters”, in: B. Kirchgässner – F. Reuter (eds.), *Städtische Randgruppen und Minderheiten*, Sigmaringen 1986, p. 183–199; A. Kubinyi, “Deutsche und Nicht-Deutsche in den Städten des mittelalterlichen ungarischen Königreiches”, in: R. Härtel (ed.), *Verfestigung und Änderung der ethnischen Strukturen im pannonischen Raum im Spätmittelalter*, Eisenstadt 1996, p. 159–175.

²⁶ A. Végh, “Buda: The Multi-ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary”, in: D. Keene – B. Nagy – K. Szende (eds.), *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, Farnham 2009, p. 89–99; A. Kubinyi, “Buda – Die mittelalterliche Hauptstadt Ungarns. Eine deutsch-ungarische Stadt in Ostmitteleuropa”, in: G. Biegel (ed.), *Budapest im Mittelalter*, p. 15–41.

the German settlers and their offspring could maintain their dominant position until 1439, when these two ethnic groups of the town with circa 12.000–15.000 inhabitants became political communities sharing, based on equality and parity, all the chief governing positions.²⁷

The end of the fourteenth century and the following decades witnessed an even more significant transformation of the local urban society and topography (see Figure 1). Although in the north-eastern part of downtown Buda the so-called *Kammerhof*, a larger residence in a civic context, served as a royal mansion from early on, the town hosted the court for a longer time between 1347 and 1355. This situation radically changed in the 1370s through the building of immense palace constructions on the south of the hilltop. Still under King Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382) the royal residential function of the *Kammerhof* ended in 1381, while finally in 1408 King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) transferred his court to Buda. The dual functions of being a capital and permanent royal and governmental residence further strengthened the position of the Hungarian population and even attracted the presence of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, while the royal influence fundamentally reshaped the southern corner of the city. The German parish centre, the Church of Our Lady established prior to 1269 was from the 1410s and later under King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) significantly rebuilt and enjoyed a prime role in royal celebrations, e. g. the enthronement in 1458, royal weddings (e. g. in 1461 and 1476), military triumphs, etc. Moreover, violating the law-book of the town, the parson of this church and archdeacon of the Buda district came regularly from the clergy of the royal court and from 1497 he was permitted to wear the insignia of a prelate. Nonetheless, the civic control over the church never ceased entirely, since the warden taking care of the property of the parish always belonged to the leading civic families.²⁸

In the most southern part of the city the changes were even greater: a new residential and governmental zone was to be born (see Figure 1). King Louis I initiated immense construction works in the foreground of Stephen's Tower from the late 1370s. Furthermore, the residential site was enlarged in an even more sophisticated and pompous manner in the 1410s by King Sigismund, whose prestige and political power grew considerably upon becoming German king in 1411. In order to fulfil the new plans whole rows of civic houses were pulled down to form a new court with palaces and to create a wider foreground. These transformations created a new, complex settlement marking a strong royal presence through a number of castle constructions attached to the urban fortifications. Simultaneously, the Jewish population was, around the 1420s, moved to the north-eastern corner of the *castrum*, while around 1410 the ruler founded as a royal chapel outside the palaces a new church honouring St Mary and St Sigismund. This building in the vicinity of the already existing Franciscan Friary was also erected on burgages formerly inhabited by the civic population.²⁹

As a summary, in a dominantly civic context the royal authority successfully initiated and implemented a new residential agenda reshaping the urban landscape of downtown Buda. Although the king's presence left the north-east, this was only a minor manoeuvre in a plan of

²⁷ M. C. Rady, *Medieval Buda: a Study of Municipal Government and Jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Hungary*, New York 1985, p. 39–125.; A. Kubinyi, "Die Zusammensetzung des städtischen Rates im mittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn", *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 34–35 (1991/1992), 23–42.

²⁸ A. Végh, "Buda", in: J. Altmann et al., *Medium Regni. Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Budapest 1999, p. 163–212; K. Magyar, "Der Königspalast in Buda", in: G. Biegel, *Budapest im Mittelalter*, p. 201–235.

²⁹ G. Buzás – J. Laszlovszky – K. Magyar, "Medieval Royal Centres", in: Zs. Visy (ed.), *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millenium*, Budapest 2003, p. 348–364; J. Laszlovszky, "Crown, Gown and Town: Zones of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Civic Interaction in Medieval Buda and Visegrád", in: D. Keene – B. Nagy – K. Szende (eds.), *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, p. 179–203.

much greater dimensions. Accordingly, by the mid-fifteenth century an enormous residential and governmental power zone was born. Not only new palaces were established, but both the civic population and the Jews were forced to move, while the Church of St Sigismund serving the religious life of the ruling family (e. g. private masses, burials of queens: 1464, Catherine of Podebrad /1449–1464/; 1506, Anne of Foix-Candale /1484–1506/) and the Franciscan Friary formed an ecclesiastical transitional area closing the spatial influence of the royal zone. Situated between the residential buildings and the ecclesiastical bodies a new, even larger foreground (Jagiello-era names: *theatrum arcis*; *Samethof* = Kampfplatz, i. e. fighting place) with a bronze statue of Hercules in the middle came into being in the 1470s to host the most spectacular urban events, among others the Corpus Christi celebrations.³⁰

In general, the latter festivities in late medieval Buda were attached either to the life cycle of the royal family, or to the ecclesiastical calendar year. Unfortunately, these events are far less documented than their counterparts in Western Europe or even in the Holy Roman Empire because the bulk of both the royal and municipal archives perished after the Ottoman conquest. The fragmented sources (e. g.: account books, private letters and diplomatic reports) derive primarily from either the reign of Matthias Corvinus, or the period of the two Jagiellon kings, Vladislas II (1490–1516) and Louis II (1516–1526). Concerning the first type of ceremonies, the Church of Our Lady regularly hosted the celebrations. The latter embraced not only the baptizing of the royal children (e. g. princess Anne in 1503), but also played a significant role in funeral ceremonies. Upon the death of Vladislas II on 13th March 1516, the subsequent ecclesiastical services displayed the king's body on the main market place for three days. After this period of public mourning the corpse was first translated to the Church of Our Lady and then to the royal funeral city of Fehérvár.³¹

Various kinds of extravaganza were always the decorum of royal wedding ceremonies which incorporated arrival and departure rituals related to the *adventus* tradition. The king's (and the queen's) solemn entrance to and exit from the capital city followed a precise ritual choreography dating from as early as the fourteenth century. These celebrations were among the most important semi-secular instruments to propagate royal authority and power. Interestingly enough, according to the ritual order of the royal entry not only the ruler and his retinue were supposed to march. In point of fact, representatives of the whole urban population left the capital and pompously received the majesty and his train a mile from the city gates. According to the early fifteenth-century law book of Buda (*Ofner Stadtrecht*), if after a long absence the monarch returned from abroad or arrived from a military campaign the entire clergy and the town-dwellers, "men and women, young and old" were obliged to greet him this way. The clerics of the churches and friaries were supposed to lead the townsfolk in a procession with sacrament, flags and burning candles. The judge of Buda was even ordered to ride out on horseback in the company of honourable men in order to greet the majesty in a proper way. As other sources confirm, the Jewish community also took part in this ritual mode. After the king confirmed the different privileges the celebrating masses processed to the Church of Our Lady while tolling bells dominated the soundscape. After the "Te Deum laudamus" the ruler departed to his residence.

³⁰ A. Kubinyi, "Burgstadt, Vorburgstadt, Stadtbürg (Zur Morphologie des mittelalterlichen Buda)", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1981) 161–178; A. Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza. I.* [The medieval topography of the town of Buda I.], Budapest 2006, p. 73–76.

³¹ L. Neustadt, "Die letzten Stunden des Königs Wladislaw II. von Böhmen und Ungarn", *Ungarische Revue* 4 (1884), 35–42; P. Engel, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában" [Funerals in the medieval basilica of Székesfehérvár], *Századok* 121 (1987) 613–637; A. Kubinyi, "Courtiers and Court Life in the Time of Matthias Corvinus", p. 21–33.

On special occasions of this kind of *adventus* the thieves were granted royal amnesty and could be released from the prison of the town hall.³²

The entry ceremony of a new queen showed similar patterns. When e. g. in 1476 the newly crowned wife of King Matthias Corvinus, Beatrix of Aragon (1457–1508) left Fehérvár, the clergy of Buda processioning with a tabernacle and followed by nobles and burghers solemnly received her a mile from the capital. Once again, even the Jewish community was allowed to take part in the greeting ceremony. Upon arriving to the capital a magnificent tournament entertained the royal couple, which subsequently entered the city in a splendid manner. The sacral procession of the clergy led the celebrating masses, while the guilds marched behind the clerics. Dozens of trumpeters and drummers riding in the pompous train dominated the soundscape, while the foreign ambassadors and notables followed on horseback in front of the monarch. The royal pages and gentlemen of the chamber leading the next group wore Hungarian and Bohemian armorial bearings. At last came the king and the queen on horses, while the royal family and the ladies in waiting approached in gilded coaches behind them. The ceremonial royal exits were also carefully designed. During Matthias Corvinus' journey in 1476 to the coronation of Beatrix of Aragon the high clergy, the nobles and the burghers of Buda marched out of the city before the king. Matthias then first received the Jews in the courtyard of his residence and having them processed out, the ruler also left the *castrum*. Finally, in 1526 on his way to repulse the Ottoman invasion King Louis II went from his palace to the Church of St Sigismund attending a mass and then heading to the south he left the city in a military march through the Jewish Gate (see Figure 1).³³

A variety of tournaments and banquets also served the splendour of the royal power in the urban context of the capital city. These either played essential parts of larger celebrations (e. g. the entries, weddings, etc.), or were separately organized.³⁴ The best documentation on them derives from the reign of Matthias Corvinus, however, in the Jagiello-era King Louis II not only enjoyed this form of entertainment, but sometimes even actively participated in them. According to the sources, he even ordered the organization of horse races to which professional musicians guaranteed an appropriate soundscape. Concerning the ecclesiastical celebrations in Buda during the calendar year the historical documents are exceptionally laconic. As the Italian humanist, Galeotto Marzio (c. 1427–1497) reports, on New Year's Day the king not only received presents, but he also surprised his court personnel with special gifts. The carnival period brought

³² K. Mollay (ed.), *Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn*, Budapest 1959, p. 61 (chapter 7); Á. Petneki, "Intrada. Az ünnepélyes bevonulás formája és szerepe a középkelet-európai udvarokban" [Intrada. The form and role of the festive entries in the courts of Central Eastern Europe], in: Á. R. Várkonyi (ed.), *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* [Hungarian Renaissance court culture], Budapest 1987, p. 281–290, 382–384; A. Kubinyi, "Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof der Jagellonen, 1490–1526", p. 197–215.

³³ S. Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis mixtae IX*, Budae – Pestini – Colotzae 1793, p. 51–61; B. Borsa, "Reneszánszkori ünnepségek Budán" [Renaissance festivities in Buda], *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 10 (1943) 44–47; J. Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában. I.* [The arts in the court of King Matthias I.] Budapest 1966, p. 369; G. Roth (ed.), *Peter Eschenloer: Geschichte der Stadt Breslau II. Chronik ab 1467*, Münster 2003, p. 991–998; A. Kalous, "Die Schlacht bei Mohács: böhmische und vatikanische Quellen", in: M. Fuchs – O. Réthelyi (eds.), *Maria von Ungarn (1505–1558). Eine Renaissancefürstin*, Münster 2007, p. 110–112; A. Kalous, "Elfeledett források a mohácsi csatáról. Antonio Burgio pápai nuncius jelentései és azok hadtörténeti jelentősége" [The forgotten sources of the battle of Mohács. The reports of the papal nuncio, Antonio Burgio and their significance for military history] *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 120 (2007), 606–615; A. Kalous, "Bohemians and Moravians in the Court of Matthias Corvinus", in: P. Farbaký et al. (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, p. 65–75.

³⁴ E. Fügedi, "Turniere im mittelalterlichen Ungarn", in: J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, Göttingen 1985, p. 395–400; A. Kubinyi, "Courtiers and Court Life in the Time of Matthias Corvinus", p. 26–28.

a time of joy with fancy-dress dancing, when King Louis II once showed up in a devil's costume. According to the royal account books, for the Palm Sunday celebrations and for Candlemas the king's chamberlain bought flowers and candles for the royal chapel respectively.³⁵

In conclusion, the originally civic and predominantly German urban society of Buda went through crucial phases of segmentation until the second half of the fifteenth century. Although the population of the Hungarian capital was by then multi-ethnic, one of the most significant changes was the increase in numbers of Hungarian population (both civic and noble). With political emancipation and governmental parity came along, at least in the *castrum*, spatial and ecclesiastical segregation. In a parallel and even encouraging process the royal presence in the capital showed a gradual but ultimately drastic change. Transformation into a permanent residence of the court meant (partly through the establishment of a new royal zone) that the urban space ceased to be a dominantly civic one. Ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, court officials, various noblemen and their servants also became permanent inhabitants of Buda. This produced even culturally a new type of *urbanitas*.

Unfortunately, almost all the sources testifying to the merely civic processional culture of Buda perished. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the ceremonial modes of the new urban society shed some light on the festivities of the just born residential city. While the role of the prime organizer and initiator was played by the royal power, the patterns of participation, though dominated and controlled by the court, were in general rather inclusive. In a manner consistent with the afore-mentioned new residential *urbanitas*, the majestic entries and departures showed an almost all-integrating (burghers, clerics, noblemen, the Jews etc.) character carefully designed through royal guidelines. Concerning the festive staging, the meticulously chosen landmarks and spatial features showed a dominantly residential (e. g. the palaces, *Samethof*, Church of St Sigismund, Jewish Gate) pattern (see Figure 1). Nevertheless, the use of the St George's Square (the main market place) and even of the Church of Our Lady (enthronement, military victories, weddings etc.) delivered at least a limited spatial inclusivity for the festive events. The ceremonial features of the fifteenth-sixteenth century Corpus Christi festivities, in which the binding roots between religion and politics reached even deeper than in the *adventus*, provide an excellent opportunity for further analysis of the processional aspects of the above-mentioned residential *urbanitas*.

Corpus Christi: Religion and Politics

The newly established cult of the Eucharist reached the medieval kingdom of Hungary as early as the end of the thirteenth century. Interestingly enough, the first pieces of evidence are datings of the feast in Transsylvania and in the "medium regni". They originated both from a royal and from an urban context owing to the far-reaching cultural contacts of the court and the foreign settlers. Following the middle of the next century the foundation and fraternal life of new, secular Corpus Christi brotherhoods showed a growing interest in the cult of the Host. These institutions were primarily corporative caretaking bodies, however, the devotional veneration of the Eucharist and the organization of processions constituted their most important ceremonial activities.³⁶

³⁵ A. Kubinyi, "Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof der Jagellonen, 1490–1526", p. 185–190, 201–205.

³⁶ The datings in 1292 and 1298 in the royal sphere: L. Némethy, "Úrnapi körmenet a budai várban", p. 29–31, 36–37; and Gy. Balanyi, "Középkori magyar úrnapiok", p. 294; while for the towns: Kolozsvár/Klausenburg/Cluj: 1271, Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt/Sibiu: 1301, Nagyvárad/Großwardein/Oradea: 1313, Fehérvár/Stuhlweißenburg: 1315. The earliest brotherhoods: Pozsony/Prefßburg/Bratislava: 1349, Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt/Sibiu: 1372, Lőcse/Leutschau/Levoča: 1402. See: L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában*, p. 23–26; S. Bálint,

Concerning the medieval capital, the municipal archives almost entirely perished or were lost in the sixteenth century, thus, the precise date of introduction of the new cult is not known. The earlier scholarship emphasized the fifteenth-century parallel existence of a Corpus Christi confraternity within the *castrum* in both Churches of Our Lady (German parish) and of St Mary Magdalene (Hungarian parish). According to these interpretations, the first data on a Corpus Christi altar in the Church of Our Lady from 1375 should probably prove the existence of the brotherhood. Nonetheless, the first charter mentioning the confraternity itself was issued not earlier than 1461. At that time the brotherhood was a significant and exceptionally well-doing social and cultural body honouring the Host at the afore-mentioned altar. Due to the sporadic nature of sources, only a fragmented membership (principally the leaders) could be reconstructed via prosopographical methods. During the second half of the fifteenth century the identified representatives of the fraternity were all, but a few, leading German merchants. The apparently elite nature of the brotherhood hauntingly provoked the growing Hungarian population throughout the decades of socio-ethnic conflicts. In 1436, e. g. a Hungarian administrator and attorney (George the Deacon) publicly criticized German ecclesiastical dominance and the wealth of the confraternity, whose history of ceremonial activities desperately needs further investigation including lost sources yet to be found.³⁷

Turning to the royal sphere after the city became a permanent residence, the first known reports on the propagation of secular and religious concepts embedded in the cult of Corpus Christi date back to the early 1410s. After signing an agreement with the king of Poland, Vladislas II (1386–1434) in 1412 King Sigismund encouraged the high-ranking guest to visit his capital, where other prominent foreigners (e. g. the king of Bosnia, the despot of Serbia, the princes of Austria and Bavaria, the papal legate, diplomats of the Theutonic Order, Venetian, English and French envoys, etc.) arriving for a political summit had also been summoned to take part in the Corpus Christi festivities recorded among others by the Polish chronicler, Johannes Dlugoss (1415–1480). According to these narrative sources, various diplomatic negotiations preceded the celebrations, when participating in the procession with all the guests, “maximo Cultu, maximaque veneratione circa honorandum festum Corporis Christi fuere versati”. Thus, the procession honouring the Host could this time virtually bless the arrangements of the political meetings and strengthen the bonds between rival heads of states.³⁸

Owing to King Sigismund’s dominant role in international politics, twelve years later in 1424 Buda again hosted important diplomatic talks. Since the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Murad II (1421–1444, 1446–1451) threatened to capture even Constantinople, the Byzantine co-emperor, John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448), the son of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) requested

Karácsony, húsvét, pünkösd. A nagyünnepek hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából [Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. The traditions of the major feasts in Hungary and in Central Europe], Budapest 1989, p. 347–348.

³⁷ L. Némethy, “Úrnap körmenet a budai várban”, p. 29; L. Némethi Némethy, *Nagyboldogasszonyról nevezett Budapestvári Főtemplom történelme* [The history of the Church of Our Lady in the Budapest Castle], Esztergom 1876, p. 56–57; K. Timár, “A Budai Krisztus teste-Társulat” [The Corpus Christi confraternity of Buda], *Örökimádás* (1913), 2, 45–46; and L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában*, p. 23–24; A. Kubinyi, “Budai és pesti polgárok családi összeköttetései a Jagelló-korban” [The family networks of the burghers of Buda and Pest in the Jagiello-era] *Levélártári Közlemények* 37 (1966), 241, 247, 259, 272–286; M. C. Rady, *Medieval Buda*, p. 104, 107, 120. For the two churches see A. Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza. I.*, p. 61, 65–66. On the well-documented initiating and organizing role of such brotherhoods in medieval Hungary see e. g. J. Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében”, p. 269–274 (Pozsony) and G. Seiwert, “Die Bruderschaft des heiligen Laichnams in Hermannstadt”, p. 320–355 (Nagyszében).

³⁸ X. Schier, *Buda Sacra*, Viennae 1774, p. 30; Gy. Balányi, “Középkori magyar úrnapok”, p. 295–297; L. Némethi Némethy, *Nagyboldogasszonyról nevezett Budapestvári Főtemplom történelme*, p. 35–70; L. Némethy, “Úrnap körmenet a budai várban”, p. 29–30; I. Takács (ed.), *Sigismund rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387–1437. Ausstellungskatalog*, Budapest 2006, p. 454–455.

military support from King Sigismund. Although the negotiations hardly met his expectations, the prominent visitor agreed to join the Corpus Christi procession in person. The papal legate, cardinal Placentinus (Branda of Castiglione, 1350–1443) led the sacral procession through the city, in which both monarchs actively participated. As the German chronicler, Eberhard Windecke (c. 1380–1440) puts it: “En Gotes Leichnamstage do gieng konig Sigmunde mit dem Kaiser von Kriehen von Constantinobel vnd mit den Kardinalle Placentinus vnd die Koniginne Barabre mit Goz Leichnam an der Processe zu Offen zu ring in der Stat umb, also mon denne alle Jare beget.” Accordingly, a procession with a circumambulatory format was by this time the usual mode of celebrating Corpus Christi in Buda. The political messages linked to the Eucharist in all likelihood derived again from the current agenda of the Hungarian king. On the one hand, the religious implications of the Eucharist could be mobilized against the Czech Hussite movement, which represented a both cultural and political threat. On the other, the active presence of the Byzantine co-emperor in the procession could propagate an even more significant objective of King Sigismund, i. e. the union of the Greek and Roman Christian Churches.³⁹

Although lacking the international *grandeur* and *gloire* of the Sigismund-era, the Corpus Christi procession of Buda in 1440 was once more complexly bound to high, for this time, national politics. A powerful party of prelates and magnates, opposed to the son of Elisabeth of Luxemburg (1409–1442), Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–1457) residing then in Austria, invited the king of Poland, Vladislas III (1434–1444) to the Hungarian throne. Because of the forthcoming election the dignitaries of the country arrived in Buda around the time of the festive entry of the Polish ruler into the Hungarian capital, which act was vividly described by the Italian humanist Philip Callimach Buonacorsi (1437–1496). Thus, some weeks up to the election, both King Vladislas III and the prelates and magnates of Hungary participated in the Corpus Christi procession. Prior to his tragic death in the battle of Varna in 1444 the king vigorously fought against the Ottomans. The initially successful endeavour was crowned by his festive entry into Buda in 1443. In the form of a victorious military parade this ceremonial act not only praised the royal power, but also the glory of the magnate and military chief, John of Hunyad (c. 1407–1456). As mentioned earlier, in respect of the Corpus Christi feast in 1440, the processions in this period could be politically linked to national affairs and simultaneously to an ever-growing Ottoman threat menacing not only Hungary, but all of Christendom.⁴⁰

During the reign of the son of the above-mentioned John of Hunyad, Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), a number of festivals (entries in 1458, 1464, 1467 and 1476) took place and are well-documented. However, on the Corpus Christi celebrations only sporadic pieces of information are available. According to the chronicle of the Italian humanist, Antonio Bonfini (1434–1503), in 1489 Matthias feeling unwell departed from Vienna to Buda and participated in the Corpus Christi ceremonies in the Hungarian capital. Owing to his poor health the king himself could not march with the others. Hence, Matthias Corvinus ordered a scaffold built from which he could observe the festive march. International politics once more played an important role, since during the festive events the news of the peace treaty between the “Pannon” (the king of Hungary) and the “Alemann” (most probably Frederick III) was publicly announced.⁴¹

³⁹ See footnote 38; and I. Baán, “Die Beziehungen zwischen Sigismund und Byzanz”, in: I. Takács (ed.), *Sigismund rex et imperator*, p. 438–411 and from the catalogue: p. 452–453. For King Sigismund’s urban policy see A. Kubinyi, “König Sigismund und das ungarische Städtewesen”, in: T. Schmidt – P. Gunst (eds.), *Das Zeitalter König Sigismunds*, Debrecen 2000, p. 109–119.

⁴⁰ X. Schier, *Buda Sacra*, p. 32–36 and see for further references footnote 38 and 39.

⁴¹ On the court life of the Matthias-era see D. Csánki, “I. Mátyás udvara” [The court of Mathias I], *Századok* 17 (1883), 515–581, 617–667, 750–785; A. Bonfini, *A magyar történelem tizedei* [The decades of Hungarian history], Budapest 1995, p. 705–706, 892 and see footnote 40.

The narrative sources hardly reveal much more. However, a beautifully illustrated codex, the so-called Matthias Gradual could provide an astonishing insight into Corvinus-era Corpus Christi processions (see Figure 2). As a former jewel of King Matthias' famous library (*Bibliotheca Corviniana*) dating from the 1480s the liturgical book was prepared in all probability for the royal chapel. Although highlighting its French and Flemish characteristics a considerable group of art historians denies any possible connection to Buda, the staging of one of the processions in the book resembles to the above-described ceremonial features. The scene undoubtedly depicts a Corpus Christi festivity, since the richly ornamented canopy in the middle bears the Latin inscription: "o salutaris hostia quem [sic!] celi pandis [ostium]". The text "O salutary victim, who expandest the door of sky" is a quotation from and, thus, an obvious indication to a section of one of the Eucharistic hymns of Thomas Aquinas written for the feast of Corpus Christi. Whether this visualization derived from contemporary scenes in Buda serving as prefigurations is unknown. Nevertheless, the spatial setting shows a striking similarity with the festive place of the *Samethof*, situated precisely in front of the royal palaces (see Figure 1).

Moreover, the depiction of the monarch and his retinue staying in a lavishly decorated scaffold recalls the use of a ceremonial tribune reported by Antonio Bonfini. Based on these arguments, locating the scene in contemporary Buda cannot be ruled out, however, analyzing it as a photograph could lead to possible over-interpretations. Nevertheless, the overall atmosphere of the picture is more than specific (see Figure 2). The ceremonial staging presents a circumambulatory format, where behind three pompously dressed musicians a sumptuously ornamented prelate is carrying a monstrance under a red baldachin held by four clerics (or children). Following the Host and its bearer laics are marching with giant candlesticks in their hands. The entire solemn train entering through a gate is showing homage to the ruler right at the scaffold and then leaving the open-air square presumably through another gate. Interestingly enough, neither the royal couple, nor its retinue are among the active participants. The ruler and his court monitor the procession from the distant top of the festive tribune. Although a doubtless contextualization of the picture is not possible, the latter aura shows a striking resemblance with the residential *urbanitas* of fifteenth-century Buda.⁴²

Turning to the era of the two Jagiellon kings of Hungary, some further pieces of information could support the last statement. The royal accounts from the years 1494 and 1495 confirm the existence of a scaffold/podium in front of the castle on the eve of Corpus Christi: "1495. die 18. Junii in profesto Sancti Corporis Christi ad faciendum unum tabernaculum Re Mti ante castrum emte sunt corde zone et filum et elavicali ½ f. 34. d.". Still under the rule of King Vladislas II, presumably one of the most magnificently performed Corpus Christi celebrations in late medieval Hungary took place in 1501. Royal and even international politics – just as in 1412 and 1424 – again played a predominant role. The current context was an anti-Ottoman diplomatic summit culminating in a military alliance between the Venetian Republic and the kingdom of Hungary. Even Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) joined the agreement through his legate and promised financial support for the joint initiative, while the successful arrangement was solemnly announced in the Church of Our Lady.⁴³

⁴² Zs. Rappai (ed.), *Mátyás-Graduale* [Matthias Gradual], Budapest 2007, p. 21–51 and for the depiction: 108–109 (fol. 69v). For the hymns of Thomas Aquinas see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 185–196, esp. 191. About the photographic nature of the depiction and such an interpretation of the scene see J. Váralljai Csocsány, *A magyar monarchia és az európai reneszánsz* [The Hungarian monarchy and the European Renaissance], Pomáz 2005, p. 47–138, esp. 51–52; For the role of musicians see L. Zolnay, "Data of the Musical Life of Buda in the Late Middle Ages", *Studia Musicologica* IX (1967) 99–113.

⁴³ About the court of Vladislas II see J. Fögel, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)* [The court of Vladislas II (1490–1516)], Budapest 1913, p. 106–139; G. Wenzel, "II. Ulászló magyar és cseh királynak házas élete

According to a contemporary report, not only the already mentioned powers but Poland, France and even Spain were represented, while some of the Hungarian court dignitaries, prelates and magnates personally engaged themselves through the ceremonial oath confirming the military alliance. Afterwards, on Corpus Christi day an extravagantly pompous procession crowned the diplomatic achievements, on which both a German and an Italian source provide a splendid description. As the servant of the local burgher, Ruprecht Haller reports, first and foremost the papal legate, cardinal Peter (Peter Isvalies: ? – 1511) ordered a column erected on the ground of the cemetery of the Church of Our Lady. On the top an armoured angel was set and the statue functioned, until the procession ended, as a fountain of red and white wine. The Venetians erected a similar column of wine, this time, however, topped by a lion. In addition, again in the cemetery a special site with three Turkish figures was also created with the sepulchre (coffin?) of Muhammad hanging in the air. According to the German source, when the cardinal leading the procession with the Eucharist in his hands reached the site the sepulchre exploded immediately. Later on the Venetians, who promised King Vladislas II naval military support, even staged before vespers a magnificent battle of war ships (a Christian and a Turkish) on the ground in front of the royal palace. Ultimately, the shot of thirty-three canons, tolling bells and a “Te Deum laudamus” seized the soundscape of the city illuminated by the light of a fire of joy and a huge number of burning candles in the cemetery of the Church of Our Lady.⁴⁴

Furthermore, the Italian envoy, Tommaso Dainero adds, that the king and the urban masses observed the above described spectacle of destroying the sepulchre/coffin with a huge flame of fire, when the Eucharist was on its way back to the Church of Our Lady. Dainero even provides an interesting explanation of the ritual act. According to an old prophecy, the Islamic faith could only be eradicated through the destruction of Muhammad’s coffin. This ceremonial act, tells the Italian, has already been successfully performed once, when the kings of Spain took Granada back from the Moslems. Dainero describes the surrounding of the hanging coffin as an imitated mosque with the figures of the sultan, a number of pashas and other Turks. His account sets the Hungarian king into the approaching procession and vividly describes how the Hungarians destroyed the rest of the Turkish figures. Subsequently, a person dressed as Sybil publicly explained the meaning of the prophecy to the king in Latin. This time again, the cult of the Host and the procession devoted to it was mobilized not only to demonstrate the royal power, but also to confirm and even sanctify an anti-Ottoman military alliance headed by Hungary.⁴⁵

1501–1506” [The private life of the Czech and Hungarian King Vladislas II, 1501–1506], *Századok* (1877) 630–641, 727–757, 816–840; Gy. Soltész, *Az 1494. és 1495. évi királyi számadások művelődéstörténeti vonatkozásai* [The cultural aspects of the royal accounts of 1494 and 1495], Budapest 1905, p. 54–102; L. Némethy, “Úrnapki körmenet a budai várban”, p. 29–31; L. Némethi Némethy, *Nagyboldogasszonyról nevezett Budapestvári Főtemplom történelme*, p. 74. For the alliance see: I. Pederin, “A Velencei Köztársaság és Magyarország szövetsége a török elleni harcban” [The alliance of the Venetian Republic and Hungary in the war against the Turks], *Levéltári Közlemények* 57 (1986), 1, 131–135; and N. C. Tóth, “Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés. Adatok a királyi adminisztráció működéséhez” [The diet of Tolna in 1501. Sources on the royal administration], *Századok* 143 (2009), 1455–1481, especially 1455–1458.

⁴⁴ A. Kubinyi, “Alltag und Fest am ungarischen Königshof der Jagellonen, 1490–1526”, p. 214. For the description: National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Apponyi Hungarica 62. For the soundscape of festivities and the activity of musicians see A. Kubinyi, “Spilleute und Musiker von Buda (Ofen) in der Jagello-Epoche”, *Studia Musicologica* IX (1967), 77–97; A. Kubinyi, “Musikleben am Budaer Königshof, Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Geschulte Musiker und Spilleute”, *Studia Musicologica* XV (1973) 89–100.

⁴⁵ “Lettere di Tommaso Dainero ad Ercole Duca di Ferrara 1501–2. edite per Cura di Cesare Foucard Direttore dell’ Archivio di Stato in Modena, IV. La Festa del Corpus Domini, a Buda”, in: *Modenai és velencei követek jelentései Magyarország földrajzi és kulturai állapotáról a XV. és XVI. században* [The reports of envoys from Modena and Venice on the geography and culture of Hungary in the fifteenth and sixteenth century], Budapest

Closing the tableau with the kingship of Vladislas' son, Louis II, in the last two years of his reign (1525 and 1526) the royal accounts present, though not a spectacular, but a relatively detailed description of the organization of the Corpus Christi festivities. Summarizing the events, on the eve of the feast a vesper was celebrated in the royal chapel in the attendance of the ruler, while prior to that the royal master of the court and ceremonies and the rector of the royal chapel and their servants from the court had prepared and arranged everything for the forthcoming day. A scaffold made of wood and textile built for this special occasion not only hosted the royal couple to observe the march from here (1525, 1526), but also functioned as a station for the procession (1526). The day of Corpus Christi commenced with a holy mass in the royal chapel in the presence of the king. Only afterwards did the procession itself start, in which members of the royal court were carrying relics with flowers, crosses and pictures belonging to the royal chapel (1525) or the *castrum* (1526), while the king's pages escorted them with burning candles. Thus, in this example there is no sign of an international dimension, however, the predominant role of the king's court and its propagation of royal power have been vividly demonstrated.⁴⁶

Summarizing the already presented pieces of information on Corpus Christi festivities, the cult emerged in Hungary both in the royal and urban context as early as the late thirteenth century. Although its early phase in the fourteenth century is poorly documented, the veneration of the Host could be definitely associated with the activity of civic Corpus Christi confraternities, which possessed their own altars in urban churches. As evidence of the early stage of the cult in the pre-residential period of Buda, such an altar already existed here in 1375, however, it is unknown whether or not it belonged to an already extant brotherhood. The undoubted existence of a Corpus Christi confraternity in Buda, therefore, is documented not prior to the 1460s. By then, however, this body already was the elite club of a group of rich German merchants with leading political positions and strong ties to the Church of Our Lady. It is well documented that the role and richness of the brotherhood often caused confrontations with the Hungarian town-dwellers, but the processional activity of the confraternity is literally unknown.⁴⁷

Concerning the residential features of the Hungarian capital, the accessible sources delivered distinctive aspects of the above-described new *urbanitas*. In order to characterize and compare

1881, p. 16–17; T. Dömötör, *Naptári ünnepek – népi színjátszás* [The feasts of the calendar and the popular theatre culture], Budapest 1983, p. 79–87, 202–206; S. Petényi, *Games and Toys in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*, p. 44–50; On the Ottoman threat see A. Kubinyi, “Hungary’s power factions and the Turkish threat in the Jagiellonian period (1490–1526)”, in: I. Zombori (ed.), *Fight against the Turk in Central-Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century*, Budapest 2004, p. 115–145.

⁴⁶ V. Fraknói (ed.), *II. Lajos király számadási könyve, 1525. január 12. – július 16.* [The account book of King Louis II, 12th January – 16th July 1525], Budapest 1877, p. 200–201; J. Ch. Engel (ed.), *Monumenta Ungrica*, Vienna 1809, p. 191–194; L. Némethy, “Úrnapok a budai várban”, p. 30–31; Gy. Balanyi, “Középkori magyar úrnapiak”, p. 299; On the master of ceremony, Péter Korlátkövi see T. Neumann, *A Korlátkövi család története és politikai szereplése a 15–16. században* [The Korlátkövi family. The history of a respectable family and its political role in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], Győr 2007, p. 55–82. On the court of Louis II see J. Főgel, *II. Lajos udvartartása, 1516–1526* [The court of Louis II, 1516–1526], Budapest 1917, p. 19–69, 94–129; for the even more urgent anti-Ottoman efforts see I. Zombori, “The Jagiello-Habsburg attempt at war against the Ottomans in 1523. Based on Chancellor K. Szydłowiecki’s diary”, in: I. Zombori (ed.), *Fight against the Turk in Central-Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century*, p. 147–153.

⁴⁷ For the ceremonial activities and contributions of Corpus Christi brotherhoods in late medieval Hungary see J. Majorossy, “A polgári térhasználat elemei a késő-középkori Pozsonyban” [The civic use of urban space in late medieval Pozsony], *Urbs. Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv IV.* (2009), 73–97, especially 86–92 (Pozsony) and G. Seiwert, “Die Bruderschaft des heiligen Laichnams in Hermannstadt”, p. 330–336 (Nagyszeben). Although the confraternities in both towns played a crucial role, in the case of Pozsony the procession had a circumambulatory format with integrating itinerary, while the one in Nagyszeben belonged most probably to the linking type. Therefore, the dominant position of the local Corpus Christi brotherhood could be expressed in both ways.

the different phases, the organizing initiative, the political content, the ways of participation and the spatial dimensions receive now special attention. Starting with the first two points, the known Sigismund-era venerations of the Eucharist were monarchical events of international high politics, where the processions providing sacral aura to secular arrangements could build consensus (1412), mobilize against the Hussites (1424) and propagate the union of the Greek and Roman Christian churches (1424). The narrative sources emphasized the active participation of all secular and ecclesiastical dignities (princes, kings, envoys etc.), while at least once the papal legate himself led the sacral procession. Presumably, the population of the capital was not prohibited to take part either *en masse* or via its representatives. As most important spatial landmarks served the Church of Our Lady and the palaces with the ceremonial foreground area, however, the specific route of the circumambulatory format is still to be reconstructed (see Figure 1). It is a question for further investigation whether the march only connected the Church of Our Lady with the royal residential zone, or the Church of St Mary Magdalene was also integrated in the itinerary. The festive acts in 1440 once more showed an active participation of high dignitaries, while the secular content of the feast was bound to national politics through the forthcoming election of a new king.

In the late 1480s international politics, especially war and peace again contributed to the secular agenda of the celebrations, but an important element changed in the above-described main patterns. According to the narrative and visual evidence (see Figure 2), the king and his closest circle were transformed into majestic spectators posing on a lavishly decorated scaffold/tribune, while the participants of the Corpus Christi procession showed homage to them. Still keeping the circumambulatory format this significant modification convincingly supports the formerly presented phenomenon of an expanding royal residential *urbanitas* in fifteenth-century Buda. The Italian humanist describing the events in 1489 explained the change with the health condition of the king, however, the mid-1490s account books of his successor also reported the use of a royal scaffold/podium. Thus, the new celebrating mode became an established, though not universal feature of the ceremony. In 1501 e. g. the king actively processed with the sacral march, which again blessed a political and military alliance and propagated through a special theatrical ritual not only the royal authority, but also the passionately hoped success of an international anti-Ottoman co-operation. Although lacking such an ambitious agenda, the Corpus Christi festivities in 1525 and 1526 once more highlighted the special role of the royal sphere with the monarch observing the festive march from a podium functioning as one of the stations, while the members of the royal court marched with the relics, crosses and pictures belonging to the royal chapel.

Conclusion

Emphasizing the special academic attention dedicated to urban festive culture, especially Corpus Christi processions in Western and Central European towns was meant to highlight how little is known about this segment of medieval life in the former kingdom of Hungary. This hiatus is even more striking since the Hungarian capital Buda was one of the few dually capital and residential cities in Eastern Central Europe, which group represented a special type of late medieval urbanisation. Therefore, the analysis of the festive and processional culture of this city promised not only to expand the frontiers of European urban history to a less known region, but also to explore whether this specific urban context led to some extent to special features in the local ceremonial traditions. In order to put Buda under comparative academic scrutiny, first and fore-

most key aspects of the Western and Central European veneration of the Eucharist, especially the cultural and political functions of Corpus Christi processions were briefly characterized.

Although both the feast of the Host and the processions honouring it originated from ecclesiastical circles, in the rapidly expanding urban contexts the new cult not only became very popular, but in a large number of towns this even led to strong civic authority over the organization and the march itself. Furthermore, in some urban communities even the founding act derived from a wealthy burgher or the town council. Having analysed in some significant cases the staging and processional mode in respect of civic control, participation and spatial form, three special patterns turned out to be exceptionally representative. The initiative of a powerful patrician authority tended to result in a limited route (short and linear) and exclusive participating group (clerics and the political elite). The founding and organizing role of a (semi-) open urban leadership could lead to an inclusive circle of participants and an integrating, territorial itinerary. As a third type, the initiating and controlling activity of a special Corpus Christi brotherhood provided for its members an exclusive position even in the most integrating marches, while the route often showed similarity with the linear, linking type. Nevertheless, as seen in the case of Nuremberg, the presence and influence of an external secular power could immediately overwrite even long-established and carefully controlled local traditions. As the case study of Buda clearly demonstrated, the permanent presence of a royal residence not only could produce moderate changes, but led to an entirely different *urbanitas* showing specific processional patterns.

The later capital and residential city of Hungary, however, was originally by no means a territory of solely royal influence, which feature made even more expressive the transformation into a semi-civic urban terrain. As a consequence of a series of crucial changes the civic and predominantly German urban community became a multifariously segmented local society by the mid-fifteenth century (see Figure 1). Not only had the Hungarian population reached governmental parity, but downtown Buda went through a spatial and ecclesiastical segregation, while through a new residential area an extended royal power zone was established within the fortified inner town (*castrum*). The permanent presence of the court brought the transformation even further, since it attracted various dignitaries, noblemen and their servants to live in the capital, which phenomenon also contributed to the weakening of the originally civic *urbanitas*. As a consequence of the Ottoman conquest almost all sources relating to the original civic processional mode in Buda perished. Concerning the residential festive culture (royal entries and departures, pompous parades etc.) in general, the main organizing power was the royal court, but the participation showed a significant inclusivity. This openness, however, was addressed not exclusively to the civic community, but to the above-mentioned extended urban society (burghers, clerics, noblemen, the Jews etc.). Accordingly, the staging of ceremonies primarily emphasized the residential feature of the fortified inner town. Nonetheless, the intensive utilization of the St George's Square and the Church of Our Lady provided a certain level of spatial inclusivity.

The analysis of the well-documented fifteenth-sixteenth century Corpus Christi processions in Buda on the one hand highlighted the above-described features of the new, residential *urbanitas*. On the other, it even explored the complexity of festive marches venerating the Host. Applying the features of the earlier presented three processional modes, the Corpus Christi confraternity of the German parish church played presumably an important organizing role from the beginning. Not denying its other potential significance, the transformation into a residential city definitely required a crucial role for royal intentions, especially when the monarch was in the capital during the festivities in person. In this respect the civic authorities most probably lost not all their influence, but the new *urbanitas* of the capital delegated important organizing functions to the court. Thus, the secular agenda of the processions transferred into the feast, beyond the propagation of royal power, important themes of either national or even international

high politics. These topics could focus on building diplomatic consensus (1412), propagating the union of the Greek and Roman Christian churches (1424), strengthening the position of a prospective king (1440), celebrating peace after wartime (1489) and mobilizing against the Hussites (1424) and Ottomans (1501).

Concerning the features of participation, the sources are desperately laconic on the role of the urban masses. However, their presence was sometimes (1480s) at least indirectly indicated and the complete lack of active civic participation is highly improbable. In contrast to this uncertainty, the related reports and chronicles almost always emphasized the marching of Hungarian and foreign secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries (princes, kings, diplomats etc.). Illustrating this international character the processions were sometimes (e. g. in 1424 and 1501) even led by high ranking cardinals as delegates of the pope, while the king of Hungary also took part in the festive march in person. This latter pattern changed considerably by the late 1480s. Although not exclusively, but by this time the ruler and his closest circle tended, during the procession, to transform into majestic spectators receiving homage from the marchers (see Figure 2). This crucial change made the monarch's dignity even more evident and considerably contributed to the royal residential *urbanitas* of the capital.

Finally, turning to the spatial aspects of the Corpus Christi festivities, the most significant landmarks in Buda were definitely the Church of Our Lady and the palaces with their foreground area (see Figure 1). As early as the mid-1420s the procession had a circumambulatory format, however, the precise route is still to be investigated. Either connected the festive march the afore-mentioned church, serving both the king and the German parish, with the royal zone, or the northern, Hungarian part of downtown Buda was also integrated in the itinerary. The first interpretation would even more strongly highlight the role of the Church of Our Lady and its Corpus Christi confraternity, while the second option would support the tendency of a growing Hungarian civic and noble influence in the inner town. Either way, the route was an integrative one connecting the two major components of the new *urbanitas*, the civic and the royal. Thus, in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Buda the processional veneration of the Eucharist repeatedly propagated the royal political power, which during the ceremony temporarily managed to transfer a fragmented urban society into a festive community. Further investigations on e. g. Vienna, Prague and Cracow could doubtless help ascertain, whether the latter processional mode was due to the local context of Buda, or to the residential function of a late medieval Central European capital.

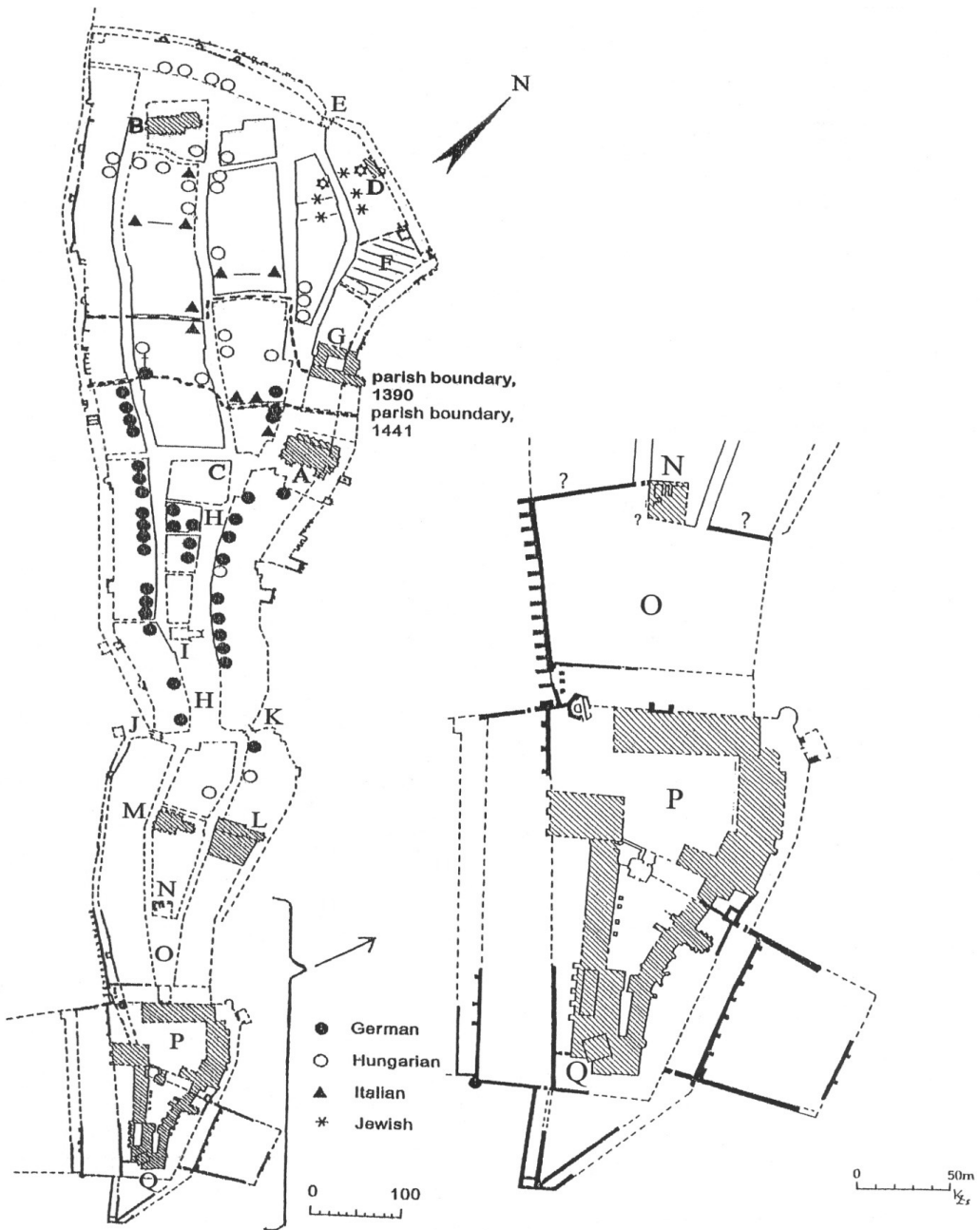


Figure 1 The castrum of Buda in the early sixteenth century

Legend: **A:** Church of Our Lady; **B:** Church of St Mary Magdalene; **C:** Town Hall; **D:** Synagogue; **E:** Saturday Gate; **F:** former *Kammerhof*; **G:** Dominican Friary; **H:** St George's Square; **I:** St George's Chapel; **J:** Jewish Gate; **K:** St John's Gate; **L:** Franciscan Friary; **M:** Church of St Mary and St Sigismund; **N:** "Fresh" Palace; **O:** *Samethof / theatrum arcis*; **P:** Royal Palace; **Q:** Stephen's Tower; Adapted from the maps in A. Végh, "Buda: The Multi-ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary", in: D. Keene – B. Nagy – K. Szende (eds.), *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, Farnham 2009, p. 95–96 and A. Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza. II.* [The medieval topography of the town of Buda II.], Budapest 2008, p. 341.

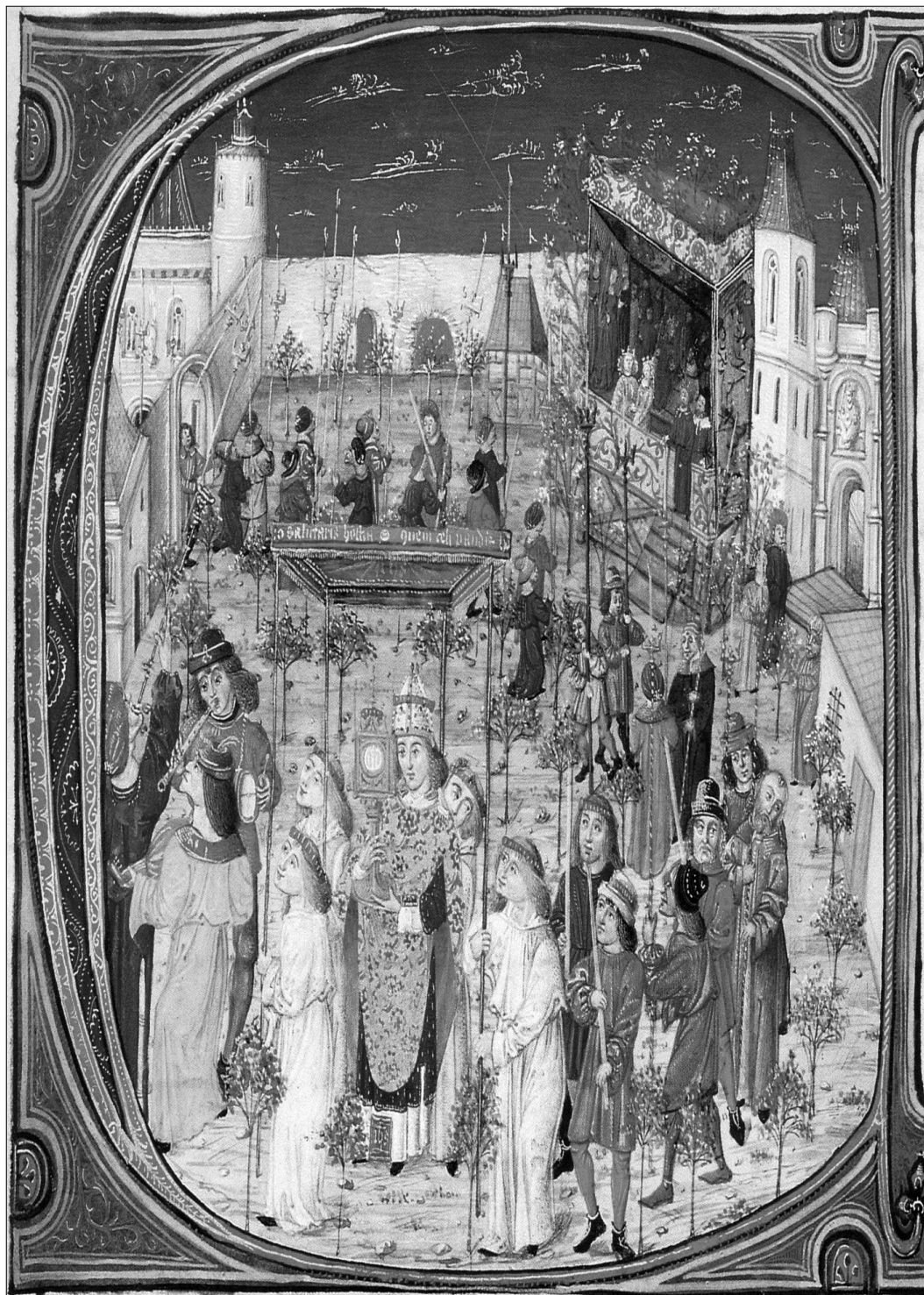


Figure 2 Corpus Christi procession

In: Matthias Gradual. Cod. Lat. 424. 69v, National Széchényi Library, Budapest. See in Zs. Rappai (ed.), *Mátyás-Graduale* [Matthias Gradual], Budapest 2007, p. 109. Published with the kind permission of the National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

Jitka Mašátová

Three Men of Sofie Podlipská in the Role of Fathers: Rott's, Podlipský's and Vrchlický's Fatherhood as reflected in the Ego-Documents of their Friends and Families¹

Abstract | In the 19th century the spheres of man's and woman's competences were formed into an increasingly sharper opposition – the public sphere was meant for man, the private one was meant for woman. Whereas male identity was shaped rather by the outer world – achievements in job or the army, in the functions and ranks, man's relationship toward family was less imminent. However, besides his activities in the public domain, father was an active and indispensable part of family life too. The main goal of the paper is thus to analyze the forms and character of fatherhood in the Rott, Podlipský and Vrchlický families, and to discuss their fatherhood identities in the context of domestic sphere, but also beyond it, i. e. in the context of relationships toward the outer world. The analysis is based on ego-documents (memoirs, correspondence and private diaries) coming from the Rott, Podlipský and Vrchlický families and their friends.

Fatherhood, identity, Czech bourgeoisie, Jaroslav Vrchlický, Josef Podlipský, Eustach Rott, ego-documents

.....

*“A bank, a river, a port. My Mum is walking toward my Dad. My nursemaid puts me on the ground. I can recognize him among others. His walk is more swaying and on his waistcoat there is a pendant on a chain, the tinkling sound of which can be heard at a distance. He has just noticed me. He opens his arms and squats down. I am running, almost losing balance – now he holds me, now he's got me...”*² By these words, Eva Vrchlická, Czech actress and the second daughter of an outstanding 19th century Czech writer and poet Jaroslav Vrchlický, starts her memoirs of her father, called very simply *Dětství s Vrchlickým* (Childhood with Vrchlický). This little fragment belongs among her earliest childhood memoirs and suggests the emotional basis of their mutual father-daughter relationship: the girl's affection to her father when she seeks him, finds him and runs towards him helter-skelter, just to gain the shelter of his arms – to describe the feeling of security the father gives to his (balance-losing) daughter, Eva Vrchlická strengthens the first expression (“*he holds me*”) by adding almost a possessive one (“*he's got me*”); the emotions the father feels to his daughter are obvious, but what is even more important, they are expressed physically and

¹ The text presented here comes out of the research made in the framework of „Construction of Masculine Identity in the Ego-Documents from 16th to mid-20th Centuries“ project, GA ČR 404/09/0970.

² “Břeh, řeka, přístav. Maminka jde naproti tatínkovi. Chůva mě staví na zem. Poznávám ho mezi jinými lidmi. Má houpavější chůzi a na vestě mu poskakuje řetízek, který cinká na mnoho kroků. Teď mě spatřil. Rozvívá náruč a přisedá do dřepu. Utíkám, pozbývám rovnováhy – už mě drží, už mě má...” E. Vrchlická, *Dětství s Vrchlickým* [Childhood with Vrchlický], Praha 1947, p. 9.

openly – he opens his arms to embrace her, to touch her, to offer her a support, a protection...; at the same time, he squats down, suggesting an entrance into the child world of hers...

Childhood and its metamorphosis in the 19th century, nurturing and educating children in this period as well as children-parents relationships have been attracting the attention of historians since the 1960s, with the middle-class milieu as a common centre of their interest. For it is especially in the middle-class milieu where one can trace the significant changes in the family models, roles of family members as well as in their mutual relationships affected by the so-called “separation of spheres”. It is also the middle class where gender roles were to a large extent polarized and man’s and woman’s competences were formed into a sharper and sharper opposition – the public sphere was meant for man, whereas the private one was meant for woman. Man was the breadwinner with his major task to earn a living for his family, whereas a woman found her tasks in the household and childcare. Even though man is the head of the household and its official representative in the outer world, the woman actually becomes the central figure of the private sphere, the guardian angel of the domesticity, of its comfort and peace. Motherhood is what defines full womanhood and woman is connected mainly with her mother role.³

On the other hand, father, who, until mid-eighteenth century, used to be much more involved in child nurturing and everyday family life, is now forced to spend more and more time in the factory or in the office, i. e. out of the household and out of the family. The physical absence of father in the family, the transmission of the household-connected tasks onto the woman, the growing influence of the ideology of motherhood, all that put father figure slightly aside in the end. In terms of research, the situation is complicated by the fact that, as woman is the dominant figure of the domestic sphere, a lot of attention has been paid to motherhood and child-mother relationship. Likewise, feminist historians dealing with the position of woman in the family and society have focused on mother and her role in child education.⁴ Thus, despite the fact that a lot of attention has already been paid to the revision of the separated sphere theory,⁵ historical research of family life and child education still focuses predominantly on maternity and mother figure, often leaving aside the father. However, besides his activities in the public domain, father was an active and indispensable part of family life too. He had his duties to fulfil in the household, he participated in family rituals. According to 18th century science, woman was described as a biologically different being than man, which resulted into characterizing her abilities and competences as distinct from the ones of man. The woman-man relationship was not based on equality, but on complementarity.⁶ And it is just in the domestic sphere where the complementarity of man and woman, mother and father, as well as the division of the tasks assigned to each gender were supposed to be most functional and typical.

Despite the fact that the 19th century was dominated by the motherhood ideology and that fatherhood was less talked about, fatherhood formed an integral part of masculine identity and

³ For more see e.g. G. Bock, *Ženy v evropských dějinách. Od středověku po současnost* [Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart], Praha 2007; J. Goody, *Proměny rodiny v evropské historii* [The European Family], Praha 2006.

⁴ T. L. Broughton – H. Rogers, “Introduction: The Empire of the Father”, in: T. L. Broughton – H. Rogers (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*, New York 2007, p. 6–7.

⁵ To mention only some of them: M. J. Boxer – J. H. Quataert (eds.), *Connecting Spheres. European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present*, Oxford 2000; T. L. Broughton – H. Rogers (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*; E. Gordon – G. Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain*, New Haven 2003; etc.

⁶ L. Abrams, *Zrození moderní ženy. Evropa 1789–1918* [The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789–1918], Brno 2005, p. 26–34.

functioned as a confirmation of man's virility.⁷ The question to ask is what meanings fulfilled the term "fatherhood". How was father supposed to participate in everyday family life? What was his place in the inter-family relations? What characterized his relationship to his children and how did he demonstrate it? How and to what extent was he included in children's nurture and education? In what aspects did his parenting role differ from the one of mother? And also, was the education aspect formative to the fatherhood identity? On the basis of which features does man build up his fatherhood identity? To find answers to these questions, this paper analyzes ego-documents coming from three generations of a 19th-century Czech bourgeois family, more specifically from the original family of Sofie Podlipská (i. e. Rott family), her own family formed in the marriage with Josef Podlipský, and the family of their daughter Ludmila, who married Jaroslav Vrchlický, Czech writer and poet. The main aim of the paper is thus to analyze the forms and character of fatherhood in the Rott, Podlipský and Vrchlický families, and to discuss their fatherhood identities in the context of the domestic sphere, but also beyond it, i. e. in the context of relationships toward the outer world. It should be emphasized that these particular fatherhood models could not be inherited, for the referring points are female members of the family. The analysis is based on eight memoirs⁸, two large correspondence corpuses⁹ and two private diaries written by Sofie Podlipská for her children. All of the analyzed ego-documents' authors belonged to Czech intellectual elites and a vast majority of them were artists, mainly writers. Out of the memoirs' authors, only Božena Frídová (wife of Bedřich Frída) and Milada Čáповá-Vrchlická (daughter of Jaroslav Vrchlický) were not active writers.

Sofie Podlipská-Rottová (1833–1897) was born to the family of Eustach Rott, a descendant of Bohemian-Brethren-faith followers, and Anna Rottová-Vogelová, coming from a Prague German family. Sofie was the second child born into the family, following a three-year older daughter Johanna, who, later on, became one of the most famous 19th-century Czech female writers using the artistic name Karolina Světlá. The family background was Czech-German and it was mainly thanks to the father, Eustach Rott, that both of the daughters, when adult, belonged to the Czech national circles. Or, at least, this is the picture of their father which both sisters offer in the memoirs of their childhood.¹⁰ Eustach Rott as father is presented by both sisters in two fundamental and unique ways. First, he is a loving and beloved father; second he is a very intelligent, contemplative man who is well-versed in literature and philosophy and who opens to his children the rich world of cognition, and, what is even more important, who is their guide in the realm of Czech history. When constructing the image of their father, both female writers were at the age of about 40 years old. As adult women and ardent defenders of Czech national interests, they created an image of man who may have served as an ideal of Czech fatherhood.

Eustach Rott's characteristics emphasized by his daughters were, first and foremost, his love to the Czech language and Czech history: he suffered when he had to acquire German at the family of his first employer;¹¹ he was tortured by the clash between his original family who recognized Jan Hus's tradition and refused to celebrate St. John of Nepomuk, and his mother-in-law who supported Catholic tradition and declared that the Czech nation was not mature and able to

⁷ For more e.g. J. Tosh, *A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, New Haven – London 2007, p. 79–80; S. M. Frank, *Life With Father. Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*, Baltimore – London 1998.

⁸ Six of them have been edited and published, two of them are deposited in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature [LA PNP].

⁹ One corpus coming from Sofie Podlipská's family, the other one from Jaroslav Vrchlický's family.

¹⁰ See S. Podlipská, *Povídka o mně* [A Story about Myself], Praha n.d.; K. Světlá, "Upomínky" [Memories], in: *Z literárního soukromí I*, Praha 1959, p. 93–235.

¹¹ S. Podlipská, *Povídka o mně*, p. 28–32; K. Světlá, *Upomínky*, p. 138–139.

reach the level of other nations.¹² In the framework of the Bohemian-Brethren tradition, he never longed for money and the true values to him were humanity, inner happiness and contentment.¹³ Even though he didn't obtain any systematic education, he liked learning and disposed of rich and profound knowledge.¹⁴ Eventually, it was also him, who promised to his daughters to find for them a teacher of the Czech language. Rott's family background and his personal values clearly correspond to what was perceived as the true core of the Czech nation, in the context of which it is not surprising that the sisters present their father in this perspective. Both of them also refer to his influence as to the crucial moments in their childhood. They focus on the description of walks in Prague which their father used as an extraordinary and indispensable opportunity to teach his daughters the history of Prague and the Czech nation, and on presenting their father as the chief educational authority in the family.¹⁵

The educational authority, however, refers rather to the role of rational instructor. In the eyes of his daughters, Rott as father represents the spiritual and moral head of his family, based on his personal virtues and worldview. Educational authority in terms of day-to-day preparation of children for their future roles relies to a large extent on the mother who is, in the memoirs, reflected as the one who led the children to diligence, neatness and obedience. It was the mother who insisted on regularity, order, cleanliness and respect for rules. Podlipská is grateful to her mother for teaching her liveliness, agility and decisiveness.¹⁶ This role division seems to be also caused by a very pragmatic reason, and that is the absence of father at home. As the breadwinning duties led Eustach Rott out of the household for a considerable part of the day, the educational responsibility was transmitted onto his wife. However, what is important to point out is that the mother is described absolutely within the framework of typical 19th-century motherly characteristics, i. e. as a caring mother, whereas the presented picture of the father is idealized, emphasizes the instructing role as decisive for future careers of his daughters, and portrays the father as a loving parent with a strong attachment to his family. Not only does Rott openly express his delight when the first daughter is born – which Světlá considers important enough to highlight, especially because she was the first child and not very pretty – but he uses every opportunity to spend his free time with children.¹⁷ To Rott, family was of the highest value and he considered family to be the core institution for education and transmission of norms and morality. He perceived any failures in young people's lives as a failure of their family who hadn't fulfilled its function. Eustach Rott thus emerges as a man who constitutes his fatherhood identity – besides breadwinning for his family – mainly on the educational aspect and on his role as spiritual and moral head of the family. And that holds true despite the national context which frames the narratives of his two daughters about 30 years later.

The role of rational instructor and spiritual head of the family seems to persist as a constitutive aspect of the fatherhood identity also in the next generation, in Sofie Rottová's own family. In the middle of the 1850s she becomes closer to Josef Podlipský (1816–1867), an excellent Prague physician and family doctor of the Rotts, and at the same time she enters, together with her sister, the intellectual circles of Czech society. A few years later, in 1858, amorous Sofie gets married to Josef Podlipský and starts living her nine years of happiness with her beloved husband and their two children, son Prokop (born in 1859) and daughter Ludmila (called Mimi, born in 1861).

¹² K. Světlá, *Upomínky*, p. 126.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ S. Podlipská, *Povídka o mně*, p. 33.

¹⁵ K. Světlá, *Upomínky*; S. Podlipská, *Povídka o mně*, p. 36.

¹⁶ S. Podlipská, *Povídka o mně*, p. 24–27.

¹⁷ K. Světlá, *Upomínky*, p. 128–130.

However, Podlipský's profession often took him out of the home. Doing his job of physician, Podlipský was visiting his patients and tied to Prague. Thus, he was separated from his wife and children not only in the everyday life when he worked outside the domestic sphere, but also when his family enjoyed the summer stays outside the city, spending them usually either in the summer resorts in the surroundings of Prague, or at the family of Podlipský's sister Marie in Loučová (near Sušice in the foothills of the Šumava mountains). Consequently, for a substantial part of the year, Podlipský came to see his family only for weekends and kept in touch with them via correspondence. According to Tosh's typology, he could be assessed as an *absent father* in the summer seasons.¹⁸

Yet, his fatherly authority is obviously kept even in the times of separation. The bond between the father and his children is nourished by the letters exchanged with a strict regularity. If the father does not write a personal letter to the children, he writes to their mother what message she should pass to them, by means of which he maintains the linkage with his family and children and strengthens his position of father. Following quite traditional patterns known also from the Rotts, Podlipský as a father fulfilled the role of rational instructor. He showed the children the world and was ready to answer every curious question they asked him. Prokop even writes his questions into the letters and his father uses the same means to answer.¹⁹ However, at this place it is important to stress also the educational role of Sofie. As she was a well-read woman, she spent a lot of time reading to the children and telling them various stories. Both of the parents, defenders of Czech national interests, then used only Czech as a communication language in the family and taught children Czech history. Interestingly, Podlipský represents a spiritual authority to Sofie too. More particularly, she acknowledges him as a spiritual guide and teacher among others, also in the field of childcare. No doubt Podlipský belonged to the educated people of those days and as a physician, was also well-acquainted with new trends in child-rearing. Thus, it was Podlipský, the father, who, as the first one, noticed two new teeth of their son Prokop.²⁰ Likewise, Sofie Podlipská notes in the diary that she has stopped putting on Prokop's shoes at home, for his father, Josef Podlipský, believes it is healthy for his feet. She adds she trusts him in these issues.²¹

In the rich correspondence between him and his family, Podlipský also acts as the didactic and strict parent. In the letters exchanged with his wife Sofie in August 1863, they discuss Mimi (their daughter Ludmila) and the progress she has made in learning first words and speaking. Mimi does not want to learn to speak and Josef Podlipský is getting angry: *"...let Milina learn at least a word or two in Loučová, otherwise she will fall into the most severe disfavour of her father."*²² *"Doesn't Milina still speak? I'm really not going to let her cross the threshold of the house, if she doesn't know at least one new word than before leaving Prague."*²³ On the other hand, the letters of Sofie to her husband suggest her softness and sometimes almost uncritical admiration of her children. Thus, while Sofie represents the emotional mother, praising and supporting her children all the time, Josef represents the discipline and educational authority. He sets the

¹⁸ J. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 93–95.

¹⁹ E. g. Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature [LA PNP], Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Josef Podlipský, 13 July 1864.

²⁰ LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Manuscripts, Prokop's diary.

²¹ Ibid.

²² *"...ať Milina alespoň jednomu slovu neb dvěma se přiučí na Loučové, sic upadne u Svého otce Josefa Podlipského v největší nemilost."* LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Josef Podlipský, 21 August 1863.

²³ *"Ještě nemluví Milina? Já jí opravdu nepustím přes práh, když nebude uměti aspoň o jedno slovo více, než-li když vyjela z Prahy."* LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Josef Podlipský, 28 August 1863.

rules and insists on keeping them, while his wife tends to fulfil every wish of her children and to excuse any faults or imperfections in them. This attitude to her children becomes even more visible after Podlipský's death and is critically evaluated by some of her contemporaries who perceive it as Podlipská's failure in child education.²⁴ What Sofie's father considered one of the most important family missions, is eroded after Podlipský's death, for with the father figure leaves also the discipline, strictness and obedience which Podlipská has difficulty replacing. Even for their daughter Ludmila, strictness and discipline are connected with father's education: when admitting to her husband Jaroslav Vrchlický a long-lasting love affair with Jakub Seifert, actor of the National Theatre in Prague, she remembers her father's education: "*The day after tomorrow, when it is a silent place, I will go to take an oath of my commitment to the grave of my father whose firm education could have bring me such an enormous happiness.*"²⁵

However, the authority and discipline which Podlipský represents in the family deny, by no means, an emotional relationship with his wife and children. Podlipská writes in the diary how much her husband feared for Ludmila when she was ill.²⁶ In the letters, he expresses the affections he feels for the children and how much he misses them.²⁷ When he gets peaches from the grandmother, he would like to give them to his children first.²⁸ The deep sentiments to his children are also depicted in the letter written after Podlipský's death by his sister Marie to the widow. Marie emphasizes how important the family and the children were to him and that during his last visit he kept speaking only about the happiness that the family meant for him. Especially Mimi was his beloved.²⁹ Also his attempt to protect his family, especially from worries, can be interpreted as another proof of his love for the family. Thus, for example, he didn't like informing Sofie about his financial or health troubles. On the other hand, it is necessary to also take into account the period discourse after the mid-19th century which is rich in expressing emotions toward children, and the proliferating advice literature – the outstanding example of which are the works of Podlipská herself³⁰ – doesn't exclude men as fathers. Yet, Podlipský's will to openly declare his affection toward the children signals that to him, the true fatherhood identity does not lie only in instruction and guidance, but also in the emotional attachment to the children. Interestingly enough, his correspondence suggests that he declared his affection toward the children in letters to his relatives (e. g. his sister and her family) or his wife, however, he kept rather the position of educational authority in the passages meant for Prokop and Mimi.

After his unexpected death in 1867, Sofie Podlipská took up the breadwinning role and launched into writing with even more efforts, to provide for her children and also to pay for debts her husband left to her. At the beginning of the 1870s, she meets Emil Frída (1853–1912), a twenty-year younger poet right at the beginning of his career, using the artistic name Jaroslav Vrchlický. Initially, quite rare and rather formal encounters transformed into a very close friendship, especially between 1875 and 1876 during Vrchlický's stay in Italy. Podlipská finds the right way to comfort Vrchlický's fragile and young soul, full of inner struggles and lacking artistic

²⁴ LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Bedřich Frída, Memoirs, p. 52; LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Božena Frídová, My Memoirs, p. 6–9.

²⁵ "Půjdu pozejtří, kdy tam ticho bude, složit slib věrnosti k povinnosti své na hrob otce svého, jehož pevné vychování mohlo mně získati takové ohromné štěstí." LA PNP, Collection Jaroslav Vrchlický, Correspondence received from Ludmila Vrchlická, n.d.

²⁶ LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Manuscripts, Ludmila's diary.

²⁷ LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Josef Podlipský, 22 June 1865.

²⁸ Ibid., 4 September 1863.

²⁹ LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Marie Gabrielová-Podlipská, 26 September 1867.

³⁰ S. Podlipská, *Příklady z oboru vychovacího I–III* [Models from the Educational Field I–III], Praha 1974–1975.

self-confidence; she knows how to encourage, support, how to express sympathy. The relationship, oscillating between the most intimate friendship and a platonic love, ends up by Podlipská's decision to introduce Vrchlický to his daughter. With a considerable contribution from Podlipská herself, her daughter and Vrchlický fall in love and marry in 1879. The initial happiness, reaching its peak in 1883 in the birth of their first daughter, Milada, isn't to last for a long time. The rupture comes in 1892 when Ludmila, after being forced by the circumstances, admits to her husband not only a love affair with Jakub Seifert, but also the fact that Seifert is actually the father of their two younger children, Eva and Jaroslav (in the family called Slávek). Despite the harsh impact of the truth on the marriage, the mutual relationship of Ludmila and Vrchlický as well as on Vrchlický himself, Jaroslav Vrchlický, stating that "*children are not to blame*"³¹, decides to remain the father of all three children...

At the very introduction of this paper, an emotional relationship of Vrchlický to his small daughter Eva has been suggested. His sincere love to all his children confirms also Albert Pražák, Vrchlický's friend and aide in his literary work, a frequent guest to the family. "*The depth of his love to them is reflected in his poetry, in some of his most tender poems. ... His love to each of them was different, determined actually by their peculiar and distinct nature.*"³² Vrchlický's poems represent one of the best confirmations of the recognition Vrchlický had for the age of childhood and of the important role his children played in his life. The children and their innocence, often put into context with innocent nature, help him to overcome the sorrows of everyday living and bring happiness into the marriage.³³ His oldest daughter Milada describes a family ritual: every night Vrchlický used to work in his study room. Before going to bed, the children came to tell him good night and he kissed them one after another. One night, touched by the moment and sentiments, he wrote to them a poem: "*My children, one after another, / Come in the evening to give me goodnight. / All of a sudden, my pen is slow, the rhyme falls silent /, now I behold, / my whole big world, how small it is!*"³⁴ Even Bedřich Frída, Vrchlický's brother, confirms the sincere affection of Vrchlický felt for all his children. In his memoirs, otherwise full of hostility that Frída felt toward Sofie Podlipská and her daughter Ludmila (his sister-in-law), for he accused them of irreparably spoiling the life of his brother (Podlipská for rousing Vrchlický's interest in his daughter who was not a suitable woman for him; Ludmila for exposing Vrchlický to an endless suffering caused by her infidelity), Frída comments on his brother's relationship to Eva and Slávek, his illegitimate children. He mentions the well-known Vrchlický's sentence that "*children are not to blame*" as well as his decision to keep on living with the family. At the same time, Frída admits: "*He didn't like hearing someone speak about them [the children] badly, he always defended them. He loved both of them and even devoted some of his poems to them, at that time very sincere.*"³⁵ Indeed, in the mirror of his literary works as well as of the memories of his friends and contemporaries, Vrchlický represent a very emotional and devoted father, cherishing the deepest affection to his children. Also Sofie Podlipská, when writing a letter to her grand-

³¹ E. g. LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Božena Frídová, My Memoirs, p. 22.

³² "Jak je měl všecky rád, prokazuje jeho poesie některými svými nejněžnějšími básněmi. ... Lásku ke každému z těch tří byla jiná, určila ji opravdu jejich svérázná a odrůzněná podstata." A. Pražák, *Vrchlickému nablízku* [Close to Vrchlický], Praha 1945, p. 99.

³³ A. Pražák, *Vrchlickému nablízku*, p. 99; B. Balajka, *Jaroslav Vrchlický*, Praha 1979, p. 114.

³⁴ "Mé děti jedno za druhým / jdou večer, aby dobrou noc mi daly. Tu vážne péro, umlká rým, / tu jasně zřím, / můj celý veliký svět jak je malý!" M. Čápová-Vrchlická, "Dětské vzpomínky na Jaroslava Vrchlického" [Child's Memories of Jaroslav Vrchlický], *Literární rozhledy* XII (1927), p. 5.

³⁵ "Nerad slyšel, když o ně někdo jen slůvkem zavadil, vždycky je hájil – ba zamiloval si obě dvě – i mnohé verše jim věnoval, tehdyž jistě cítěné." LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Bedřich Frída, "Memoirs", p. 65.

daughter Milada, stresses that during his stay at her place, “He [Vrchlický] is thinking of you all the time, last night he spoke about you a lot.”³⁶

As the recent research in the history of childhood has shown, affectionate parents, i. e. also fathers, can be hardly interpreted as something exceptional in that period. However, what can be found less usual is a father expressing his emotions in a very open way. In his typology of fathers, John Tosh creates the category (actually quite a common one) of the distant father. “*The distant father exemplifies the ambivalence with which so many men viewed their paternal role. ... the emotional warmth and physical tenderness which young children so easily elicited from adults were confused with feminine softness and sensitivity. Fathers feared for their own manhood.*”³⁷ According to this typology of Tosh, Vrchlický can be hardly viewed as having a “distant” relationship towards his children. He should be rather classified as an *intimate father*. He demonstrated his sentiment and fatherly love not only orally, as it has been shown above, but also physically. In her memoirs, Eva Vrchlická mentions many a situation characterized by a physical closeness: Vrchlický cradled her in her arms, walked with her hand in hand, she liked sitting on his lap and plaiting his hair and beard, she even slept with him in his bed.³⁸ Even though Eva’s memory and presentation of Vrchlický’s behaviour precisely in this way might be slightly emphasized in order to prove Vrchlický’s affection even to her as an illegitimate child, it doesn’t necessarily deny the fact that Vrchlický belonged among “intimate” fathers. Besides, it is also worth noticing that in the circle of his friends and acquaintances, Vrchlický was proverbial for his affection and tenderness towards the children, and not only his children. This feature of his was usually interpreted positively,³⁹ which enables us to assume that at that time such a warm relationship with children was assessed as a quality, without threatening his masculinity. At the same time, after the crucial year of 1892, showing affection might have been also motivated by his attempt to demonstrate openly and in the public not only his decision to accept two children whose biological father was someone else, but also, that despite this fact, he was still able to feel an attachment to them. Yet again, it is not contradictory to the assumption stated above. If such behaviour could be considered inappropriate for a man, Vrchlický certainly wouldn’t like to threaten his position in society, already shattered by the infidelity of his wife. Although his status of a playwright and poet also endowed him with a special right to be a man of emotions, the positive evaluation of Vrchlický as an intimate father by his contemporaries suggests that this kind of behaviour was perceived as an appropriate part of fatherhood, at least among the intellectual bourgeoisie.

In society, Vrchlický was known as a very good and fun companion, which proves also Antonín Klášterský in his *Vzpomínky a portréty*.⁴⁰ He was the one who always brought funny objects and toys and created an amusing atmosphere for the others.⁴¹ In the same way he is also reflected in the correspondence of those days as well as in the memoirs of his daughter Eva. When Vrchlický’s family spent the summer time in Mlčehosty, in the countryside not far away from Prague, Ludmila informed her mother about everything they did via letters. Thus, she mentions the return of Vrchlický (who left the family time to time to spend some time in Prague or somewhere else, either to work or to visit his friends and family) who brought a new game

³⁶ “On vzpomíná na Vás stále, mnoho mluvil o Vás ještě včera večer.” LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence sent to Milada Čápková-Vrchlická, n. d.

³⁷ J. Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, p. 97.

³⁸ E. Vrchlická, *Dětství s Vrchlickým*, p. 36–37, 89.

³⁹ A. Pražák, *Vrchlickému nablízku*, p. 99–105; LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Bedřich Frída, “Memoirs”, p. 65.

⁴⁰ A. Klášterský, *Vzpomínky a portréty* [Memories and Portraits], Praha 1934.

⁴¹ B. Balajka, *Jaroslav Vrchlický*, p. 114.

for children and played with them for a long time.⁴² Elsewhere, she describes another family moment: “*Vrchlický was so cute and played with children various games. I couldn't stay aside... I played with them and we were so noisy that being in Prague, Mrs. Jenšovská would have thrown us out immediately and she would have been definitely right.*”⁴³ Likewise, Eva Vrchlická remembers how Vrchlický played with her and the children of Prokop Podlipský (Ludmila's brother) during a family visit.⁴⁴ Generally speaking, Vrchlický liked playing with children, which also enabled him to enter children's world. He even seemed to be more satisfied there – the world of childhood was the world of innocence, a world so much distant from the suffering and cruel realities of adulthood.

It is obvious that Vrchlický chose the playmate role, leaving a considerable part of the educational authority to his wife. Pražák remembers one of his visits to Vrchlický's family. He came to ask about school results of Slávek whom he helped with his studies. When he entered he could hear the irritated voice of Ludmila, angry with Slávek because of the final school grades. Pražák supported Ludmila, saying that Slávek must work even harder and improve his results. Then, Vrchlický came out of his study room and asked what happened. After having learned the news, he turned to Slávek and said: “*Don't worry, Sláveček! All's well that ends well. You have only four fives*⁴⁵, *I used to have six. And, after all, I am a Vrchlický!*”⁴⁶ Also Eva tells the story of having troubles at school, which were followed by an educational lesson given by Ludmila and subsequently by comforting the crying daughter by Vrchlický.⁴⁷ In his book⁴⁸, Stephen Frank concludes that in North America during the second half of the 19th century, playing with children was not anything exceptional. Actually, it was quite a common part of the father-child relationship, which went hand in hand with tender feelings and softened relationships of fathers to their children as well as with the ideology of home as a place of relaxation from the competing world of the public sphere. However, Frank also suggests that the role of children's playmate “*downgraded the father's child-rearing responsibility.*”⁴⁹ He argues that fathers might have afforded becoming children's playmates, for part of the educational authority was being transferred to public institutions, or to the responsibility of mothers who, at that time, spent less time playing with children than their husbands.⁵⁰ Such a shift in educational authority can also be noticed in the family of Vrchlický, although this case is rather specific, for it seems to be a matter of intent – accepting the statement of Bedřich Frída that to pull out from any educational authority and principal decisions concerning Eva and Slávek was Vrchlický's aim declared to his wife.⁵¹

Vrchlický's educational function within the family is thus limited to the role of rational instructor. He takes up the role of educator in terms of a guide in the world of cognition – a model close to what has been already shown in case of Sofie Podlipská's father. He makes trips with the

⁴² LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Ludmila Vrchlická-Podlipská, 22 July 1895.

⁴³ “Vrchlický byl tak roztomilý a hrál s dětmi všechny možné hry, tu jsem nemohla jako kakabus... a hrála jsem s nimi, byl z toho takový rámus, že by nás v Praze jistě pí Jenšovská na místě vyhodila a nemohli bychom proti tomu paníc namítat.” LA PNP, Collection Sofie Podlipská, Correspondence received from Ludmila Vrchlická-Podlipská, n. d.

⁴⁴ E. Vrchlická, *Dětství s Vrchlickým*, p. 94.

⁴⁵ Five – the worst school grade, meaning “failed”.

⁴⁶ “Ale nedělej si z toho, Slávečku, paníc! Konec vše napraví! Ty máš jen čtyři pětky, já jich míval až šest, nu, a jsem přece Vrchlický!” A. Pražák, *Vrchlickému nablízku*, p. 97.

⁴⁷ E. Vrchlická, *Dětství s Vrchlickým*, p. 109.

⁴⁸ S. M. Frank, *Life With Father*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135–138.

⁵¹ LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Bedřich Frída, “Memoirs”, p. 65–66.

children to the world of nature; he shows them the beauties of the country... When he returns back home from work or a journey, he always brings sweets, chocolates or toys to the children and his returns are typical demonstrations of the so-called threshold ritual, in which father's returns represent an expected event, accompanied and made pleasant by gifts brought by him.⁵² In his family, Vrchlický is accepted as an intellectual luminary whose taste, opinion, knowledge and skills are greatly appreciated. Consequently, his fatherly authority within the family is not constructed on discipline, sternness and strictness, but rather on the admiration of his intellectual spirit and the respect his personality has in the society. Proof of this kind of authority can be seen in the following example from a letter written by Slávek to his father, Jaroslav Vrchlický. In the letter, Slávek expresses his esteem for Vrchlický's literary capacities in the light of which his own literary attempts are of no value, or cannot even be compared: "*I live remembering and thinking of you, looking forward to seeing you again. I am looking forward to reading you my bad verses, to you scolding me and then accepting them, with the goodness of father and great poet...*"⁵³

Vrchlický's role as father is thus characterized by his spiritual leadership, which he is respected for, and affectionate relationship to the children, often ostentatiously demonstrated and mostly presented in the form of his playmate attitude. However, the fact that he explicitly denies educational authority over the illegitimate children, telling Ludmila to "*lead them and to bring them up to be good people*"⁵⁴, proves – and this is most important – that he considered the educational aspect to be an indispensable part of father's role. His intentional decision to withdraw from the educator's position suggests that choosing the way of preserving the marriage and accepting the two illegitimate children did not necessarily mean a full acceptance of the father's role, despite its demonstrations in the form of open expressions of emotions. In the context of these interpretations, his "intimate" fatherhood is actually less affectionate than the fatherhood of Podlipský who might be sometimes seen – from his children's point of view – rather as a "distant" father, not for his fear of the loss of virility when showing emotions, but for his more authoritative and strict attitudes to them. At the same time, the withdrawal from educational authority and moving the responsibility on someone else, i. e. on the mother, enabled Vrchlický to take up the role of playmate of his children, which offered him the opportunity to escape into the innocent world of childhood. Later on, when the children grew older and under the circumstances of Vrchlický's worsening health problems, Vrchlický slowly retreated even from those positions of his father role he had chosen to take up, and his relationship to Ludmila and the children became more hostile.⁵⁵

Last, but not least, the aspect of fatherhood identity, which cannot be omitted and which remains to be discussed, is the breadwinning role. Davidoff and Hall suggest that a man unable to provide for his family risked losing respect in the eyes of public as well as of his children.⁵⁶ However, as Marcin Filipowicz and Alena Zachová show in their study,⁵⁷ the Czech national movement and the education toward patriotism, emotional in itself, bring to the father's

⁵² J. R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making. Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*, Cambridge 2001, p. 193–195; J. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 83–84.

⁵³ "Žiji vzpomínaje a myslé na Tebe a těše se na naše shledání. Těším se na to, jak Ti budu číst své špatné verše, jak mě za ně vynadáš a jak je s dobrotou přijmeš, s dobrotou otce a velkého básníka..." LA PNP, Collection Jaroslav Vrchlický, Correspondence received from Jaroslav Vrchlický jr., n. d.

⁵⁴ LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Bedřich Frída, "Memoirs", p. 65.

⁵⁵ The gradual weakening of Vrchlický's relationship to the children as well as his fading interest in the family are described in Frída's Memoirs. LA PNP, Collection Bedřich Frída, Manuscripts, Bedřich Frída, "Memoirs", p. 64–66.

⁵⁶ L. Davidoff – C. Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*, London 1987, p. 334.

⁵⁷ M. Filipowicz – A. Zachová, *Rod v memoárech. Případ Hradec Králové*, Červený Kostelec 2009.

education an important emotional aspect, later on evaluated very positively by the children – as in this paper demonstrated the example of Sofie and her father Eustach Rott. Thus, in the context of Czech nationalism, it is highly interesting to notice that a respectable position in Czech society and belonging to the Czech national intellectual elites endowed a man with an authority which might compensate for his insufficient fulfilment of breadwinning role, otherwise considered as the primary husband and father's task. It has been already argued that in the case of the Vrchlický family, paternal respect was based on Vrchlický's intellectual qualities and his exceptional position in Czech culture – which was not weakened even by the fact that Vrchlický's income was unstable and that he invested a lot of money into literature and into the support of his colleagues and young talents, by reason of which Ludmila had to be thrifty and the family had troubles to live up to the standards which would correspond to its social position.⁵⁸ Likewise, Josef Podlipský didn't lose his respect, although he also didn't earn enough money and even indebted the family, so that after his death, Sofie had to work hard to earn a living and pay debts left to her by her husband.

The analyzed ego-documents coming from the families and friends of Rott's, Podlipský's and Vrchlický's fathers enable us to conclude on what foundations the fatherhood identities of these three members of the Czech 19th-century bourgeoisie were based. In all three cases, the fatherhood identity of the men is based on breadwinning, spiritual and intellectual guidance of the families, rational instruction of the offspring and affectionate relationship with the children. The educational authority the fathers represent in the families seems to be of high importance for the fatherhood identity itself – while praised and highly appreciated in the case of Eustach Rott and Josef Podlipský, endowing both men with a special position in the family, it is intentionally abandoned by Jaroslav Vrchlický when he learns of the illegitimacy of two of his children, and by doing so, he indirectly suggests that he is not going to carry out his father role fully. In contrast he prefers taking up the role of children's playmate. Thus, whereas Vrchlický may be assessed rather as a “fun Dad”, to use Gillis's terminology,⁵⁹ playing with children, enjoying the time with them and leaving the child-rearing responsibility to the mother, Podlipský represents an authoritative and guiding father who leads children to discipline. Even though neither he, nor Rott show their emotions so ostentatiously, their affection to the children is obvious from the expressions of emotional attachment, or from the time they devote to the children, usually introducing them into the world of cognition. The shift from educational authority toward a “fun Dad” as well as more and more open expressions of emotions may be also interpreted as a generational development, however, the specifics of Vrchlický's case prevent us from making a definite conclusion. The spiritual and intellectual guidance is typical of all three fathers and is especially appreciated by the children themselves – and that is for its patriotic character. The affiliation with the Czech nation, or in case of Vrchlický and Podlipský with the Czech national elite, endowed the father with a special respect based on his intellectual and social qualities, which might have even compensated – as we have seen – for falling behind in the breadwinning role. Even though, in some aspects, their fatherhood identities clearly reflect different period discourses, the analyzed examples of fatherhood prove how individual paternal experience was, depending on the man's character, social and cultural background and last but not least on life's peripety – for as the example of Vrchlický shows, the cornerstone of a man's personal life may change out of the blue.

⁵⁸ A. Klášterský, *Vzpomínky a portréty*, p. 331–345.

⁵⁹ J. R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making*, p. 193.

Viljenka Škorjanec

Parallel secret negotiations for the Osimo Agreement

Abstract | In her contribution the author analyses the turning points and conditionalities in Yugoslav-Italian relations, with emphasis upon the border issue after 1954 which, after strenuous negotiations, was successfully resolved in 1975 with the Osimo Agreement. After lengthy and ineffective diplomatic negotiations, the Italian side presented an initiative for parallel secret negotiations outside the institutionalised framework under the working title “second channel”, where the two countries excluded their foreign ministries from negotiations. This model can be used to resolve very complex interstate relations in all parts of the world where the ordinary path is not possible, and where the internal circumstances allow for it.

Border issue, Yugoslav-Italian relations, diplomatic negotiations, parallel second channel, secrecy, negotiation triad

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Introduction

In the history of (Yugoslav) Slovenian interstate relations with Italy (up to 1991), the complex of negotiations for the delimitation of the interstate border between Italy and Yugoslavia (1974–1975) related to the signing of the Osimo Agreement and its annexes (OA) represents the fifth and, for the time being, last chronological milestone.¹ This contribution focuses on the analysis of the negotiation process which, through the signing of contractual documents, led to the successful resolution of current open issues with neighbouring Italy. The origins of the negotiation constants that characterised the relation with neighbouring Italy in the 20th century go back as far as the year 1915, when, after signing the Pact of London, Italy joined the Entente forces and gained considerable advantages in later negotiations, and thereby represents a significant starting point for understanding Italy’s negotiating positions and its conduct in the twentieth century.²

¹ The discussion is based on original Yugoslav diplomatic documents that were given to the author for scientific purposes by the then Yugoslav Minister of External Affairs, Miloš Minić, and the authorised negotiator, Boris Šnuderl. Author’s personal archives (AVŠ), 256 documents are published in: V. Škorjanec, *Osinski pogajalski proces. I. Del: Uvodna sinteza pogajanj; II. Del: Diplomatska pogajanja 1973–1974*, Ljubljana 2006, p. 1–270 (VIRI 23); V. Škorjanec, *Osinski pogajalski proces. III. Del: Od Strmola do Osima 1974–1975*, Ljubljana 2007, p. 1–259 (VIRI 24); V. Škorjanec, *Osinski pogajalski proces. IV. Del: Jugoslovansko-italijanski odnosi po Osimu 1975–1980*, Ljubljana 2008, p. 1–231 (VIRI 25). On the Italian side documents of authorised negotiator Eugenio Carbone were not available to the author.

² J. Pirjevec, “Slovensko-italijanski odnosi od leta 1915 do danes”, *Annales* 8 (1996), p. 9; J. Pleterški, “Osimo v zgodovinski perspektivi soseščine Italijanov in Slovencev”, in: J. Pirjevec et al. (eds.), *Osimska meja*, Koper 2006, p. 44.

1947–1954

After the 1947 Treaty of Peace (TP), the Italian side accelerated emigration and encouraged the exodus of Italians from the territory that was transferred to Yugoslavia. Its intention was to focus the attention of the international public on the unjustly seized territory, and thus create a suitable atmosphere for its demand for the return of Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) to Italy. The pressures of “optanti” (Italians who chose to leave Yugoslavia) and reactionary circles in Trieste, boosted by neofascist propaganda, created a negative climate for negotiations with Yugoslavia among the Italian public. Italy’s disregard of contractual obligations is also evident in the London Memorandum of Understanding (LMOU) initialled in 1954, when it equivocated that the situation involving Zone B of FTT was only temporary and delayed final resolution of the border issue. It demanded further minor corrections along the border, which had already been clarified under TP. Italy gave assurances that its government *de facto* recognised the border under LMOU, but claimed it was necessary to *de iuri* find another legal name. At the same time, the Italians spread a myth about preserving their own sovereignty in Zone B of FTT, thus helping Italian public opinion accept LMOU more easily. Such actions were influenced primarily by border political structures, as well as the influences and conduct of Italian state bodies, in particular the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). The Italian Government in Rome also sought protection by political and diplomatic means, failing to present LMOU to its parliament for ratification.

The Italian administration, particularly MEA, prepared proposals for political parties and the Government in order to stall and delay resolution of the open border issue. The reason for this was that 10 years after losing the war, the Italians found it difficult to open wounds and renounce their rights in connection with FTT according to the theory of sovereignty. During this period, a number of secret meetings were held between diplomats on the level of special ambassadors, but with the sole purpose of demonstrating Italy’s ongoing negotiations with Yugoslavia. On the Yugoslav side, such conduct triggered doubts as to the trustworthiness of Italy’s intentions until the actual ratification of OA, with the same situation recurring upon Slovenia’s attainment of independence.

Package of eighteen points

The intervention of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and fear of Brezhnev’s doctrine led to the realisation that relations with Yugoslavia could become a crisis area in Europe. The Cold War, and particularly the advanced age of President Josip Broz Tito, contributed to the Italian Government’s decision that it was necessary to resolve all open issues with Yugoslavia. Consequently, in 1968 Italian Foreign Minister Giuseppe Medici proposed a package of eighteen points, under which the demarcation line as defined by LMOU would be transformed into a state border with territorial provisions.

Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Dubrovnik

The package of eighteen points³ was accepted as a negotiation platform for further dialogue at a meeting of ministers Medici and Minić held in Dubrovnik in March 1973. This represented a qualitative shift in interstate relations, with the Italian side suggesting that two mandataries be nominated in Dubrovnik in place of the previous experts, whose task would be to prepare

³ VIRI 23/D1, p. 76, Splošna izhodišča za morebitni globalni sporazum o odprtih vprašanjih med Jugoslavijo in Italijo, Rim 3. 10. 1968.

a draft of the final agreement. At the same time, concrete deadlines were fixed for the fulfilment of obligations.⁴

Parallel second channel

Alongside the official secret diplomatic channel, the two ministers privately agreed on another special, unofficial parallel channel for the secret negotiations of political mandataries as an alternative should the official secret diplomatic negotiations fail to progress. The political leadership of Italy, particularly the Christian Democratic Party (CD), wanted to use this other channel to establish direct dialogue parallel to the interstate relations directed by official diplomacy.

Although Minić had already assessed in Dubrovnik that the Italian initiative for the work of secret political negotiators was the only realistic option for reaching an agreement, the unproductive negotiations of diplomatic representatives continued until the end of 1973. Despite the expertise of its participants, the negotiations did not bear fruit, as the two mandataries were granted very narrow manoeuvring space by their governments, and so their work was destined to fail from the onset.⁵

Preparations for the Yugoslav-Italian Negotiations

Faced with the possibility that the Yugoslav side would internationalise the issue, Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro invited Yugoslav Ambassador Mišo Pavičević on a visit in January 1974, after a several-month-long wait.⁶ It was not until 1974 that Moro signed, under the influence of the CD Party, an authorisation for Eugenio Carbone to take part in a concrete special mission, which Moro had nevertheless wished to place under the narrow supervision of his ministry.⁷ Such a stance taken by Moro leads to the question why the other channel had not been activated sooner, i. e. in 1973.

The Italian negotiator Carbone and his Yugoslav counterpart, Boris Šnuderl, maintained occasional contacts, but the other channel was not yet active in this period, with all developments following its establishment having come to a yearlong standstill.⁸ After increasing bilateral tensions, poignant diplomatic notes, and President Tito's speech, a positive shift finally occurred on the Italian side. In his speech given in Sarajevo on 15 April 1974, Tito stressed that Yugoslavia wants to have good relations with Italy, that many in the West do not want to attain European security, and that we do not need to yield to anyone or give any concessions.⁹

Following international assessments of the situation between the two countries, Giulio Andreotti, President of the leading Italian political party, the Christian Democrats, gave a speech

⁴ V. Škorjanec, "Jugoslovansko-italijanski odnosi v luči dubrovniškega srečanja zunanjih ministrov 1973", *Zgodovinski časopis* 3–4 (2001) 465–487.

⁵ V. Škorjanec, "Neuspeh jugoslovansko-italijanskih diplomatskih pogajanj v letu 1973", *Zgodovinski časopis* 1–2 (2003) 147–162.

⁶ VIRI 23/D58, p. 185–206, Stenogram kolegija iz sestanka v Kabinetu zveznega sekretarja za zunanje zadeve tovariša Miloša Minića o Italiji, 11. 1. 1974; VIRI 23/D59, p. 206–214, Informacija o jugoslovansko-italijanskih odnosih in platforma za naše nadaljnje delo, 20. 2. 1974.

⁷ VIRI 23/D5, p. 41, Popravljen pooblastilo italijanskega zunanjega ministra Alda Mora Eugeniju Carboneju z dne 11. 7. 1974.

⁸ VIRI 23/D75, p. 236, Informacija o razgovoru z dr. E. Carbonejem dne 19. 5. 1974 v Piranu; AVŠ, B. Šnuderl, Delovni dnevni zapiski [Daily notes] 1973–1974.

⁹ VIRI 23/D64, p. 220–222, Govor predsednika Tita v Sarajevu 15. 4. 1974 z naslovom: Odločen govor naših narodov na revanšistične poskuse Italije.

in Udine in May 1974, in which he publicly announced Italy's intention to reach an adequate agreement with Yugoslavia. According to *Il tempo*, at a meeting of the Alpini mountain infantry corps held on 5th May 1974, Andreotti gave a statement in connection with Yugoslav-Italian relations which subsequently had a positive effect on Yugoslavia's gradual acceptance of Italy's initiative for negotiations. In view of the forthcoming session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to be held in Helsinki, as well as the fundamental principle of the finality of state borders, the leadership of the Christian Democrats assessed that the unresolved border issue was compromising global Italian politics. Following a correction of the Italian mandate and the arrival of the Italian delegation at Strmol in July 1974, the Yugoslav side subsequently accepted the Italian proposal for negotiations between special political mandataries.¹⁰

Genesis of Yugoslav/Italian Negotiations at Strmol 1974

The negotiations were conducted in complete secrecy, with some intermissions, at Strmol from July until November 1974.¹¹ It soon became evident that there was no real consensus in the Italian Government at that time either. When speaking to Minić at a UN General Assembly session in New York, Moro equivocated that he had not been informed of the initiative to work on a second secret channel, and expressed his disagreement with such a method of resolving a disputable issue without the participation of the MEA staff. Nevertheless, the negotiations at Strmol continued, with ongoing parallel attempts at obtaining political consensus in Rome. Italy's intention was to carry out the cession of Zone B of FTT and thereby present the final confirmation of the border between the two countries in the light of the broadest new economic opportunities, particularly the industrial zone which, for political reasons, would extend into the territory of Zone B of FTT. The Italian side initially proposed that the zone be located along the coast, later suggesting Osp or Socerb.¹² For Italy, the demand for the zone was *condicio sine qua non* for the final agreement. Moreover, a number of other major economic projects were also foreseen (navigation channel on the Soča-Sava rivers), energy generation facilities, water management, and various forms of economic cooperation in the interests of the local population – road links, new border crossings, etc.¹³

The negotiations also comprised certain corrections of the state border under TP aimed at ensuring functional connections and provisional arrangements, e. g. at Kolovrat, Sabotin, regarding the villages in the Brda hills, and Gorica. The Yugoslav side insisted that the border could not be corrected in any place where Yugoslav citizens lived.¹⁴

¹⁰ VIRI 23/D68, p. 225–227, Interni delovni dokument o zaključkih s sestanka pri podpredsedniku ZIS in zveznem sekretarju M. Miniću 4. 6. 1974 glede praktične drže do Italije za naprej; VIRI 23/D70, p. 228–230, Nedatirani stenogram predsedstva SFRJ; VIRI 23/D87, p. 251, Pismo Borisa Šnuderla Edvardu Kardelju, Beograd 15. 7. 1974; VIRI 23/D89, p. 255, Informacija o razgovoru z dr. E. Carbonejem, Ljubljana 17. 7. 1974; VIRI 23/D90, p. 256, Pismo Borisa Šnuderla Sergeju Kraigherju, Ljubljana 20. 7. 1974.

¹¹ VIRI 24/D21, p. 63, Pismo Eugenija Carboneja Borisu Šnuderlu, Strmol, 8. 10. 1974; VIRI 24/D32, p. 84–91, Stenografske beležke iz 18. seje Predsedstva SFRJ, ki je potekala 23. 12. 1974 od 10. ure na Brionih, stenografirala Teja Toš.

¹² VIRI 24/D5, p. 34–35, Beležka o pogovorih o coni z italijansko delovno skupino na Strmolu 7. in 8. 8. 1974.

¹³ VIRI 24/D7, p. 37–40, Boris Mikoš: Pro memoria o vodogospodarskih vprašanjih na meji z Italijo, Ljubljana, 22. 8. 1974; VIRI 24/D8, p. 40–41, Nenaslovljeno poročilo delovne skupine v 8. točkah, Ljubljana, 2. 9. 1974.

¹⁴ VIRI 24/D6, p. 37, Radko Močivnik, Boris Šnuderl: Načrt rešitve mejnih problemov z Italijo, Ljubljana, 22. 8. 1974.

Negotiators

Given the decisive role of President Tito and Foreign Minister Minić, Slovenia carried the greater weight in the negotiation process on the Yugoslav side. The authorised negotiator was a Slovene, who also consulted with the Slovenian leadership on all key issues, primarily with Edvard Kardelj and Sergej Kraigher. Alongside the authorised negotiator Šnuderl, another Slovene member of the negotiation team was responsible for border issues, Radko Močivnik, a diplomat from the Federal Secretariat of External Affairs (FSEA). And even the experts who occasionally cooperated with the team in connection with specific issues were usually Slovenes. The Yugoslav negotiation team was a permanent body, whereas on the Italian side only Ottone Mattei, a diplomat of the Ministry of External Affairs and the son of refugees from Rijeka, was a permanent member alongside the authorised negotiator Carbone, while other experts participated on an *ad hoc* basis, as the need arose.

Negotiation triad

The negotiation triad represented the essence of negotiations. The fact that Italy conditioned the finality of the border issue with the establishment of an industrial zone led the Yugoslav side to support the demand for expanding the provisions of the Special Statute of 1954 to cover the territory outside the former Zone A of FTT, where the Slovenian minority lives in Italy. Yugoslavia's relentlessness prolonged the path towards an agreement for several months, as it was unwilling to conclude negotiations without a provision on a special minority clause. Italy did not favour the idea of having such a provision in the contract, as this would represent an international commitment, but would have preferred to resolve the issue of minority protection through unilateral obligations (preamble, international universal declarations, parliamentary solemn declaration). Yugoslavia's demand for a minority clause led to a temporary suspension of negotiations. However, after a brief crisis, Italy's leading political parties nevertheless generally consented to a minority clause whose contents would apply for the Slovenian minority in Italy.¹⁵

With respect to the maritime border, at Strmol the Italian side demanded changes in the starting points for the division of territorial waters in connection with the draught of heavy tankers during navigation into the ports of Trieste and Tržič. (It soon became obvious, however, that they were primarily seeking to acquire broader fishing areas on the Slovenian side, which has a more abundant fish population.) The Yugoslav side rejected this argument and approved a corridor through its own sea (from the cape of Savudrija past Debeli Rtič).¹⁶ This concession was subsequently confirmed by the Republic of Slovenia. At Strmol, the two sides jointly prepared

¹⁵ More on the genesis of the minority clause VIRI 24/D12, p. 46–48, Materiali delovne skupine: Svečana izjava vlad glede manjšin, delovni načrt 1 s prilogo, 6. 9. 1974; VIRI 24/D13, p. 48–49, Pismo Borisa Šnuderla Edvardu Kardelju v zvezi z manjšinskim vprašanjem, Ljubljana, 5. 9. 1974; VIRI 24/D14, p. 49–50, Zabeležka (nedatirana) o razgovoru delovne skupine v Zagrebu glede manjšine; VIRI 24/D15, p. 50–51, Beležka s sestanka, ki ga je vodil podpredsednik SR Slovenije tovariš S. Kraigher 11. 9. 1974 s podsekretarjem Pribičevićem in delovno skupino v zvezi z njenim poročilom o zadnji skupini pogovorov z Italijani; VIRI 24/D16, p. 51–54, Novak Pribičević: Predlogi sprememb in dopolnil sporazuma in svečane izjave; VIRI 24/D23, p. 65–67, Geneza nastajanja manjšinskega člena na Strmolu med 6. in 9. 11. 1974; VIRI 24/D24, p. 69, Beležka SZSZ o načinu reguliranja manjšinskih pravic v Sporazumu z Italijo, 15. 11. 1974; VIRI 24/D38, p. 100–101, Jugoslovanski osnutek pogodbe med SFRJ in R Italijo (nedatiran, pripravljen za podpis v Dubrovniku; VIRI 24/ D40, p. 106, IV paragraf preambule v francoskem jeziku, Dubrovnik, 14.–15. 3. 1975; VIRI 24/D41, p. 106, Nadomestilo aktualnega teksta glede druge alineje preambule.

¹⁶ VIRI 24/D22, p. 64–65, Beležka o razgovoru z italijansko delovno skupino o razmejitvi voda v Tržaškem zalivu 8. 11. 1974; photo n. 10, 69.

the wording of an agreement on all open issues between the two countries, and could have ended the negotiations then and there.¹⁷

Negotiations in Dubrovnik 1975

Instead of confirming the agreement, the Italian side demanded a second phase of negotiations in March 1975 in Dubrovnik, despite having initially requested only a formal meeting of a procedural nature between the mandataries. Yugoslavia was consequently forced to accept the trimmed contents of the minority clause, and part of its contents was transferred to the preamble. Dubrovnik was symbolically chosen so that Croatia would also appear in the work of the mandataries.¹⁸ In spite of the Italian mandatary's assurances that all Italy's demands had been met, they nevertheless attempted to change the agreed contents in April in Rome, where the final texts were being edited.¹⁹

Diplomatic negotiations in Strunjan

This all notwithstanding, the Italian side made no further attempts to change the agreed contents of the agreement in the third phase of negotiations between the mandataries in Strunjan in June 1975. The Yugoslav side accepted only the territorial correction at Sabotin to Italy's benefit, thus enabling the initialling of texts in the agreement. In Strunjan we were therefore already witnessing official diplomatic negotiations in which both political mandataries became the heads of their respective government delegations (the authorising documents granted to both mandataries by their political leaders were written at a later date). The nature of negotiations was changed into diplomatic negotiations, and concluded with the initialling of an international treaty in the French language. Negotiations were still being conducted in utmost secrecy in the Protocol building of the Executive Council of Slovenia. Strunjan was selected because it fell under Zone B of FTT. The documents were initialled in Strunjan on the official paper of both foreign ministries.²⁰

For the duration of work performed by the mandataries, the Yugoslav side proceeded with caution. It was not entirely convinced that the Italian side was not merely using the tactic of stalling for time where, at a given moment, it would blame Yugoslavia for any failure in negotiations. Such reflections were also burdening the work in Strunjan, where a lack of trust led to a crisis in the Yugoslav working group. The method of work employed points to thorough preparations for negotiations and accurate analyses of identifying the tactic of deferment and making one step forward and two backward between individual meetings of the mandataries.

¹⁷ VIRI 24/D25, p. 72, Pismo Eugenija Carboneja Borisu Šnuderlu, Strmol, 20. 11. 1974; VIRI 24/D26, p. 73–74, Pismo Borisa Šnuderla Eugeniju Carboneju, Strmol, 20. 11. 1974.

¹⁸ VIRI 24/D42, p. 108–109, Zabeležka B. Šnuderla o razgovorih 14. in 15. 3. 1975 v Dubrovniku z dr. E. Carbonejem (naslovljena na Novaka Pribičevića); VIRI 24/D43, p. 109, Zabeležka razgovora B. Šnuderla z dr. E. Carbonejem 15. 3. 1975.

¹⁹ VIRI 24/D50, p. 118–120, Pregled važnejših predlogov, katere je italijanska stran posredovala med razgovori svetovalca ZS Močivnika v Rimu, 16. 5. 1975.

²⁰ VIRI 24/D60, p. 140–142, Stenogram Predsedstva SFRJ: tretja točka dnevnega reda- Nekatera aktualna vprašanja jugoslovansko-italijanskih odnosov, Brioni, 11. 7. 1975.

Official initialling in Belgrade

On the Italian initiative, in the next few months the previously foreseen phase of diplomatic negotiations was cancelled and replaced in August 1975 by the official initialling of contractual documents of the international agreement at the Federal Secretariat of External Affairs in Belgrade in the presence of Yugoslav Minister of External Affairs, Minić, and Italian Ambassador, Giuseppe Walter Maccotte.²¹ At first, the Yugoslav side did not understand why the texts of the treaty had to be initialled once again after this had already been done in Strunjan, and why they were not signing the agreement. Following debates in the Yugoslav Assembly and in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs was authorised to sign the agreement, the Italian side repeatedly attempted to subject the signing of the agreement to the condition that corrections be made in the already agreed border line and the industrial zone expanded.

Signing of Osimo Agreement

A crucial turning point occurred with Carbone's arrival in Belgrade at the end of October 1975, where he stressed Italy's willingness to sign the agreement as soon as possible. Owing to the possibility that the foreseen pension reform in Italy might trigger a new government crisis, Prime Minister Moro and Foreign Minister Mariano Rumor were intent on signing the agreement with Yugoslavia without due delay. Carbone offered a final opportunity for signing the agreement on 10th, 13th or 14th November; the Yugoslav side opted for the first date. In the opinion of Italian representatives, the signing of the agreement in Rome could lead to unpleasant complications. Immediately before signing the agreement, the Italians requested that two changes be made in terminology, which the Yugoslav side accepted.²²

In a manor house made available for this purpose by Count Leopardi at Castel del Monte San Pietro in Osimo near Ancona, the ministers signed the contractual documents²³ in the Hall of Arms in the presence of the Italian and Yugoslav press. On this occasion it was particularly

²¹ VIRI 23/D6, p. 42, Pooblastilo italijanskega zunanjega ministra Mariana Rumorja Eugeniju Carboneju z dne 6. 8. 1975; VIRI 23/D7, p. 43, Pooblastilo Miloša Minića Borisu Šnuderlu z dne 6. 8. 1975; G. W. Maccotta, "Osimo visto da Belgrado", *Rivista di Studi politici Internazionali* 237 (1993) 55–67.

²² VIRI 24/D77, p. 195, Rokopisna beležka B. Šnuderla o pogovoru z E. Carbonejem v Beogradu 19. 10. 1975; VIRI 24/D78, p. 197–200, Beležka vsebine pogovora tovariša B. Šnuderla na sestanku pri PP ZIS-a in ZS M. Miniću 20. 10. 1975 o srečanju, ki ga je imel z dr. E. Carbonejem 19. 10. 1975 v Beogradu; VIRI 24/D79, p. 202–203, Beležka B. Šnuderla o srečanju z dr. E. Carbonejem 30. 10. 1975 v Beogradu; VIRI 24/D83, p. 205, Vabilo zunanjega ministra Mariana Rumorja Borisu Šnuderlu na večerjo (v italijanskem jeziku) dne 10. 11. 1975 v Castel S. Pietro v Osimo.

²³ VIRI 24/D85, p. 208, Pogodba med SFRJ in Republiko Italijo, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D86, p. 209, Priloga V k pogodbi; VIRI 24/D87, p. 210, Priloga VI k pogodbi; VIRI 24/D88, p. 211, Priloga VII k pogodbi; VIRI 24/D89, p. 211, Priloga VIII k pogodbi; VIRI 24/D90, p. 212, Priloga IX k pogodbi; VIRI 24/D91, p. 212, Priloga X k pogodbi; VIRI 24/D92, p. 213, Izmenjava pisem med ministroma Milošem Minićem in Marianom Rumorjem v zvezi s 3. členom pogodbe, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D93, p. 213, Izmenjava pisem med ministroma Minićem in Rumorjem v zvezi s sklenitvijo sporazuma o priznavanju fakultetnih diplom, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D94, p. 213, Izmenjava pisem med ministroma Minićem in Rumorjem v zvezi z vračanjem kulturnih dobrin, umetniških del, arhivov ter katastrskih in zemljiških knjig, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D95, p. 214, Izmenjava pisem med ministroma Minićem in Rumorjem v zvezi z odprtjem mednarodnega prehoda prve kategorije v kraju Vrtojba in druge kategorije v Novi Gorici, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D96, p. 214, Izmenjava zaupnih pisem med Minićem in Rumorjem z obljubo sprejetja posebne Deklaracije glede jugoslovanske manjšine v Italiji in italijanske v Jugoslaviji, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D97, p. 215, Izmenjava zaupnih pisem med ministroma z dovoljenjem italijanskim vojnim ladjam glede neškodljivega prehoda skozi jugoslovanske teritorialne vode, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D98, p. 215–217, Sporazum o pospeševanju gospodarskega sodelovanja,

emphasized that upon the ratification of the agreement in their respective parliaments, both governments would read the declaration on the minority policy. The circumstances surrounding the signing of the Osimo Agreement did not bring any noteworthy surprises.²⁴ The two countries had finally attained a bilateral agreement that represents a significant change when compared to the negotiations that led to LMOU in 1954. Until the ratification of OA and its annexes in 1977, the Italians were perpetually returning to previously agreed and reconciled positions and making new demands, but without success.

Prior to the ratification of OA, President Tito awarded distinctions to the Yugoslav negotiating team that had reached an agreement between SFRY and the Republic of Italy. This revealed the existing commitment of political leaders to official diplomacy; namely, in first place on all the lists of recipients of such distinctions, as published in major newspapers of the times, was the former Yugoslav Ambassador to Italy and a then member of the Federation Council, Mišo Pavićević, who for quite some time was not even aware of the existence of these negotiations, which were conducted outside the institutionalised framework. President Tito also concurrently honoured some other officials and employees of the Federal Secretariat of External Affairs “for exceptional merit in the work, preparations and cooperation of the SFRY delegation in connection with CSCE, held last summer in Helsinki”. The distinctions were conferred by Minić at a special ceremony held on 20 September 1976 at FSEA. The President’s order was not published by the Official Gazette (OG) of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) until 17 June 1977, after the agreement with Italy had already been ratified for several months. Distinctions were also received by some experts who occasionally participated in negotiations.²⁵

When commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of OA at a scientific conference on Osimo, the prevailing opinion, based on an assessment of the analysis of preparations and the signing of the agreement, was that this case provides an excellent example how, despite almost irresolvable open issues, the negotiators, concealed from the public eye, were able to reach commendable international agreements, on a bilateral level, through the willingness and good will of both sides.²⁶

Osimo Agreement from its Ratification to the Present

Following the ratification of OA in 1977, committees were formed in both countries with the task of monitoring and implementing the agreements. Coordinators were appointed to these committees both by FSEA and the Italian Ministry of External Affairs, as well as on the level of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. In Yugoslavia, the subsequent implementation of OA

Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; VIRI 24/D99, p. 217–219, Protokol o prosti industrijski coni. Priloga 1, Osimo, 10. 11. 1975; Č. Kolenc (ed.), *Osimski sporazumi*, Koper 1977, p. 338–471.

²⁴ VIRI 24/D100, p. 219–222, Poročilo o srečanju PP ZIS in ZS za zunanje zadeve Miloša Minića z ministrom za zunanje zadeve R Italije Marianom Rumorjem v Ankoni (Italija) 10. 11. 1975 in podpisovanju pogodbenih instrumentov o mejnih in drugih vprašanih med SFR Jugoslavijo in R Italijo; S. Premru, “Pot, ki so jo nakazali pred 30 leti, še ni do konca prehojena. Spomin na lov za krajem podpisa zgodovinskega sporazuma”, *Primorski dnevnik* (Trieste), November 11 (2005), p. 5.

²⁵ VIRI 25/D3, p. 33, Potrdilo o dodelitvi odlikovanja za zasluge za narod z zlato zvezdo predsednika SFRJ Josipa Broza Tita Borisu Šnuderlu z dne 20. 7. 1976; TANJUG, “Odlikovanje za delovni prispevek”, *Delo* September 21 (1976), p. 2; TANJUG, “Tito odlikovao grupu jugoslovenskih funkcionera”, *Politika* September 21 (1976), p. 1; “Odlikovanja. Ukaz predsednika SFRJ, n. 68, Beograd, 20. 7. 1976”, *Uradni list SFRJ*, 31/408, 17. 6. 1977, p. 1315.

²⁶ D. Rupel, “Uvodni nagovor” [Opening address], paper presented at the international scientific conference, Ljubljana, Koper, November 10–11, 2005; Cf. V. Škorjanec, “Ob tridesetletnici Osimskih sporazumov”, *Zgodovinski časopis* 3–4 (2006) 437–446.

was the fruit of the skills of Slovenia negotiators. The border issue, which served as a condition for all other issues, was finally resolved under OA. In practice, the state border was delineated in its entirety, the issue of citizenship for persons whose status after the end of World War II was disputable due to the undefined border line between the countries in FTT was resolved, the issue of compensation for Italian nationalised real property was resolved, real property was returned, and agreements on the mutual recognition of university degrees and on joint defence against hail were signed. Roads were constructed on Kolovrat and below Sabotin, and the Udine Agreement was amended.²⁷ The Soča-Sava navigation channel was an enormous project that was not economically justified.²⁸ All other negotiating issues specified in the contract and its annexes are binding for both sides.²⁹

In 1981 the Assembly of SFRY passed two laws on free zones. These were supported by the Macedonian delegation, which saw its opportunity in the establishment of a similar industrial zone on the border with Greece, while the Croatian delegation voted against the two laws and confirmed its disagreement, which it had already expressed in the course of the Osimo negotiating process.³⁰ The free industrial zone, presented by the Italian side as a condition for adoption of the final agreement, was never constructed, partly due to the negative impacts of public opinion, though its location had been selected (Sežana). The Italian Government withdrew from its realisation.³¹

After the ratification of OA, the Italian-Yugoslav Friendship Association *Ital-Yug*, formally presided over by the former Italian Ambassador to Belgrade and the then Ambassador to Moscow, Giuseppe Walter Maccotta, but headed by longstanding ANSA correspondent in Belgrade, Luigi Saporito, author of numerous books and articles about Yugoslavia, introduced in 1980, on the fifth anniversary of the signing of OA and with the consent of the Italian political leadership, a five-year diploma, the so-called Gold Osimo award. This award was to be granted bi-annually to various personalities in both countries with the aim of improving mutual relations in different areas of socio-political activity. In 1980, the bestowal of Gold Osimo medals was organised in Rome with the presence of high officials and politicians of the Italian government and the Yugoslav Embassy. The awards were bestowed by former ministers Medici of Italy and

²⁷ VIRI 25/D53, p. 184, Zapisnik prve seje Mešane jugoslovansko-italijanske komisije na podlagi 4. člena Sporazuma o pospeševanju gospodarskega sodelovanja, podpisanega v Osimu med SFRJ in Republiko Italijo. Ljubljana, 30. 5. 1978; VIRI 25/D54, p. 185–187, Informacija o izvajanju Osimskih sporazumov in o nalogah, ki iz tega izhajajo. Beograd, 7. 6. 1978; VIRI 25/D61, p. 201–206, Marjan Osolnik: Pripombe in sugestije k poročilu o uradnem obisku zveznega sekretarja za zunanje zadeve tov. Josipa Vrhovca v Republiki Italiji 10. in 11. 7. 1980. Ljubljana, 28. 8. 1980; P. G. Parovel, *Velika prevara na slovenski zahodni meji – dosje Italija*, Kamnik 1996, p. 94–99; Cf. T. Poljšak, “Trideset let kasneje. Organiziranost Jugoslavije in Slovenije za izvajanje Osimskih sporazumov”, *Svobodna misel* 21 (2005), p. 9–10.

²⁸ VIRI 25/D55, p. 187–189, Beležka s sestanka jugoslovanskega dela Mešane komisije za koordinacijo preučevanja tehnične in ekonomske upravičenosti in možnosti izgradnje plovne poti Tržič-Gorica-Ljubljana, 9. 2. 1979.

²⁹ VIRI 25/D30, p. 117–129, Zakon o ratifikaciji pogodbe med SFR Jugoslavijo in R Italijo. Priloge 4–10 k pogodbi ter zaključni akt. Uradni list SFRJ, mednarodne pogodbe, Beograd, 11. 3. 1977; VIRI 25/D31, p. 129–136, Ukaz o razglasitvi zakona o ratifikaciji sporazuma o pospeševanju gospodarskega sodelovanja med SFR Jugoslavijo in R Italijo; Zakon o ratifikaciji sporazuma o pospeševanju gospodarskega sodelovanja med SFR Jugoslavijo in R Italijo. Uradni list SFRJ, mednarodne pogodbe, Beograd, 11. 3. 1977; VIRI 25/D32, p. 136–137, Zabeležka A. Bubičiča šefa oddelka za Italijo in Austrijo z E. Montano prvim svetovalcem italijanske ambasade 30. 3. 1977; D. Đurović (ed.), *Osimski sporazumi*, Novi Sad 1977, p. 4.

³⁰ AVŠ, B. Šnuderl, Delovni dnevni zapiski, marec-april 1981; AVŠ, Rokopisna beležka o sestanku slovenskih predstavnikov glede cone.

³¹ VIRI 25/D57, p. 189–191, Boris Šnuderl: Beležka o nekaterih ekonomskih problemih z Italijo v zvezi z Osimskimi sporazumi – za S. Dolanca, 25. 1. 1980; VIRI 25/D60, p. 201, Zabeležka Jerneja Jana o telefonskem razgovoru s tov. Borisom Šnuderlom dne 8. 7. 1980 o problematiki proste cone.

Minić of Yugoslavia as a symbolic remembrance of their first meeting in Dubrovnik in March 1973, which in reality signified an important milestone for later successful negotiations, for it was in Dubrovnik that the two had mentioned the option of conducting negotiations via a second channel, which finally led to the signing of OA. Medals were also received by the two negotiators and active participants in the OA implementation process, Carbone and Šnuderl.³² Despite being bestowed on a single occasion, the Gold Osimo award symbolised a positive launch into interstate relations.

Italy recognised the continuing validity of OA with the newly formed states of Slovenia and Croatia as well. OA was published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Italy on 8th September 1992, whereby it became a legally valid international instrument between Italy and Slovenia. From October 1992 onwards, however, the activities of extreme right-wing forces in the Province of Trieste repeatedly began to intensify. In their opinion, by officially recognising Slovenia as the successor of OA, Rome had wasted the opportunity to obtain more in the new circumstances. The Italian side, however, did not fulfil its obligations towards members of the Slovenian minority in Italy. Right-wing forces in Italy placed demands for negotiations on the topic of compensations for abandoned and nationalised property, and for the restitution of real property to “optanti” from the former Zone B. And although the free industrial zone never became operational, they even demanded that it be deleted from the contents of OA. They demanded protection of the entire Italian minority living in the two newly established states of Slovenia and Croatia. Even Rome raised its voice with the statement that the agreements needed to be modernised, claiming that some parts were outdated. The essence of these new demands was to start a revision of OA in its entirety by opening a single issue and then proceeding with other issues. Italy then refused to ratify Slovenia’s accession agreement with the EU, and managed to achieve changes in Slovenian legislation through the Spanish compromise. After numerous obstructions, the Italian parliament finally ratified the accession agreement between EU and Slovenia in March 1998.³³

In September 1997, after endless difficulties, a formal procedure was finally begun to approve the draft law for the benefit of the Slovenian minority in Italy. The approval process lasted from 15 July 1971 until 12 July 2000. The Protective Law was finally approved by the Italian Senate on 14 February 2001. After many long decades of living under Italy, the Slovenian minority was finally legally recognised by Italy. The validity of legal international documents has opened the issue of their implementation in practice and observation of the principle *pacta sunt servanda*, which in the case of Italy has proved to be questionable to this very day. Despite the adoption of the Protective Law, its implementation is still being obstructed. Bilingual signs are being removed in the vicinity of Trieste, and public use of the Slovene language is all the more restricted not only in the city, but also in some entirely Slovene municipalities in rural areas. To this day, Italy has not drawn funds from the fiduciary account opened under the Rome Agreement, to which Slovenia paid its obligations for the restitution of nationalised property in the former Zone B of FTT.

Let us conclude with the statement that OA represents the realisation of the possible. Thanks to its living provisions, it will continue to represent, on the actual level, the constitution of relations between Slovenia and Italy. Italy’s decision in favour of Osimo also meant that it independently decided to renounce the imperialistic methods of the London Pact and wilfully return to the democratic principles of its own revival with respect to ethnic boundaries with states that had attained independence also by following the original Italian example. This model can be used to resolve very complex interstate relations in all parts of the world where the ordinary path

³² V. Škorjanec, *Osimska pogajanja*, Koper 2007, medal on cover page. Original copy from AVŠ is on display at the permanent exhibition on Slovenian history, Ljubljana Castle 2010.

³³ M. Kosin, *Začetki slovenske diplomacije z Italijo 1991–1996*, Ljubljana 2000, p. 300.

is not possible, and where the internal circumstances allow for it. With emphasis on the above-mentioned, which upgrades the rule of the indisputability of existing state borders as a support to cooperation, Osimo today strongly reflects the spirit of modern European thinking.³⁴

Summary

The paper is concerned with key turning points in interstate relations with Italy, with emphasis on the border issue, which was finally resolved under the Osimo Agreement, its ratification, and Slovenia's succession to it. After the London Memorandum of Understanding from 1954 the Italian side drew attention to the legal aspect of the Treaty and claimed that Zone B Free Territory of Trieste represented only a provisional solution and for that reason delayed the final settlement of border issue. Italy all the time demanded smaller corrections in spite of the fact that border was defined with the Treaty of Peace at 1947. In 1968 Italian foreign minister Giuseppe Medici, owing to the events in Czechoslovakia, and the age of President Josip Broz Tito, proposed eighteen points. They anticipated transformation of a temporary demarcation line, which was established by the London Memorandum of Understanding into the state border based on territorial provisions, which was accepted as the starting-point for further negotiations, which was taking place in the form of a meeting between Minister Giuseppe Medici and Miloš Minić in March 1973 in Dubrovnik. The Ministers in private agreed, that besides official channels, a parallel channel for secret negotiations must exist, namely for mandatory whose task was to provide an opportunity for continuation of negotiations in case that diplomatic negotiations would not be successful. Italian initiative, which enabled negotiations outside institutional channels, proved to be the only realistic possibility for reaching the agreement since both states excluded their Foreign Ministries. At the end of 1973, diplomatic negotiations ended unsuccessfully and in addition, parallel second channel at that time still did not come into existence. After harsh diplomatic notes and Tito's speech in Sarajevo, Giulio Andreotti (in his speech in Udine) finally announced Italian intention to make an adequate arrangement with Yugoslavia. Leadership of Christian Democratic party, namely in the light of approaching meeting of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki and on the ground of fundamental principle about immutability of borders, estimated that unsolved border issues presented harm for global Italian policy. After the correction of Italian mandate, on July 1974 Yugoslavian side (after Italian delegation already arrived in Strmol) finally accepted Italian initiative for negotiation of special mandatory. After that, negotiations followed in Strmol and in 1975 took place in Dubrovnik and Strunjan. After being checked and initialled in Belgrade, the countries signed the agreement at Osimo and ratified it in 1977. Italian side however in spite of ratification still tried to gain some advantage but failed owing to consistency of Yugoslavian side. Industrial zone, which represented the condition for finalisation of the treaty of Italian side, never came to life because of negative influence of Italian public opinion. On the initiative of Italy, the Gold Osimo award was granted to the key participants of negotiations on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Osimo Agreement. Despite being bestowed on this single occasion, the award represented a positive launch into interstate relations. Italian side also acknowledged continuity of the Osimo Agreement to Slovenian and Croatian state.

The Osimo Agreement represents the realisation of the possible. Thanks to its living provisions, it will continue to represent, on the actual level, the constitution of relations between

³⁴ J. Pleterski, *Osimo v zgodovinski perspektivi soseščine Italijanov in Slovencev*, paper presented at the international scientific conference, Ljubljana – Koper, November 10–11, 2005; J. Pleterski, "Osimo v zgodovinski perspektivi soseščine Italijanov in Slovencev", p. 52.

Slovenia and Italy. Italy's decision in favour of Osimo also meant that it independently decided to renounce the imperialistic methods of the London Pact and wilfully return to the democratic principles of its own revival with respect to ethnic boundaries with states that had attained independence also by following the original Italian example. This model can be used to resolve very complex interstate relations in all parts of the world where the ordinary path is not possible, and where the internal circumstances allow for it.

Karina Kubiňáková

Claims over Goa: Nehru versus Salazar

Abstract | In 1961 the Indian invasion into Goan territory ended the fourteen year debate between António de Oliveira Salazar and Jawaharlal Nehru about the legitimacy of their claims over Goa. The arguments used to justify their claims over Goa provide a useful example for understanding how ideological commitment influences the interpretation and conceptions of Goan identity in a postcolonial context. In this paper the issue of identity and its interpretation in rival discourse is dealt with through a critical analysis of the Goa debate as conducted by the two main actors as well as perceived by scholarship.

Ideology, identity, colonialism, nationalism, Nehru, Salazar

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Introduction

Goa, the smallest Indian state in terms of area, lies on the west coast of India. In the north it borders on Maharashtra, in the south and east on Karnataka and in the west it is bordered by the Arabian Sea. Due to its geographical location, embedded in the Indian territory, it is supposed to be an Indian region with an Indian identity. However, 450 years of Portuguese colonial rule, during which different cultural and religious traditions met, reshaped the socio-cultural landscape of Goa; its history and culture became distinctive from other Indian regions. It is argued that because of this distinct past, Goa acquired a distinct Indo-Portuguese personality.¹ Goans as a minority differ from other Indians in two respects. First, they constitute a relatively small minority in India, and are therefore not so well-known by many. According to the last census conducted in 2007, Goa with 1,347,000 inhabitants constitutes 0,13% of the total population of India.² And second, Goans are a minority that has in large embraced Christianity during colonialism, which meant for many a bridge to their 'alleged' Europeanization through contact with the Portuguese people and culture.

In 1947, India was granted independence from the British government. The newly established Indian government demanded that the Portuguese government do the same with respect to Portuguese Indian territories (Goa, Daman and Diu). However, António de Oliveira Salazar, the prime minister of Portugal at that time, refused to grant independence, arguing that these Indian territories were an inherent part of Portugal. After all, Goa was the *sanctum sanctorum*, 'the Rome of the East', as it was the center of Christian activities in the East and the place where Eastern and Western traditions met. Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India, however, saw the Portuguese enclave of Goa as 'the pimple on the face of Mother India'.³ A long 'debate' between Nehru and Salazar over the territories reveals that different official discourses on the concept of Goan identity existed at that time, and that both sides claimed Goa as an issue of national interest.

¹ Robert de Souza, *Goa and the Continent of Circle* (Bombay: Wilco, 1973), 33.

² Laveesh Bhandari and Sumita Kale, *States at a Glance 2006–07: Union Territories and Small States* (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley India, 2007), 3.

³ Philip Bravo, "The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism," *Past Imperfect* 7 (1998): 149.

The intricate relationship throughout Goan history between Goans – the colonized – and the Portuguese – the colonizers – plays the central role in the Goa dispute. While Salazar built his argument on the conviction that Goan identity is inextricably linked to the Portuguese milieu, Nehru argued that Goans, although they acquired a particular identity due to a long co-existence with the Portuguese, were, in their core, nevertheless Indian. The debate itself is helpful for two main reasons: it shows how two competing discourses treat Goan identity and an examination of it shows how the interpretation of concepts of identity depends on nationalist commitment and ideology. To deal with these issues, I will first examine the academic discussion that arose from the ‘debate’ to point at the presence of rivaling opinions regarding Goa and its people in cultural, scholarship and political postcolonial discourse. After examining how the dispute over Goa has been treated by scholars, the actual debate as conducted by the two actors, Salazar and Nehru, will be analyzed to illustrate how national ideologies influence the interpretation of the concept of the national and cultural identity of Goans.

Liberation or Invasion? – Description of historiography of the debate about the claim over Goa between New Delhi and Lisbon

In 1947, after centuries of colonial domination and decades of freedom struggle, the British withdrew from India, and subsequently, the Indian Union was established. It was expected that it would only be a matter of time until Portugal followed the British example and ceded Goa, Daman and Diu to the newly independent India. Therefore, soon after Indian independence, an Indian legation in Lisbon was established to negotiate Portugal’s handing over of the three enclaves to India. However, Portugal, under the premiership of António de Oliveira Salazar, refused to negotiate their sovereignty.

Salazar was a Catholic traditionalist and an adherent of the authoritarian, anti-communist and nationalist regime. He came to power in the early 1930s and established a regime that was authoritarian in nature. He clarified the character of his regime by declaring: “We are anti-parliamentarians, antidemocrats, anti-liberals, and we are determined to establish a cooperative state”⁴ This lack of democratic principles, however, did not alleviate the difficult situation in which the Portuguese economy had been caught. Although Salazar managed to steer Portugal away from the financial crisis which had been afflicting the state since the 1920s, the relatively backward state economy remained. The resources of the Portuguese African territories, mainly its abundance in raw materials such as oil, natural gas, diamonds, gold, titanium, and hydroelectric power became a requisite for sustaining the state. In order to strengthen its grip over Portugal’s colonies, Salazar introduced the controversial Colonial Act of 1930, which centralized the Portuguese empire. As Simon Smith has noted, “at a time when other European colonial powers were planning the demission of their empires Portugal clung tenaciously to her imperial possessions”⁵ Playing a major role, the economic factor was only one of several reasons why Portugal clung to its colonial territories. As the Portuguese-controlled possessions served to boost the prestige which was absent at home, emotional and historical motives continued to move Portugal to hold

⁴ Salazar qtd. in Hugh Kay, *Salazar and Modern Portugal* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), 70.

⁵ Simon C. Smith, “Conflicting Commitments: Britain and the Portuguese Possessions in India, 1847–1961,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 20, no. 1 (1997): 30. The process of decolonization was initiated by Britain who conceded independence to India in 1947. It was followed by the Dutch expulsion from the East Indies in 1949, then by Britain granting independence to its colonies in West and East Africa in the 1950s, France bestowing independence on its African colonies in 1960, and finally in the same year, the Belgian withdrawal from the Congo.

on to the colonies. The colonies represented the national pride of past centuries when Portugal was a seaborne empire. In the words of Henriksen, “as the first European nation in Africa [as well as in the Orient], Portugal strove not to be the first pushed from the continent”.⁶ Salazar believed that he could achieve the national revival, i. e. revival of the imperial consciousness of the Portuguese, by highlighting colonialism as a means of national regeneration, which after all was not anything new in the history of nations. Without colonies, namely the African territories, which were over twenty times the size of the mother country, Portugal would hardly have managed to maintain its relative importance in the international sphere. Besides, the attention on the colonies as an instrument of pride and national regeneration served in reality to turn the attention away from discontent over poverty and authoritarian policies in the metropolis itself.⁷ However, the propagandists of colonialism did not really admit these motives, rather they advertized Portugal’s civilization mission and transmit of Christian values as a justification for unyielding colonial rule.

Therefore, when the Prime Minister of the newly independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, requested the Portuguese Government to open negotiations for the transfer of Goa to the sovereignty of India, he was told by the Portuguese Government that Goa constituted an integral part of the Portuguese nation. Because of this ‘reality’, the Portuguese Government could not discuss, let alone accept, the solution put forward by the Indian Government. Under Article 2 of the Portuguese Constitution, the State could by no means “alienate any part of the national territory or of rights of sovereignty which it exercises”.⁸ To Nehru, this reasoning was totally fictitious. In his view, Goa was indisputably a part of India based on geographical, historical and racial facts. Therefore, he refused to accept the idea of Goa remaining under foreign control. Because India won its independence through Gandhi’s philosophy of Satyagraha and Ahimsa (commitment to truth and nonviolence), and because it was an adversary to colonial regimes, and the leader of the Non Aligned Movement, a military solution to the Goa issue was out of the question for Nehru. Such an action would indisputably have undermined India’s credibility, and Nehru would not have escaped being accused of hypocrisy.⁹

With the repeated endeavors of the Indian Government to open negotiations with Portugal regarding the transfer of Goa having totally failed in the summer of 1953, India’s Legation in Lisbon was compelled to close down. The following year, Indian military forces marched into the tiny enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and ‘freed’ the local population from Portuguese domination. From 1955 the severed Indo-Portuguese relations resulted in an economic blockade of Goa by India. In the meanwhile, an unpredicted economic ‘boom’ occurred in Goa due to international demand for lower grade ore.¹⁰ In 1961, driven by the conviction that the Indo-Portuguese negotiations came to a deadlock, Nehru took the advice of his Defense Minister, Krishna Menon, and gave consent for a military invasion of Goa.

Even though the debate on Portugal’s ‘possession’ of Goa was not the most significant issue post-colonial India had to face, it has received attention from a group of Goan, Indian, and international scholars and historians. The scholarship has been dedicated to recounting and examining the political and diplomatic exchanges between the governments of India, Portugal

⁶ Thomas Henriksen, “Portugal in Africa: A Noneconomic Interpretation,” *African Studies Review* 6, no. 3 (1973): 408.

⁷ *Ibid.*: 409.

⁸ António de Oliveira Salazar, “Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese View,” *Foreign Affairs* 34, no. 1/4 (1956): 422.

⁹ Bravo, “The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism,” 135; Aureliano Fernandes, “Political Transition in Post-Colonial Societies – Goa in Perspective,” *Lusotopie*(2000).

¹⁰ Bravo, “The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism,” 134.

and other important international players such as the USA, Britain and Russia, as well as to describing the events leading to the Indian invasion of Goa. Similarly to the historiography on the Portuguese presence in India, the historiography on the 'Goa debate' can, unsurprisingly, be divided into two categories: the pro-Indian or Indocentric (favoring India's annexation of Goa) and the pro-Portuguese or Lusocentric writings (supporting Salazar's position in denoting Goa part of Portugal). In the following section, several studies will be discussed to shed more light on arguments used by the principal actors in the dispute over Goa as well as to see what others have written about the debate. It is not the intention to list and discuss all the scholarship extensively, but to list and discuss only the most significant and exemplary works on the Goa debate before proceeding to the debate as it was conducted by the two statesmen.

Hugh Kay's *Salazar and Modern Portugal* (1970) pays homage to Salazar's personality. It is a pro-Portuguese full-length portrayal of Salazar and Portugal, as well as an analysis of Salazar's political actions, foreign relations and the reasoning behind Portugal's adherence to its colonies. The book, written by a British BBC journalist and editor of Catholic publications in Britain, was published nine years after the annexation of Goa by India, and five years after full-fledged war in African Portuguese colonies erupted.¹¹ For a fuller understanding of Kay's account, the political context in which the book was written will be examined briefly.

Since the struggles for liberation broke out in Portuguese Africa during the 1960s, the pressures for decolonization from the UN intensified, and Portugal's NATO allies adopted a more hostile attitude towards Portuguese repressions of its 'rebellious' colonies. As the colonial war continued to rage on, Salazar – suffering from health problems – was replaced by Marcello Caetano as Prime Minister in 1968, two years before Salazar's death. Although Caetano's regime did not introduce any major changes in the government's political relationship on its African colonies, it differed from Salazar's regime in that it brought changes into the domestic and international situation. Caetano initiated reforms that reduced censorship and strived to bring flexibility into institutions. However, as the diminution of control in the colonies would no doubt lead to the loss of African territories, the upholding of the colonial empire necessitated the continuation of authoritarianism in Portugal at a time when Portugal's further integration into Europe demanded expedited decolonization and democratization.¹² After considering the political situation in which Portugal found itself in the late 1960s, it seems that Kay's account served to downplay the unrest in Portuguese Africa and the condemnation of Portugal's intransigence by the international community by praising Salazar as a leader struggling for recognition of his country after an era of decadence.

Despite almost a decade having passed since the invasion of Goa, Kay's depiction of the Goa debate is full of embittered and sarcastic observations about the Portugal-Indian dispute regarding rights over Goa. Adopting an apologetic stance to Portugal's claim over its colonies, Kay questions Nehru's intentions regarding Goa and accuses him of duplicity:

¹¹ When anti-colonial wars erupted throughout Africa in the 1950s, Portuguese Africa was still enjoying relative peace. However, the independence moods sweeping through Africa soon found groundwork in Portuguese colonies via the founding of the Front for Liberation and Independence of Guinea-Bissau (FLING) in 1953, the Union of Peoples of Northern Angola (UPNA) in 1955, the African Independence Party of Cape Verde (AIGC) in 1956, and finally in 1962 the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Thus the foundation for the freedom struggle in Portuguese Africa had been set in the early 1960s. In 1961, the Angolan war erupted, and no doubt, it acted as a stimulant for independence movements, because by 1965 guerrilla wars also broke out in all the other African Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese colonial war lasted until the collapse of *Estado Novo* in 1974. However, the civil wars between the different movements continued in some parts until the ceasefire in 2002.

¹² Henriksen, "Portugal in Africa: A Noneconomic Interpretation," 412.

One of his [Nehru's] major complains had certainly been that Portugal represented an outdated colonialism, but although strongly backed for this reason by Afro-Asian bloc, he was not proposing to grant the Goanese¹³ their independence. He was proposing to absorb Goa into India, where, he argues, it belonged; and that is what he precisely did.¹⁴

Kay believes that the Portuguese had succeeded in creating an inter-racial society in its colonies, and therefore, he conceived India's claims over Goa to be insubstantial. To emphasize the irony of the situation, Kay compares the case of Goa with the case of British Gibraltar. He admits that the cases were not identical: Britain had proven by referendum that the majority of the Gibraltarians wished to stay under British governance, whereas Portugal refused to carry out a similar poll. Nevertheless, he argues that Nehru was not able to provide more convincing evidence of Goans' will to become part of the Indian Union than Salazar, who claimed that they wished to remain under Portuguese jurisdiction.^{15,16}

Nonetheless, Kay's tilt on Salazar's position is mostly noticeable in the lighthearted consideration that the terms 'province' and 'colony' are in a synonymous relationship.¹⁷ In his treatment of these terms, "colony" and "province" seem to mean the same: a home base. The difference between the two words might have meant little to Kay, but the degradation of a territory to the status of colony, no doubt, created an obvious restlessness within Portuguese overseas territories. After all, it would be unimaginable that the Portuguese Government or even Salazar himself would ever have denoted Alentejo,¹⁸ or even Madeira¹⁹ as a colony.

Although Kay maintained that Goa was a part of Portugal, Indian scholars have had a different opinion on the issue. Two years after the incorporation of Goa into the Indian Union, R. P. Rao published a book called *Portuguese rule in Goa* (1963), in which he tries to convince the readership that the 'liberation' of Goa by India was justified. Rao holds the opinion that Goa was never isolated from the rest of India. Therefore, he argues, it is understandable that the newly independent India wanted to free Goa, and other dependant territories, from colonial oppression. He rebuffs the arguments of cultural intermingling between the Portuguese and Goans so vehemently claimed by Salazar and his adherents. According to him, there had never been such a thing as a common Portuguese-Goan culture. Hence, it was absurd of Portugal to build its claims on cultural or even religious grounds.²⁰ Following these arguments, Rao maintains that Portugal ought to have surrendered Goa, and since it failed to do so, India was entitled to use force to liberate Goa.

¹³ The term 'Goanese' has been widely used as a synonym to 'Goan' in English literature. However, Goanese is a morphologically incorrect borrowing from Portuguese language, where the word for Goan is 'goês' for male, 'goesa' for female, and 'goeses' for plural. Recently, its usage has been condemned by scholars for its supposedly derogatory meaning as Goanese is associated with serving positions such as cook, butler, etc. For more information on the term Goanese, see Jorge de Abreu Noronha, "The Niz-Goans Beat the Goa-Nese!," <http://www.colaco.net/1/GoaNiz.htm>.

¹⁴ Kay, *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, 294.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 310.

¹⁶ One of the reasons why Salazar refused to carry out a plebiscite in Goa was cautiousness. He was aware that if he allowed a plebiscite in Goa, he would be obliged to carry out similar polls also in other colonial territories, outcomes of which might not be as positive with regard to Portugal as they might have been in Goa. Franco Nogueira, *Salazar: O Ataque (1945–1958)*, vol. 4 (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 1980), 276.

¹⁷ Kay, *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, 185.

¹⁸ Alentejo is the largest region of Portugal, located in the south-central part of the country.

¹⁹ Madeira is an island in the Atlantic Ocean and an autonomous region of Portugal.

²⁰ R.P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 2–4.

Interestingly, Rao refutes Nehru's earlier declarations of his commitment to nonviolence. He explains that the argument, on which India based its strategy of nonviolence, was founded on a wrong assumption.²¹ Nehru, supposedly, never adopted the commitment of nonviolence, as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi, as his creed. Instead, he preferred peaceful methods to deal with foreign affairs issues. "When peaceful means fail," Rao reasons, "as they did in the case of the Portuguese [in Goa], force is used".²² Nevertheless, it is strange that Rao ignores Nehru's statements of previous years in which he asserted that India would not take Goa by force as violence and war had never solved any problem.²³

Furthermore, since the de-colonization trend was prevalent in the world politics at the time, Rao claims that India had every right to annex Goa.²⁴ In his opinion, colonial territories dominated by the Portuguese had to be freed like any other liberated area in Asia or Africa. However, Rao fails to see that decolonization has not always brought peace or stability to the newly independent countries. Still exemplary are the ongoing territorial disputes between India and Pakistan or China over places such as Kashmir, Junagadh, Aksai Chin or Arunachal Pradesh, not to mention the border quarrels in other post-colonial countries of Africa or South Asia.

To return to the Goa debate, Rao sees Britain as an instructive example with respect to the decolonization process:

If Great Britain could allow the sun to set on its empire and grant freedom to India, always described as the brightest jewel in the British Crown (...) it was unrealistic on the part of Portugal to cling to a 1,537 square-mile area in the Indian subcontinent and put forward the fantastic argument that these areas were a part of metropolitan Portugal situated about 6,000 miles away.²⁵

Indisputably, Britain made a big step by granting independence to *some* of its colonies. Nevertheless it would not be fair to hold Portugal solely responsible for refusing to hand over its colonies. As a matter of fact, Hong Kong stayed under British jurisdiction until 1997, Ceuta in Morocco is still considered an autonomous city of Spain, Hawaii became the 50th state of USA against the will of the Hawaiian people, and there are other examples of overseas territories, such as French Martinique in the Caribbean, the Dutch Antilles also in the Caribbean, French Guiana in South America, French Réunion in the Indian Ocean, or territories that are still considered non-self-governing territories, such as British Gibraltar, the British Cayman Islands in the Caribbean, French New Caledonia or Tokelau under New Zealand administration. These examples of territories that even at present are under a 'foreign' rule show that Portugal's case of having colonies in the 1960s was actually not so exceptional in the international sphere at that time.

Similarly to Rao, Indo-Portuguese diplomatic relations are the main focus of Prakashchandra Shirodkar's book, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom* (1988). Shirodkar argues that it was natural and appropriate that all colonial possessions in India should become part of the Indian Union. In his

²¹ Ibid., 6.

²² Ibid.

²³ Parliament of India, "Lok Sabha Debates: 23 August to 24 September," ed. Lok Sabha (1954), 230; Mobashar J. Akbar, *Nehru: The Making of India* (London: Viking, 1988), 503.

²⁴ Rao, *Portuguese Rule in India*, 3.

²⁵ Ibid., 4.

view, the Government of India “aimed at elimination of colonialism in the world, [and] played a major role in ultimately driving out the Portuguese from Asia”²⁶

A significant part of Shirodkar’s book is dedicated to the Goan national movement. Through its consideration, he demonstrates the existence of opposition to Portuguese rule, and justifies India’s annexation of Goa. He writes that with India’s freedom struggle at its peak,

a silent revolution was taking place in the Portuguese territories. The people in Goa, the main Portuguese colony, were evincing keen interest in the liberation struggle on the mainland and trying to identify themselves with the Indians.²⁷

Although Shirodkar describes the national awakening and rise of nationalism in Goa, his argument is not convincing. In British India, national awakenings and liberation struggles, unlike in Goa, persisted over time and later under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi transformed into a mass movement. In Portuguese Goa, however, neither a strong leader nor a collective nationalist movement ever emerged.

While Rao and Shirodkar present the Indian view on the Goa debate, *Nehru seizes Goa* (1963) by Leo Lawrence is a survey of the Goa ‘problem’ from a pro-Goan perspective, which in the author’s understanding means taking a pro-Portuguese perspective. Lawrence argues that from a geographical point of view, Goa, together with Nepal and Pakistan, is part of the Indian sub-continent but politically Goa has been part of Portugal for almost five hundred years. To expect Goans “to be anything other than Portuguese, is much the same as expecting a Frenchman to be against France and on the side of France’s enemies”²⁸ Lawrence argues that Goans share a unique culture which is different from the rest of India:

[D]espite common Asian origin which they have with the other people of India, and despite certain undeniable similarities of culture and race which they still retain, the Goans are nearer to Europe than any other race of the east; and except for their color of their skin, could pass as Europeans, a circumstance that has been often stressed in international circles.²⁹

As a result of this common history and mutual co-existence, Goans have – so Lawrence argues – become a close-knit unit of the Lusitanian family.³⁰

Even though the book contains much information and casts light on various aspects of the Goa debate, it is ridden with exaggerated statements that are difficult to take serious, such as:

The only difference (...) between the city of Luanda and the city of Lisbon in the political set-up is that one is situated on the African continent and the other on the European. Otherwise, their respective inhabitants are equal in status in all respects.³¹

Despite Lawrence’s assurance, it is debatable whether the author himself really believes that Lisbon and Luanda were ever treated on equal terms in the Angolan-Portuguese history.

²⁶ Prakashchandra P. Shirodkar, *Goa’s Struggle for Freedom*, Revised ed. (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, [1988] 1999), xv.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁸ Leo Lawrence, *Nehru Seizes Goa* (New York: Pageant Press, 1963), iii.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

A similarly hyperbolic statement is found a couple of pages later. Describing the positive aspects of the Portuguese-Goan interaction, Lawrence regards, embittered, the prospect of Goa being incorporated into the Indian Union:

How then could the Goan people accept the prospect of giving up their proud place in the Portuguese sun, and consent to join the Indian Union whose teeming millions are still lagging some hundreds of years behind in the scheme of civilization, being inured to blind superstition, orthodoxy, poverty and hunger? Over a long and uninterrupted period of four and a half centuries of common socio-political evolution, they had shared with fellow Portuguese from Europe all rights and responsibilities of national life on a basis of absolute equality.³²

Though, far from being an objective survey, the valuable aspect of Lawrence's book is the incorporation of Goan people into the narrative, as the opinions and actions of ordinary Goan people are rarely taken into consideration in studies on the Goa debate.

The last survey on the Goa debate to be referred to here is the article *Goa in Wider Perspective* (1962) by Margaret Fisher. Fisher's article is perhaps the most reasonably objective assessment of the Goa case. She argues that the whole Goa issue is overridden by confusion: "The Goa affair is either torn completely from its context and judged as a moral issue itself, or the context has been too narrowly defined in terms of the Indian general elections".³³ As India was preparing for general elections in the beginning of 1962, the Goa issue unavoidably got caught up in party politics. Almost every Indian party included the question of Goa as an issue in its election campaign; the ruling party, Indian National Congress, not being an exception.

Fisher is highly critical of Portugal's policy of Goa's retention at all costs. She points out that, "had the Portuguese been willing to grant Goa autonomy, a reasonable arrangement with India could undoubtedly have been worked out".³⁴ Although Fisher expresses pity over Portugal's stubborn attachment to its colonies, it remains questionable what she means by the "reasonable arrangement". If Fisher drives at the possibility of Goa's sovereignty under India, another question arises. Would this step, made by Portugal, have induced Nehru to reconsider his 'plan' of incorporating Goa into the newly established Indian Union? The potential action of Nehru remains obscure, but if one was to follow Sarvepalli Gopal, the biographer of Nehru, the Prime Minister of India allegedly would not have settled for any solution short of a merger with India.³⁵ Nevertheless, Fisher concludes that Nehru acted as he did because he was forced to it by international circumstances, i. e. by the pressures from the Afro-Asian block for whom Nehru was a leader who could initiate the African freedom process by taking action on Goa. In addition to boosting its influence in Africa, the Indian military invasion of Goa served "as a timely demonstration to doubting neighbors (...) that India is prepared to move decisively and forcefully should circumstances warrant it".³⁶

The Indian invasion of Goa in 1961 stirred much debate over the legitimacy of India's possession of Goa. On the one hand there are those who strictly condemned India's action as an act of aggression, and on the other those who rejoiced at Goa's 'liberation' from the colonial yoke. Regardless of the reassurance that the accounts were objective and empirical, the historiography

³² Ibid., 22.

³³ Margaret W. Fisher, "Goa in Wider Perspective," *Asian Survey* 2, no. 2 (1962): 3.

³⁴ Ibid.: 4.

³⁵ Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Abridged ed. (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1989), 411.

³⁶ Fisher, "Goa in Wider Perspective," 10.

on Goa as illustrated above, is marked by either an overt pro-Salazar or pro-Nehru position. Today, it seems that the agitation that gained momentum shortly after India's annexation of Goa has diminished. However, there are still reactions and arguments on blogs concerning India's annexation of Goa. These are mostly by Goan contributors who are not very satisfied under the Indian 'rule', and nostalgically recall the times of Portuguese rule in Goa. As Bravo points out, historical narratives play a big role in sustaining a national identity.³⁷ This, indeed, is visible in the opposition between the colonial imagination represented by adherents of Salazar and post-colonial histories of re-unified people exemplified by Nehru's followers. To conclude, the historiography on the Goa debate abounds with contradictions and bias stemming from a nationalistic commitment on both sides. As a result, the debate is characterized by both strong Lusocentric and Indocentric positions.

Whose Goa? Analysis of the debate as conducted by the two main actors

The 1950s saw the disintegration of the British, French and Dutch empires as a result of pressures for decolonization from the international community and the colonized countries. Portugal resisted this trend. António de Oliveira Salazar's policy was clear. Portuguese overseas territories were 'Portugal Overseas': "an extension of Portuguese soil, and not colonies".³⁸ The inhabitants of these lands were perceived as Salazar's 'children', they were the so-called Portuguese "of color".³⁹ Incorporating the peoples of the overseas territories into a narrative of Portuguese belonging played an important role in Salazar's rhetorical attempts to persuade the international audience, the UN, and India of his right over Goa. Clearly, Salazar was well aware that only by claiming the unity of and equal rights for all within the empire, and by stressing the cultural intermingling, he might maintain his authority over these territories. Jawaharlal Nehru, on the other hand, denounced colonialism as an outmoded social form and emphasized the obsolescence of the Portuguese regime. He held on to the geographical facts and stressed the Goan wish to join independent India. He advocated that it was India's mission to "free" those parts of India which were still "under colonial rule".⁴¹ The 1950s were marked by a tense exchange of arguments between Salazar and Nehru. Particularly, both actors conducted their arguments through speeches in parliaments, additionally through journal publications, in an attempt to present their claims as the 'truth' and to induce the national and international audience of the appropriateness of their arguments and the benefits their successful undertaking would bring.

Despite a number of similarities in their lives – both were born in the same year in 1889, both held the post of Prime Minister, and both were highly nationalistic – Nehru and Salazar were two very different statesmen. While Nehru is considered to have been a modern political leader of the recently decolonized Third World, Salazar embodied a conservative dictator of a grand but decaying colonial empire. Before proceeding to the analysis of the multi-year debate over Goa between Salazar and Nehru, the profiles of both leaders will be discussed briefly to outline the background that determined both leaders in their lines of reasoning during the debate. Because

³⁷ Bravo, "The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism," 140.

³⁸ Kay, *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, 183.

³⁹ Amílcar Cabral, "Foreword," in *The Liberation of Guiné Aspects of an African Revolution*, ed. Basil Davidson (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), 9.

⁴⁰ The regime of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* had its foundation in the 'God, Father, and Family' trinity. It was based on a Catholic rigidity, in consolidation of the hierarchical position of the father, Salazar, towards his children, the Portuguese. For more on the foundations of the *Estado Novo*, see Lúcia L. Oliveira, "Sonho-Realidade Do Império Colonial Português," *História, Ciências, Saúde – Manguinhos* 11, no. 1 (2004).

⁴¹ Parliament of India, "Parliament of India Debates: 5 February to 31 March 1951," (1951), col. 2176.

the Indian side initiated the debate, the portrayal shall start off by introducing Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru served as the Prime Minister of the Indian Union from 1947 until his death in 1964. He was appointed by Mahatma Gandhi, and the choice was later endorsed in free general elections in 1952. Nehru was born to a well-off family, and as was common for wealthier Indian families at that time, he received a British education in the West. In spite of being educated in the spirit of western values, Nehru became a severe critic of colonialism, and played an active part in the freedom movement against the British rule. He described India's struggle for freedom as a part of a revolution of Afro-Asian nations against the Western expressions of imperialism and colonialism.⁴² Therefore, he advocated the view that freedom should not have been reality only for India but also for all subjected territories of Asia and Africa. Nehru was a left-nationalist, and he conceived of political freedom as a prelude to a new socialist order of society. In his opinion, India should have moved along the lines of socialism and democracy, because those were the only means to challenge poverty. Moreover, he believed that democracy was an end in itself and not merely a means to an end.⁴³ During his political career – thirty years as a nationalist leader and seventeen as the head of the Indian Government – he advocated policies of non-alignment, political democracy, anti-colonialism, antiracism, and disarmament as well as freedom of thought and expression, and fundamental human rights. Gopal claims that Nehru, together with Mahatma Gandhi, was the architect of India's freedom. Nehru also believed in unity, democracy, civil liberties, secularism, scientific and international outlook of India's future, and carried a vision of socialism which was eventually to transform traditional Indian society into an open and participant modern society.⁴⁴

Turning to Jawaharlal Nehru's opponent, António de Oliveira Salazar came to power during a military coup that had imbibed the country after the overthrow of the monarchy in Portugal. He was called to office by the military government to pull the state out of financial crisis. Salazar assumed the post of Minister of Finances in 1928 which he held until 1932, when he became the Prime Minister of Portugal. Salazar came from a humble background and until his death in 1970, he lived a life of a "bachelor peasant".⁴⁵ Yet his modest origins had an immense impact on the establishment of the future *Estado Novo*. Marcello Caetano remarks: "As is common with people who come from rural areas, Salazar instinctively realized the importance and dignity of Power".⁴⁶ Caetano further explains that because of his rural upbringing, Salazar's political conduct was characterized by straightforwardness and firmness, as by his conviction in rigidity and sacrifice in achieving the higher good.⁴⁷ The 1933 Constitution created the *Estado Novo* which had as its tenets a corporative regime with an authoritarian government, nationalistic unity, Christian morality and values, and work ethic, with rejection of liberalism, capitalism, communism and democracy. However, his right-wing dictatorship, which lasted for forty years, was also characterized by censorship, activities of the secret police, repression of the opposition, lack of freedom of expression, denial of fundamental human rights and rigged elections. Although elections were held regularly and women were given suffrage, the literacy and property qualifications, let alone the off-site opposition, limited the enfranchised section of the Portuguese population.⁴⁸ Furthermore, as Portugal was an impoverished country which was forced to adhere for survival

⁴² B. R. Nanda, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Rebel and Statesman*, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1996), 294.

⁴³ Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, 454–57.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 459–72.

⁴⁵ Kay, *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, 3.

⁴⁶ Marcello Caetano, *Minhas Memórias De Salazar* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1977), 35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 35–42.

⁴⁸ Eric Solsten, ed. *Portugal: A Country Study*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: GPO for Library of Congress, 1994), 56.

to what remained of her age-long colonial empire, Salazar tightened control over the colonies during his rule.

Salazar's speech presented to the Portuguese National Assembly on 20 October 1949, on the occasion of the upcoming elections to the National Assembly as well as the forthcoming Portuguese Constitution reform, clearly illustrates the stance Salazar was to take regarding Goa during the following twelve years:

The situation in Goa is the most serious and the most awkward (...) I am not referring to the campaign in the Indian press, since the press is free but without responsibility, but rather to official statements by absorbing Goa into Great India with an ease that we find, to say the last, extraordinary (...) India is impelled by desire for geographic unity in which she has been frustrated and this, for reasons unconnected with ourselves, she has not yet obtained. This is an ideal, a point of view, but not a reason and much less right because by right Goa has formed an integral part of the Portuguese Empire for centuries. India herself has racial problems but she cannot lay this charge against us, for everywhere in our Empire we have set our face against racial discrimination of which India's own sons are victims (...) The truth is that Goa can only choose between being an important component of the Portuguese Empire and a tiny district of India, with a total reversal. The Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese culture that grew up there during the centuries would have no chance of survival. The Hindu population would possess an entirely different outlook.⁴⁹

In his speech, Salazar finds it "extraordinary" that the Government of India was disseminating false rumors that Goans were Indians, and that Goa should be appropriated by the "Great India". In his opinion, the only reason why India wanted Goa to become part of its Union was because of "frustration" that it could not attain the geographic unity of the whole Indian subcontinent it had set its mind on. The plan of unity fell through when Pakistan separated from India in 1947. However, according to Salazar, the idea of Indian unity was an "ideal", not a "reason", let alone "right" because geography does not entitle a sovereign nation to acquire other nation's territory, especially when it was an "integral part" of an empire for centuries, as was the case of Goa. By "integral part of the Portuguese Empire for centuries" Salazar was driving at the fact that Goans had been Portuguese citizens, equal under the law, since 1757 by Royal Decree signed by King Joseph I. As a result, Salazar felt that the charge of Portugal's racial discrimination against Goans was invalid. On the contrary, India itself was the "victim" of this prejudice, he claimed.⁵⁰ Salazar maintained that Goa was an "important" part of the Portuguese empire, as it was truly "Portuguese". The union of Portuguese and Indian cultures, he argued, slowly reshaped Goan identity from Indian to Portuguese. Once absorbed by the Indian Union, he stated, the unique Goan identity and culture would have "no chance of survival".

Nehru contested this view in an address to Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament of India:

Although it does not require that anything should be said in justification of our claim to Goa, I shall nevertheless, venture to mention a few facts (...) There is of course the

⁴⁹ António de Oliveira Salazar, *Reforming the Constitution: Another Step Towards Defining and Consolidating the Regime: A Speech Made by H. E. The Prime Minister of Portugal Dr. Salazar, in the National Assembly Library, Lisbon, on 20th October 1949* (Lisboa: Books S.N.I., 1949), 19–21.

⁵⁰ Although Salazar vehemently argued that Goans were on equal footing with other Portuguese citizens of the metropolis, this was not true until 1950 when the discriminatory Colonial Act of 1930 was finally revoked, and an equal status of Portuguese citizenship for Goans was restored.

geographical argument. The Portuguese Government claims that Goa is a part of Portugal. That remark is so illogical and absurd that it is rather difficult to deal with (...) It has no relation to facts (...) I am not going into the old history of the Portuguese possession of Goa; but I think many members will remember that this history is a very dark chapter of India's history.⁵¹

Moreover, Nehru, in an earlier speech, had declared that he conceived of Portuguese territories in India as an anachronism as their existence was discrepant with historical developments that had, after all, resulted in the end of imperial reign in India itself.⁵²

Nehru's bewilderment, no doubt, stemmed from Salazar's conviction that history is superior to geography. According to Nehru, however, geography does play an important role and he thus refused to accept Salazar's argument that Goa was part of Portugal. He found it "illogical" and "absurd" because, as he argued, Goa was a geographical part of India, which was a self-evident "fact". Nehru also called Goa's colonial past "dark" and "anachronistic" in opposition to the modern decolonized democracy of India during his rule. He advocated that the time of colonial rule was over, and Portugal should follow and not resist natural forces of history. Clearly, Nehru refers to India as described in his *The Discovery of India* (1946), in which he presents a nationalist construction of history. His account sets the nationalist historical narrative against the colonial discourse. Nehru's nationalistic discourse, however, is not an isolated one in the postcolonial context. It was common during the era of anti-colonialism that nationalist intellectuals were profoundly concerned about the interpretation of their own past. They offered new images of their country's culture and history that highlighted the nation's unity as a purely collective feature. In nationalist discourse, continuity played an important counterweight to 'transient' regimes of colonial powers.⁵³ Therefore in elements such as religion, culture, language and natural environment continuity was 'ascertained' which served to legitimize their claims of sovereignty. The similar nationalist narratives were constructed by African leaders and intellectuals during their struggle for independence from colonial rule, for example, by the former Angolan president António Agostinho Neto, the Angolan writer Luandino Vieira, the revolutionary leader Amílcar Cabral from Guinea Bissau or the anti-colonial Martiniquian thinker Frantz Fanon who fought in the Algerian revolution.⁵⁴ These intellectuals criticized the colonial policies of assimilation and violence, and encouraged Africans to re-Africanize, to rediscover their African roots. What is perhaps idiosyncratic of Nehru's nationalist discourse is his preference for decolonization via peaceful methods, which is in contrast with opinions of his contemporaries, ironically, who themselves perceived of violence as a legitimate means of liberation.

Turning back to Nehru's position in the debate on Goa, Nehru asserted that India's heritage surpasses the colonial era in India by claiming that "the continuity of cultural tradition through five thousand years of history," made the 180 years of British rule in India (which was the biggest concern of his at the time of writing the book) seem like "just one of the unhappy interludes in her long history".⁵⁵ Therefore Salazar's argument that Goa had been part of the

⁵¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches: September 1946 to April 1961* (Delhi: The Commercial Printing P, 1961), 112.

⁵² Parliament of India, "Parliamentary Debates: 26 March to 15 April 1954," ed. House of People (1954), col. 4808.

⁵³ Bravo, "The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism," 149.

⁵⁴ Agostinho Neto, *Poemas De Angola* (Rio de Janeiro: Codecri, 1976); Frantz Fanon and Richard Philcox, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, [1952] 2008); José Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira De Domingos Xavier* (Lisboa: Edições 70, [1961] 1974); Amilcar Cabral, *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral*, ed. Africa Information Service (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973).

⁵⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, [1946] 2004), 43–44.

Portuguese empire for many centuries was, according to Nehru, irrelevant. The ancient civilizations of India were still alive and their cultural heritage, thousands of years old, still reality, which implied a relation between India's ancient and contemporary inhabitants. Although ancient, Nehru stressed that since the beginning of civilization India had embraced the values of cultural diversity and tolerance. According to him, the diversity and syncretism of India "is obvious (...) Some kind of dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization (...) The widest tolerance of belief and custom was practiced and every variety acknowledged and even encouraged".⁵⁶ Through this premise of 'unity in diversity', Nehru contradicted Salazar's conviction about the inevitable perish of the Indo-Portuguese culture that had evolved in Goa as a result of long coexistence of the two cultures once Goa came under the Indian Union, and claimed that the unique Goan culture did have a chance of survival in the Indian Union. Based on these arguments, it can be assumed that the concept of Goan identity in Nehru's perception, as opposed to Salazar's, was stable and unchanging, persistent to external influences with only changing shades of meaning. Nehru maintained that Goans, whether Hindus, Christian or Muslims, were Indians and had Indian identity. The Portuguese interlude in Goa's history, during which the Portuguese exercised power to refashion the local population, did not have any significant impact on Goan cultural identity, which stems from the syncretic nature of the Indian tradition. Hence, as Nehru argued, Goans could not have been uprooted from the land and traditions in such a short time as 450 years and by an alien power that even geographically pertained to another world.

To rebut this argument, Salazar unflinchingly repeated that geography had never been a legitimate basis for sovereign rights, and it were always historical realities and not geographical demarcation that determined borders, otherwise small states could not possibly coexist next to big states.⁵⁷ He reasoned that if the history of the last five centuries was not to be taken into account, no state or nation in Europe, America, Africa or Asia could be today called legitimate.⁵⁸ As a result of failure to represent the entire Indian subcontinent, the Indian Union sought to absorb Goa to fulfill its dream of the Great India and territorial aggrandizement at the expense of preexisting sovereignties. This dream, Salazar argued, clashed against the alleged Goan wish to remain under the Portuguese rule.⁵⁹ Four hundred and fifty years of co-existence and shared experience, Salazar argued, created a "distinct" culture which was not Indian but distinctly Portuguese. In one of his later writings, Salazar claims:

The Christian atmosphere, the Western culture, the transplantation of other customs and institutions, the spread of the language, the political relationship with a European country of standing, helped in the formation and deep rooting of a people which was perfectly differentiated from the ethnic group of Hindustan (...) No qualified traveler passing into Goa from the Indian Union can fail to gain impression that he is entering an entirely different land. The way people think, feel and act is European. There may not be no geographic or economic frontier but there is indubitably a human one: Goa is the transplantation of the West onto Eastern lands, the expression of Portugal in India.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Ibid., 54–55.

⁵⁷ qtd. in Nogueira, *Salazar: O Ataque (1945–1958)*, 343.

⁵⁸ António de Oliveira Salazar, *The Case of Goa* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954), 128–30.

⁵⁹ Salazar, "Goa and the Indian Union," 423.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 420.

Salazar was convinced that in Goa a special Goan-Portuguese cultural union was created on the basis of which Goans thought of themselves as Portuguese, not as Indians. Interestingly, his conviction of a 'distinct' Goan culture seemed to also have had academic support. During the 1950s, a well-known Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist, Gilberto Freyre, developed the concept of *lusotropicalism*. Lusotropicalism is a belief that the Portuguese, in contrast to the Northern European colonizers, possessed a 'unique' capacity to intermingle with the conquered peoples and coexist with them on non-racist terms. As a result of this attitude, the Portuguese and their colonial subjects shared a 'distinct' culture which, according to Gilberto Freyre, was a hybrid of cultures and religions emanating from Africa, Brazil, India and Portugal itself.

Although the notion of the Portuguese inclination towards inter-racial mixing had already been a theme in Freyre's publication about the Brazilian heterogeneous society, *The Masters and the Slaves* (1933), the term lusotropicalism was not dubbed until the 1950s. It was in the very beginning of the 1950s, that Freyre was invited by the Portuguese Minister of Overseas, Manuel Maria Sarmiento Rodrigues, to visit and write about the Portuguese colonies in Africa and India. Through comparison and analogy between the social, cultural and sexual interactions between the people of Brazil, Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, he developed the theory of lusotropicalism already outlined in his earlier work.⁶¹ According to Freyre's arguments, the Portuguese were supposed to have a special capacity for miscegenation which predisposed them to a synthetic coexistence with other races. This interpretation fitted well with the construction of the colonial myth of the Estado Novo by representing the Portuguese empire as a multiracial and multicultural nation, stretching over four continents. Through it, Salazar could legitimize his claims in Africa and India against the growing anti-colonial pressures of the UN in the late 1950s. In 1960, to tone down the critique against Portugal's persistence on retaining its colonies, the Portuguese government organized a conference in Lisbon and a vast body of literature was published to celebrate the 5th centenary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator. On the occasion, Freyre's *The Portuguese and the Tropics* (1961) was published by the quincentenary commission. In this book, Freyre develops his concept of lusotropicalism further by claiming that the Portuguese, and in general all Hispanics, were a tolerance driven, ruling elite without any racial prejudice,⁶² who brought universal Christian, or better said Roman Catholic values to the tropics to form a unique psycho-social and socio-cultural relationship between the Portuguese and the indigenous population.⁶³ Freyre argues that these features were shared only by the Hispanics, denying them to Northern Europeans, namely the Dutch and the British. He held the latter Europeans responsible for the racial superiority syndrome which, as he argued, is lacking in the

⁶¹ Miguel Vale de Almeida, "Portugal's Colonial Complex: From Colonial Lusotropicalism to Postcolonial Lusophony," in *Queen's Postcolonial Research Forum Seminar* (Queen's University, Belfast: n.p., 2008), 1-2.

⁶² Racial prejudice towards the colonized people is a highly disputed issue among the scholars of Portuguese colonialism. The opinions of scholars on Goan-Portuguese relationships, in particular, differ considerably. What makes the issue more problematic is the actual fragmentation within the approaches themselves. For contrasting views on Portuguese discrimination against native populations on account of color, see Souza Teotónio R. de Souza, "Portuguese Impact Upon Goa: Lusotopic, Lusophonic, Lusophilic?," in *Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*, ed. Philip J. Havik and Malyn Newitt (Bristol: Bristol UP, 2007), 247., and Mascarenhas Lambert Mascarenhas, "History of the Freedom Movement in Goa," in *Bibliography of Goa and the Portuguese in India*, ed. Henry Scholberg, Archana A. Kakodker, and Carmo Azevedo (New Delhi: Promilla, 1982), 397.

⁶³ Gilberto Freyre, *The Portuguese and the Tropics*, trans. Helen M. D'O. Matthew and F. de Mello Moser (Lisbon: Executive Committee for the Commemoration of the Vth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry the Navigator, 1961), 45-56.

Portuguese, who are dominated only by a Christocentric spirit.^{64,65} Thus, Freyre's theory of the Portuguese as adherents of racial equality, tolerance of other cultures, cultural intermingling and evangelization, was inserted into the rhetoric of the political discourse and found a stable place in Salazar's narrative of Portugal as a modern colonial power.⁶⁶

Irrespective of these rather wide ideological differences, it is interesting that both actors, Salazar and Nehru, used similar arguments in the debate over Goa. Although having claimed to the international audience that their arguments were extraordinary and dissimilar from each other, in essence, both claimants were driven by nationalist commitment. As a remarkable example note the mutual accusations made by Lisbon and New Delhi against one another of fascist and Hitler-like conduct in the case of Goa. In 1956 in the United Nations General Assembly, Salazar argued that by the written and oral propaganda, street manifestations, economic blockade of Goa, border disturbances, and India's alleged right to protect and incorporate a population of the same racial affinity into one state, Nehru had been using the same methods once used by Hitler in Sudetenland.⁶⁷ Equally, a few years earlier, Nehru had accused Salazar of ruthless authoritarian administration over the Indian people of Goa by means of a racist, fascist, and last but not least, colonial regime.⁶⁸

From the above it can be concluded that each side considered itself having the moral, spiritual and legal right to possess Goa, and that for both, Nehru and Salazar, control over Goa meant an affirmation of their nationalist ideologies. Salazar saw Goa as a reminder of a glorious past that could be revived. It was a reminder of the 'Age of Discoveries', when Portugal, a small country, turned into an imperial power. Goa, as a part of the Portuguese Empire, represented the national pride, the 'junction' where traditions of East and West met, 'a light of the Occident in the lands of the Orient'.⁶⁹ As a result, Portugal felt it had a moral obligation towards Goa; hence, it could not negotiate Goa's cession to India. Moreover, colonies also abounded with immense riches in natural resources and thus served as financial backbone of the Empire and as means of national regeneration.⁷⁰ Last but not least, Goa symbolized the very existence of the Portuguese colonial system. If Portugal rendered Goa to India, would it not indicate that the Portuguese rule there had been illegal? And, as a result, if the Portuguese sovereignty over Goa was illicit, how could Portugal claim sovereignty over other overseas territories of the same status?⁷¹ Salazar was aware that a failure to retain Goa would gradually lead to the loss of all of the colonial territories, which would be perceived as a political degradation of Portugal's position in world politics. However, Portugal's position in India was precarious. As Goa was adjoined by the colossal Indian Union,

⁶⁴ —, *Portuguese Integration in the Tropics* (Lisbon: Silva, 1961), 18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 17. Freyre saw the Portuguese colonialism in terms of a Christocentric sociological character rather than ethnocentric one. According to him, the Portuguese did not aspire to Europeanize the people of the tropics and the East but rather to Christianize them.

⁶⁶ Miguel Vale de Almeida, a Portuguese anthropologist, comes with an interesting observation on lusotropicalism in Brazil and Portugal. He claims that the narrative in which discovery, expansion and colonization played a central role "became hegemonic and part of [Portuguese] people's representations too, not just an imposed propaganda", see Almeida, "Portugal's Colonial Complex: From Colonial Lusotropicalism to Postcolonial Lusophony," 5.

⁶⁷ Nogueira, Salazar: *O Ataque* (1945–1958), 301; Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle*, 212.

⁶⁸ Akbar, Nehru: *The Making of India*, 502; Bravo, "The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism," 128.

⁶⁹ Nogueira, Salazar: *O Ataque* (1945–1958), 342.

⁷⁰ Although Goa was not of great commercial value to Salazar, he was aware of the fact that once Goa was lost, Angola, Mozambique and other colonies would soon follow too.

⁷¹ The designation 'overseas province' had been shared in the Portuguese empire by Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau (the then Portuguese Guinea), Macau, Goa as a part of the Portuguese India, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor.

Salazar relied on the fact that Nehru was not willing to damage his reputation as an international leader holding a pacifist ideology and commitment to non-violence by using military force in Goa.⁷²

Conversely, for Nehru, Goa symbolized the last visible trace of colonialism on the Indian subcontinent and was a reminder of a very dark past, a past that was to be surpassed. Goans, as members of a greater Indian nation, could fit well into the Indian nationalist narrative according to which empires were victims of time, while nations were believed to be eternal with a “hoary” past.⁷³ Moreover, with its alleged hybrid identity, Goa and its inhabitants represented the heterogeneity of Indian culture, which proved that Goans were nothing but full-blooded Indians. Nehru, however, failed to persuade Salazar to withdraw from Goa on the basis of his arguments. Nevertheless at the close of 1961, forced by domestic as well as international circumstances he had to act. The urgency to act emerged from the domestic scene. The ruling party desperately wanted to win the national elections planned for February 1962.⁷⁴ Nehru had to regain the sympathies of his voters after the failure to settle the border question with China. Besides, India’s reputation as the leader of the Asia-African block was at stake due to India’s alleged idleness with respect to its anti-colonialism. Nehru was aware that a failure to act would mean defeat of the aspirations of Afro-Asian nations to gain their freedoms from the colonial regimes. However, a more important role was perhaps played by Nehru’s awareness that an inability of action by India would give a wrong message to belligerent neighbors, namely Pakistan and China.⁷⁵ After more than a decade of fruitless negotiations, on 14 December 1961, Nehru eventually abandoned his pacifist rhetoric and, amid international contestation, ordered the ‘liberation’ of Goa by military means.

The Indian invasion into Goan territory ended the fourteen year debate between Salazar and Nehru over the possession of Goa. The invasion also ended the conflict between colonialism and nationalism, as well as the conflict between history and geography. While Salazar argued that Goa was an integral part of Portugal and hence it was absurd of India to ask for its cession, Nehru maintained that the times had changed and Portugal’s colonial attitude was unacceptable in the new de-colonized world order. This conviction was demonstrated by the ‘liberation’ of Goa by which the first European colony to have been established on the Indian subcontinent ceased to exist. While the UN had excoriated Portuguese colonialism, several Western countries which would again later support the Portuguese government regarding the African colonies at the beginning of the 1970s, were shocked by India’s action and deplored it. Shortly after the annexation, Richard R. Baxter, an expert on international law, intoned that the Indian Union had no right to use force against the Portuguese territories in India, even after Portugal had refused to reconcile. He argued that “stability may, on occasion, be more important than justice.”⁷⁶ On the other hand, in most of the Third World countries, including India, enthusiasm ran high. Although India’s military action in Goa was a hard blow for Portugal, Salazar did not launch a counterattack to re-seize Goa. Instead he severed diplomatic relations between Portugal and India, and became more intent on fighting freedom movements in Portuguese Africa. Despite having turned his attention away from the Indian peninsula, Salazar never recognized the Indian

⁷² Nogueira, Salazar: O Ataque (1945–1958), 275.

⁷³ Bravo, “The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism,” 149.

⁷⁴ Teotónio R. de Souza, “The Church in Goa: Give to Cesar What Is Cesar’s,” in *The Transforming of Goa*, ed. Norman Dantas (Goa: The Other India Press, 1999), 62.

⁷⁵ Fernandes, “Political Transition in Post-Colonial Societies – Goa in Perspective.”

⁷⁶ qtd. in Ronald J. Greene, “Indian Envoy Attributes Seizure of Goa to Failure of World Law. No Provision for World Peace,” *The Harvard Crimson*, 24 February 1962.

annexation of Goa.⁷⁷ In fact, Goa continued to have its representatives in the Portuguese National Assembly.⁷⁸ It was only after the Carnation Revolution of 1974 that the new government in Lisbon recognized the annexation of Goa, Daman and Diu, and restored diplomatic ties with India.⁷⁹

To conclude, the overview of the historiography as well as the debate over Goa itself have clearly shown that the nationalist narratives play a significant role in identity building. It confirms Gillis's presumption that identity sustains particular subjective positions as it is "a political and social construct",⁸⁰ and is indispensable when making claims over a territory. Furthermore, the opposition between colonial and post-colonial (post-nationalistic) imaginations, be it political representations or scholarly works, point at absolutes, paradoxes and controversies that result from oppositional nationalist commitments. Although the arguments used by both parties are presented as different, because of being based on dissimilar traditions and driven by different motives, it nevertheless remains questionable whether they really are so different *au fond*, especially when considering that nationalism and a strong urge to each assert their own 'truth' were the driving forces in the debate.

⁷⁷ Caroline B. Brettel, "Portugal's First Post-Colonials: Citizenship, Identity, and the Repatriation of Goans," *Portuguese Studies Review* 14, no. 2 (2006–7): 144.

⁷⁸ It is useful to keep in mind that despite having carried a name after a democratic institution, the Portuguese National Assembly was not in any way based on democratic representation, but rather on functionalist representation which supported the corporatist ideology of the state.

⁷⁹ After 1975, former Portuguese India (Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli) was given a special status under the Portuguese Nationality Law. The governmental regulation n. 308-A/1975 of 24 June states that those born in the former Portuguese India who declare their intention to preserve their Portuguese nationality are entitled to do so, see Government of Portugal, "Decreto-Lei N° 308-a/75, De 24 De Junho," ed. Ministry of Internal Administration (Lisbon: Imprensa do MAI, 1975). Interestingly, citizens of other former Portuguese overseas territories were given a limited period of time to determine whether they wanted to retain their Portuguese citizenship or they preferred to adopt the nationality of the newly independent territory, see Brettel, "Portugal's First Post-Colonials: Citizenship, Identity, and the Repatriation of Goans," 144.

⁸⁰ John R. Gillis, "Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 5.

reviews|

Holm Sundhausen: 'Istorija Srbije od 19. do 21. veka'

Srdjan Jovanović

[History of Serbia from the 19th to 21st century], Klio, Belgrade, 2007. Translated by Tomislav Bekić.

Holm Sundhausen's work *History of Serbia* represents a culmination of this author's long-term interest in this South-European country. On over 500 pages of clear-presented information and lucid analysis, this interdisciplinary work of modern historiography gives an impartial account of Serbia's history as an independent state, that is, from the 19th century, the Berlin Congress and the slow end of Ottoman rule in the Balkans.

Aware of the problem of national bias, Sundhausen immediately elucidates why a German should have no problem in writing a history of Serbia. 'Most historians in Germany deal with Germany, most historians in Serbia deal with Serbia'¹, notices the author. However, one's belonging to a certain nationality should not be a hindrance in history at all, 'provided that history is a science'. And Sundhausen seems to firmly believe it is, seemingly negating what E. H. Carr noticed when he wrote that 'one should first study the historian, and then the history'². For *if* history is a science, such issues should, simply, not exist, claims Sundhausen, dismissing the often heard arguments such as those claiming that 'foreigners cannot understand'³. Shedding away common historiographical problems in this discipline's epistemology, he begins with John Harald Plumb's differentiation between *history* and the *past*.⁴ 'The past is not history, even though it can partially be so. (...) It is an intellectual process (...), history grew intellectually out of *knowledge*'.⁵ History, Plumb concludes, and Sundhausen agrees, is a *scientific construction of the past*. And a valid construction is entirely possible.

Somewhat dismissively perhaps, Sundhausen is not satisfied with the histories of Serbia already in existence, mentioning Pavlowitch,⁶ Tomić,⁷ Cox⁸ and Dragnich⁹. Cox and Dragnich, in the author's view 'do not satisfy the criteria of a critical synthesis'¹⁰, while Ljubodrag Dimić's *Suočavanje sa prošlošću* (Confronting the Past) is seen almost as a collection of enumerations, which 'stand instead of an analysis'¹¹. However, he does have a positive attitude toward Dubravka

¹ H. Sundhausen, 'Istorija Srbije od 19. do 21. veka', Belgrade 2007, p. 9.

² E. H Carr, *What is History*, London² 1987.

³ H. Sundhausen, 'Istorija', p. 27.

⁴ J. H. Plumb, *The Death of the Past*, New York 2003.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ S. K. Pavlowitch, *Serbia: the history behind the name*, London 2001.

⁷ Y. Tomic, *La Serbie du prince Milos à Milosevic*, Bruxelles 2003.

⁸ J. K. Cox, *The history of Serbia*, Westport 2002.

⁹ A. N. Dragnich, *Serbia through the ages*, Boulder 2004.

¹⁰ H. Sundhausen, 'Istorija', p. 20.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 21.

Stojanović and Miroslav Jovanović¹², in which ‘a different view on Serbian history’ is given, a ‘critical’ one¹³.

Unlike most historians from Serbia,¹⁴ Sundhaussen is well aware of the fact that nations are imaginary communities,¹⁵ quoting the unavoidable Benedict Anderson. They have been created recently, from the 18th century onwards,¹⁶ same as many of the states now present in Europe, and so was Serbia. Only ‘with the First and Second Serbian Uprising of 1804 and 1815 (...) does the beginning of the creation of the Serbian state and nation’¹⁷. Breaking all lay concepts of nation and ethnicity, Sundhaussen notices how the medieval Serbian state and the famous and celebrated dynasty of the Nemanjićs cannot even be considered Serbian from any side; namely, ‘the Nemanjić dynasty, whose male side died off, cannot be designated as “Serbian” in an ethnic sense, nor can the state’¹⁸, which boasts Byzantine insignia¹⁹. Continuing with the destruction of layman’s prejudices, Sundhaussen depicts the popular *topos* of the foreign ruler, which is ever so typical for Serbian historiography. Especially in the works on Radoš Ljušić²⁰, the head of the Department of History of the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, as well as in elementary and high schools throughout the country, the Ottoman Turks are seen as an evil, invading force, a foreign ruler.²¹ However, as Sundhaussen notices, whoever holds the reins of government is not that important, since in all cases, ‘the majority of the populace is kept from all and any political power’²². The lands which today belong to the state of Serbia, putting it bluntly, were simply a part of the Ottoman Empire, as much as they are a part of the Republic of Serbia as a state today. Many myths and layman prejudices needed to be broken and explained in Sundhaussen’s magnum opus. The romantically idealized *hajduci* (sing. *hajduk*), for instance, are explained as almost common bandits.²³

The root of the modern Serbian state Sundhaussen sees in the ‘long 19th century’, using Hobsbawm’s delineation. However, this is the time in which he also sees the root of modern Serbian nationalism and all the strife and conflict that Serbia saw by the end of the 20th century. He identifies the revered figures of the philologist Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić, the priest-poet Petar Petrović Njegoš and the cleric Nikolaj Velimirović as crucial for the formation of the Kosovo national myth. ‘Nationalists are often language activists, and most language activists are nationalists’, noticed Ager,²⁴ and Sundhaussen sees Karadžić as the beginning of the language-driven nationalism in Serbia, a ‘secessionist language nationalism’²⁵. On the other hand he sees the roots of religious strife in the much celebrated epic ‘Mountain Wreath’ by Njegoš, where ‘a religious war replaces tribal conflict’ and the Battle of the Kosovo Field gets represented as ‘the outcome of

¹² M. Jovanović, *Jezik i društvena istorija*, Beograd 2002.

¹³ H. Sundhaussen, ‘*Istorija*’, p. 23.

¹⁴ R. Ljušić – V. Krestić, *Kneževina Srbija (1830–1839)* [The principality of Serbia (1830–1839)], Beograd 1986.

¹⁵ H. Sundhaussen, ‘*Istorija*’, p. 32.

¹⁶ S. Kordić, *Jezik i nacionalizam*, Zagreb 2010; C. Esbach, *Nationalismus und Rationalität*, Berlin 2000; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The age of extremes: a history of the world, 1914–1991*, New York 1994.

¹⁷ H. Sundhaussen, ‘*Istorija*’, p. 31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁰ R. Ljušić – V. Krestić, *Kneževina Srbija (1830–1839)*.

²¹ H. Sundhaussen, ‘*Istorija*’, p. 41, 79.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²³ *Ibid.*, 60–67; cf. E. J. Hobsbawm, *Sozialrebellien. Archaische Sozialbewegungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Neuwied a. Rhein 1962, p. 18.

²⁴ D. E. Ager, *Motivation in language planning and language policy*, Clevedon 2001.

²⁵ H. Sundhaussen, ‘*Istorija*’, p. 107.

a huge misery, as a moral and religious foundation'²⁶. 'The myth of Kosovo', claims Sundhausen, 'rests on the aesthetization of that which *did not exist*'²⁷. However, this was not an 'invention of tradition', since the elements of the myth were known for a long time, 'the new thing was the composition', as 'being a Serb moved to the center of all. And that was the truly new moment'²⁸.

By the end of World War I, Serbia came out 'set back by decades', yet 'it came out as a winner, with highest respect from the Allies'²⁹. The 'short 20th century', on the other hand, was the era of 'state and national crisis and catastrophe'³⁰. The new state in 1919 was 'internationally unrecognized, without secured borders, facing political and social problems within'³¹. All in all, 'the birth of first Yugoslavia created more problems than it had solved'³². In a vein much similar to Hobsbawm, Sundhausen asks whether Yugoslavia was a country that represented a gathering of more South-Slavic nations, or 'an enlarged Serbia'³³. A quote from Nikolaj Velimirović, a very influential figure by the beginning of the 20th century, illustrates the point well: 'All of us Yugoslavs are certain that the harmony and single-spiritedness between the clerical, two faiths and two Churches, will rule in the future *Serbian* state'³⁴. Sundhausen also notices the eminent Serb historian Stanoje Stanojević and his *History of the Serb People*, that became a history of Yugoslavia simply by the change of its name and a couple of pages added about Croatia and Slovenia. 'Nothing in this work indicated that it was about a history of the Southern Slavs'³⁵. In the *Načertanije* written by Ilija Garašanin in 1844, one of the first documents that tried to unite Serbs from several countries, Kosovo was seen as 'Old Serbia', while Macedonia was designated 'South Serbia'³⁶. The same policies now continued in a joined country. With the work of Velimirović and the Church, religiosity was spread in the first decades of the 20th century,³⁷ a religiosity that will later help perpetuate the Yugoslav wars. The opposition towards modernity and a support to backwardness that was elaborated by Perović³⁸ began at the turn of the centuries, and is still present in Serbia.

The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, according to Sundhausen, bore all the problems of the times past, but the only difference was in the fact that the newborn nationalism was 'stifled, that is, domesticated, but not defeated, it simply lay dormant, waiting for a chance to resurface', which was 'confirmed in the nineties'³⁹. This Yugoslavia lasted because 'Tito was Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was Tito'⁴⁰. After his death, Serbia, ever the center of the Yugoslav problem(s), went into 'self-annihilation'⁴¹. 'A violent and radical process of re-coding the past began', and the 'Yugoslav metaphor became replaced by a nationalist Serb one, often riddled with

²⁶ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 250.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 251.

³¹ Ibid., p. 257.

³² Ibid., p. 261.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 263.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 271.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 310.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 317.

³⁸ L. Perović, *Između anarhije i autokratije: srpsko društvo na prelazima vekova (XIX–XXI)*, Beograd 2006.

³⁹ H. Sundhausen, 'Istorija', p. 374.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 381.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 415.

religion⁴². The same nationalist and religious ideologists resurrected the ideas of Kosovo as the center of Serbia's national being,⁴³ helped by the Serb Orthodox Church.⁴⁴ 'Soon, the topos of the martyr and genocide came to rule Serbia in public discourse'⁴⁵. The idea of martyrdom is now known to be an almost integral part of nationalism.⁴⁶ The prime 'mobilizer' of the force of nationalism, as Sundhaussen explains, was Slobodan Milošević,⁴⁷ 'who used fear as the most important instrument'⁴⁸. With him, the process of the disintegration of Yugoslavia came to its 'active phase'⁴⁹, helped by the persona of Franjo Tuđman⁵⁰. Though Sundhaussen never openly states it, influences from individualistic historiography of Sir Lewis Namier and Fritz Fischer's approach that stressed the role of the elites are strong in this work. He stresses Susan L. Woodward's statement that the 'widest accepted depiction of the international acting regarding former Yugoslavia is that it was too little, too late'⁵¹, reminiscing on Misha Glenny's elaborating on the impact of the international community on the developments in the Balkans.⁵² Not wanting to be overly shallow, however, Sundhaussen stresses Kaplan's work as an oversimplification,⁵³ in the manner of Maria Todorova.⁵⁴

Sundhaussen ends his work with the chapter entitled 'The perspective of the philosophy of the small town or the open society', drawing upon the Belgrade philosopher, Radomir Konstantinović, who has, in his *magnum opus* "Filozofija palanke" almost prophetically "seen" the things to come by the end of the sixties, blaming the turmoil on the lack of willingness to change and adapt to modernity, similar to the later works of the Belgrade historian Latinka Perović.⁵⁵ The lack of modernity continued in the 21st century, after the assassination of the Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić, where Sundhaussen sees yet another resurgence of nationalism in the regime of the ultranationalist leader, Vojislav Koštunica. As Konstantinović mentioned, "there is no change, nor can there be one. History has forgotten us"⁵⁶.

Sundhaussen ends in an almost positive note, stressing how history is always in the making, and that nothing has *ended*, so to speak. "It is not the separation from the past (that is needed), but the deconstruction of those images of the past that had been causing so much confusion and had brought so much misery"⁵⁷. "And what 'Europe' needs from Serbia are not alleged 'heroes' from the past and the present, but wise and brave people that this society has produced, as well as the rich cultural past of Serbia and the Serbs"⁵⁸.

⁴² Ibid., p. 416.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 426.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 424.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ S. Kordić, *Jezik i nacionalizam*.

⁴⁷ H. Sundhaussen, 'Istorija', p. 441.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 443.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 451.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ S. L. Woodward, *Balkan tragedy: chaos and dissolution after the Cold War*, Washington, D. C. 1995.

⁵² M. Glenny, *The Balkans: nationalism, war, and the Great Powers, 1804–1999*, New York 2000.

⁵³ H. Sundhaussen, 'Istorija', p. 459.

⁵⁴ M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York 1997.

⁵⁵ L. Perović, *Između anarhije i autokratije: srpsko društvo na prelazima vekova (XIX–XXI)*.

⁵⁶ R. Konstantinović, *Filozofija palanke*, Beograd 1971.

⁵⁷ H. Sundhaussen, 'Istorija', p. 508.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 509.

Alessandro Catalano: *Zápas o svědomí.* *Kardinál Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu (1598–1667)* *a protireformace v Čechách*

Jarmila Kašpárková

[Der Kampf um das Gewissen. Kardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667) und die Gegenreformation in Böhmen] Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, Praha 2008, 637 s.

Nicht alle historischen Epochen genießen bei den Historikern gleiches Ansehen. Wenn ein Zeitalter nicht beachtet oder sogar verdammt wird, bildet die Gesellschaft ihre kollektiven Vorstellungen davon durch andere Mittel. Diese Maxime gelten, laut Alessandro Catalano, Autor des vorgestellten Buches, auch für Böhmen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, also für die Zeit, als das Land rekatholisiert wurde. Man erinnert sich daran: die Rolle der fehlenden Geschichtsschreibung wurde von der schönen Literatur übernommen, sodass wohl jeder Einheimische zuerst an die Bezeichnung „das finstere Zeitalter“ denkt, mit der diese Epoche von dem tschechischen Romanautor Alois Jirásek gebrandmarkt wurde. Die wenigen historischen Werke aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, die diese Problematik behandeln, wurden überwiegend durch die Zeit ihrer Entstehung und die Konfession, bzw. die ideologischen Anschauungen ihres Autors beeinflusst. Es stand viel auf dem Spiel: zuerst die Legitimität, die moderne tschechische Nation zu bilden, später die des neu entstandenen Staates und zuletzt die negative Einstellung gegenüber der Religion im Allgemeinen, die während des totalitären Regimes proklamiert wurde. Das Buch, das sich mit einer der Schlüsselfiguren der Rekatholisierung, mit dem Prager Erzbischof Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667) beschäftigt, möchte diese Lücke in der Geschichtsforschung füllen und eine andere Interpretation des Prozesses bieten, der sich die Konversion der böhmischen Bevölkerung zur katholischen Konfession zum Ziel setzte.

Die Arbeit des italienischen Bohemisten und Historikers Alessandro Catalano, heutzutage Professor an der Universität in Padua (letzte Veröffentlichung über die Literatur in der Tschechoslowakei in den Jahren 1948–1989 *Rudá záře nad literaturou*¹ und Herausgeber der Tagebücher Kardinal Harrachs²), beruht auf dem gründlichen Studium der Quellen in Archiven in Rom (Archivio della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, Archivio segreto vaticano), in Österreich (Archiv der Familie Harrach) und in Tschechien (Archiv des Prager Erzbistums). Ohne diese beachtenswerte Quellenforschung wäre das Bild dieser Zeit nicht vollständig gewesen. Methodologisch folgt er der Konzeption der Gegenreformation und katholischen Reformation Hubert Jedins, bzw. der Problematik der Konfessionalisierung von Wolfgang Reinhard und Heinz Schilling. Die Arbeit ist aber im Wesentlichen den Ansätzen von Thomas Winkelbauer und R. J. W. Evans verpflichtet (insbesondere, was den Anteil der Kirche an der Entstehung und das Funktionieren des modernen Staates betrifft), wie auch dem von Adriano Prosperi. Es ist also klar, dass Catalano das Leben und das Episkopat Kardinal Harrachs in breitere Zusammenhänge gestellt hat, als man auf den ersten Blick annehmen würde.

¹ A. Catalano, *Rudá záře nad literaturou* [Roter Schein über der Literatur], Praha 2011.

² A. Catalano – K. Keller (Hgg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2001.

Das Buch behandelt die bereits besprochene Fragestellung auf 388 Seiten und ist in zwölf Kapitel gegliedert. Das Leben und die Aufgaben des Erzbischofs sind streng chronologisch geschildert: von dem familiären Hintergrund und den Studien in Rom, über die Übernahme des Erzbischofsamtes in Prag und die Beschreibung des Dienstes von Harrach, sowie seine Erfolge und Misserfolge bis zu seinem Tod. Die Kapitel wurden jedoch nicht nach den Zeitabschnitten benannt, die sie behandeln. Catalano hat versucht, in jeder Überschrift den Grundgedanken des entsprechenden Kapitels zu verdichten, aber nicht immer ist ihm diese Absicht gelungen. Da eine Reihe von Problemen (die Frage der Ausbildung, die bischöflichen Kompetenzen, Harrachs Berater usw.) nicht nur in jeweils einem Zeitabschnitt des Episkopats des Erzbischofs Harrach vorkommen, sondern dieses wie ein roter Faden durchdringen, verlieren Kapitelüberschriften, die mit einem dieser Probleme einen abgegrenzten Zeitraum einleiten, ihren Sinn.

Folgende Ergebnisse sind dem Buch zu entnehmen:

1. Die Rekatholisierung von Böhmen war einer der Teilprozesse der Bildung des protomodernen Staates. Sie diente zur Disziplinierung der Bevölkerung im Königreich.
2. Nicht alle beteiligten Akteure identifizierten sich mit dieser Vision. Die Rekatholisierung war deshalb kein Prozess, in dem die weltliche und die kirchliche Macht zusammengearbeitet hätten, wie allerdings bisher angenommen wurde. Der Herrscher nutzte nämlich "die Rückkehr der Bevölkerung zum Mutterleib der katholischen Kirche" zur Konsolidierung der frühneuzeitlichen Monarchie, wobei er eher auf die schnelle Durchführung des Konfessionwechsels als auf die dazu genutzten Mittel achtete. Der Erzbischof wünschte dagegen eine allmähliche Konversion durch die Lehre und die Katechese. Die Durchsetzung seiner Vision hing ab vom Maß seiner Unabhängigkeit vom Herrscher. Allerdings partizipierte noch eine andere Gruppe an diesem Prozess: die Societas Jesu. Der Orden bevorzugte die Verbindung mit der weltlichen Macht, bzw. teilte die Vision des Herrschers, d. h. die Vision einer schnellen, durch Gewalt organisierten und seitens des Staates durchgeführten Bekehrung. Catalano sieht im Prozess der Rekatholisierung einen Kampf der Auffassungen, einen Kampf um die Macht der am Prozess Beteiligten.
3. Man sollte die Inkohärenz der katholischen Seite mehr beachten. Die Uneinigkeit und die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem Erzbischof und dem stärksten Orden im Lande, den Jesuiten, bewirkten einen beachtenswerten Verzug der Rekatholisierung. Die größten Zwistigkeiten sind auf dem Gebiet der Bildung (Universitätsrechte, Existenz des Priesterseminars) zu beobachten.
4. Die katholische Erneuerung wurde auch dadurch beeinflusst, dass während ihrer Durchführung, in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, auf dem Gebiet von Böhmen Kriege geführt wurden und Heere durch das Land zogen. Auch Harrach musste in der Zeit der größten Bedrohung außerhalb der Diözese residieren.

Das Buch von Alessandro Catalano präsentiert einerseits eine ganz neue Interpretation der Ära der Rekatholisierung in den böhmischen Ländern, andererseits mahnt es ein gründlicheres Erforschen dieser Problematik an.

Das Buch quillt – buchstäblich – von zitierten Primärquellen über, denn lange und oft vorkommende Zitate stören beim Lesen. Das lenkt, zusammen mit einer hohen Anzahl von beschriebenen Akteuren und geschichtlicher Abstecker, von der primären Interpretationslinie des Autors so stark ab, dass seine Darlegung an einigen Stellen sogar ganz zerfällt. Die Orientierung im Text kompliziert zudem die Einordnung der bibliographischen Angaben in einen selbstständigen Komplex am Ende des Buches. Auch die Ausarbeitung der *Einleitung* und des *Schlusses* sprengt die traditionelle Konvention. Während die *Einleitung* eigentlich aus der Beschreibung der Forschungslage besteht, behandelt der *Schluss* die Rekatholisierung von Böhmen in einer

größeren Zeitspanne und umfasst sowohl die zweite Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts als auch das nachfolgende Jahrhundert.

Die genannten Tatsachen rauben dem Buch jedoch nicht seinen Charme und schmälern nicht den Verdienst, dass es endlich jenes Zeitalter neu betrachtet, über das man in der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung zu schweigen pflegte. Es ist jedem zu empfehlen, der sich mit der Geschichte von Böhmen, der Habsburgermonarchie oder mit der Kirchengeschichte in der Frühen Neuzeit befasst.

Jaroslav Miller – László Kontler (eds.):
Friars, Nobles and Burghers –
Sermons, Images and Prints.
Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern
Europe, In Memoriam István György Tóth

Ondřej Jakubec

Central European University Press, Budapest – New York 2010, 472 pages.

Not many “Festschrifts” dedicated to outstanding scholars appear in the form of a commemorative volume. It only testifies to deep traces left behind by Hungarian historian István György Tóth (1956–2005), a scholar of high international repute who specialized in the field of Early Modern social and cultural history, including topics such as the history of literacy, cultural and religious transfers in Central and Southeastern Europe and history of everyday life. Prior to his sudden, premature and tragic death on his way back home to Budapest from the international congress of historical sciences in Sydney he worked as a head of the Department of Early Modern History at the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences while teaching at several Hungarian and European universities. He has been known especially as one of the founders of the History Department at Central European University in Budapest (CEU) in 1991. His founding role and activity at this university has been crucial and it is now reflected in the tradition of István György Tóth Lectures launched by the CEU’s Medieval Studies Department since academic year 2005–2006. Another proof of I. G. Toth’s seminal influence and legacy is also this volume published by CEU and co-edited by László Kontler, head of the History Department of CEU, and Jaroslav Miller, one of his former outstanding students at CEU, now head of the History Department of Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic.

The goal of the editors is indicated in the title of the volume. Focusing upon culture and the social-historical background of different social classes the essays mostly cover the geographical environment of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. This mostly reflects both the specialization of the contributors and the research profile of CEU as well. Not incidentally, a number of authors studied at CEU where they had the opportunity to meet I. G. Tóth as a teacher. Consequently, some studies are closely tied with I. G. Toth’s own research. Despite the seemingly heterogeneous texts the volume still keeps some unity. First of all, it is the concentration upon a specific environment of Central and Southeastern Europe that provides the general frame for integrating the diversity of Early Modern cultural, social and religious life. It can not be overlooked that most papers refer to the idea of “multiculturalism” in a broader sense, meaning the co-existence of people of different cultures, confessions and social status sharing the same space. Historical problems and situations related to issues of cultural identity, assimilation and transfer represent the essential point. The editors do not deny that this general methodological base was influenced by the concept of socio-cultural history or new cultural history, represented,

above all, by Peter Burke. This aim refers again to I. G. Toth's method based on a combination of quantitative historical approach and special regard to mentality. Therefore, the editors point out that the variety of essays does not represent diversity but complexity, reflecting the scope of Toth's own research.

The structure of the volume is divided into three main parts. The first one ("Approaches and Historiographical Issues"), the most general one, refers to theoretical issues. Introduced by Heinz Schilling the section informs about research work within the Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700 Programme (Team I. Religion, cultural differentiation and cultural identities), co-directed for several years by I. G. Tóth. This essay provides the most appropriate introduction for its personal character on the one hand and for presenting a view of interdisciplinary and comparative research which highlights cultural aspects of religion in general. Charles Kecskeméti sums up in several case studies the problem of study of national history related to Hungary. Basically he argues that despite many available sources, accessible also thanks to I. G. Toth's editions, the view of Central and Southeastern Europe has been distorted by many prejudices in recent historiography. The essay of Dubravko Lovrenović touches the similar problem of national historical identity in the case of Hungary and Bosnia with regard to political as well as religious issues. This study provides an interesting view of the relation between two historiographical traditions representing totally incompatible symbolical discourses.

The second part of the volume entitled "Confessional and Religious Life" is then divided into four thematic sections. The first one, entitled "Confessional Identities" focuses upon examples of different personal and collective identities rooted in a specific confessional environment. Maria Crăciun's essay provides us with deep knowledge of the material of Post-Reformation art in Transylvania, an elaborate analysis of artworks and their iconography as confessional background. She regards them as special visual media within a new doctrinal context and as media constructing and supporting Lutheran identity. Márta Fata focuses (with many references to primary sources) upon German Lutheran military chaplains from Swabia serving in wars against Ottomans in Hungary. Their activities and careers in the army draw attention to a very interesting social group acting in a very special milieu. The study of Ewa Kowalská explores the life of Hungarian exiles in Germany in the 17th century. She is able, thanks to many case studies and primary sources, to map different deals of exiles while analyzing their social situation in new contexts. Kowalská's study shows many facets of a heteronymous group of non-Catholics living in exile. Georg B. Michels follows in his essay Toth's research concerning an uneasy co-existence of Protestants and Catholics in Hungary and in an innovative way he examines the confessional background of the anti-Habsburg Kuruc revolt in 1672.

The second section, "Symbol and Representation", consists of two essays by two Olomouc historians – Radmila Pavlíčková and Martin Elbel. The first one interprets funeral sermons in terms of political and confessional propaganda. Elbel analyses the issue of legacy and legitimacy of Franciscans and concentrates on the debate and iconography of representing "the real" follower of St. Francis. He views visual sources as important parts of a debate and as media of mass persuasion. According to the character of this section it seems to me that it would be more appropriate to include here the previous essay by Maria Crăciun.

The next section, with the title "Strife and Accommodation", contains another two studies reflecting the aspect of co-existence of various denominations living in a common place. Antonín Kalous focuses on Utraquists and Catholics in Bohemia and he traces the problems of their unification as reflected in a Catholic report discovered in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The study of Daniel Tollet brings an interesting view of another space full of conflict, namely The Polish-Lithuanian Confederation. In his study he is concerned with the difficult position of the Greek-Catholic Church squeezed between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

The last section of the second part of the volume “Religion, Empire and Ideology” covers in two essays by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and Alfred J. Rieber the special topic of the politics of confessionalization in the context of hegemonic imperial rule. The first one traces activities of Jesuits in China and he proves how hollow the expectations of Jesuit missionaries were based on political theology in confrontation with reality of an entirely different culture and ideology. Alfred Rieber traces problems of conversions in Russia from the 17th till 19th centuries concluding that the function of “imperial confessional politics was not important”.

The third and last part of the volume (“Society and Culture”) is dedicated to a variety of issues related to cultural and social history. The first section “Order, Hierarchy and Cultural Capital”, is introduced by Joachim Bahlcke’s essay which pays attention to a special social group of Hungarian titular bishops. The next study by Emese Bálint refers to another social stratum, burghers of the city of Kolozsvár during Ferenc Rákóczi’s War of Independence. She presents a very profound case study related to the issue of Early Modern urban identity. Anna Maria Rao draws attention to men of letters in the era of Enlightenment in Naples showing their isolation and frustration caused by the lack of cultural infrastructures that were common in other European large cities.

The second section “Disorder, Discipline and Denunciation” deals with opposite, though complementary categories of social dysfunction. This is observed especially in the context of Early Modern towns where chaotic and dramatic situations are in contrast with general and idealized topoi of social *symbiosis*. The case studies are provided by Cornel Zwierlein analyzing urban fires in Early Modern Germany and Blanka Szeghyová focusing on penal practice in Hungarian Towns in the 16th century. The study by Kateryna Dysa contributes to issues of Orthodox demonology and to the perception of witchcraft in Early Modern Ukraine concluding that the social, confessional and political situation in this territory differed sharply from that in the mostly Catholic Poland.

The final section “Word and Print, Education and Literacy” concentrates on the history of literacy, reading and writing practices following studies by late I. G. Tóth. Zoran Velagić analyses the practices of reading aloud as a special channel used in 18th century Croatia for the dissemination of Catholic teaching. Orlin Sabev traces similar uses in religious teaching in Ottoman Turkish society when he examines changing attitudes to traditional manuscripts and the new technique of printing. The concluding essay by Victor Karady traces the system of education in Hungary in the beginning of the 20th century from the point of denominationally structured society. The volume is completed with the I. G. Toth’s bibliography, a register of geographical names and indexes.

The presented essays show the variety of topics. The diversity is, however, overarched by a similar method of historical work inspired more or less by I. G. Toth’s own work and by the focus upon the Southern, Eastern and Central Europe. The reviewed volume also poses the evidence that I. G. Toth’s project of stimulation the “regional historiographies” in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, launched at CEU, was more than successful and that his collaborators and students who prepared this volume are able to follow his ideas and substantially contribute to his research. No doubt, the book pays the real homage to late István György Tóth.

Frommer, Benjamin: *Národní očista. Retribuce v poválečném Československu*

Lucie Laníková

[Die Nationale Säuberung. Bestrafung nationalsozialistischer Verräter in der Nachkriegszeit in der Tschechoslowakei], Academia, Praha 2010, 504 s.

Der Historiker Benjamin Frommer aus den Vereinigten Staaten widmet sich der Frage der Bestrafung in der Tschechoslowakei. Mit diesem Thema, das die Historiker in Tschechien nur in einzelnen regionalen Untersuchungen bearbeiten, beschäftigt er sich auf gesamtstaatlicher Ebene, jedoch mit Ausnahme der Slowakei, die er nur marginal analysiert. Er macht übrigens selbst auf diese Tatsache mehrmals aufmerksam und betont, dass die Bestrafung in der Slowakei im Vergleich mit der in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien unterschiedlich verlief. Auf Grund des Literaturmangels untersuchte Frommer vor allem die schriftlichen Quellen. Natürlich vergisst er die Untersuchungen der tschechischen Historiker nicht, die sich mit der Schuld der nationalsozialistischen Verbrecher und Verräter befassen. Es handelt sich um die in dem Buch sehr oft zitierten Autoren Karel Kaplan, Mečislav Borák, Václav Jiřík und andere. Er zitiert auch die Ansichten des Publizisten Ferdinand Peroutka, der die Bestrafung in seinen Artikeln kommentierte. Die Anlage am Ende der Publikation enthält die drei wichtigsten der sog. Beneš-Dekrete über die Bestrafung.

Der Autor erforschte die Problematik der Nachkriegsgerichte, die sich mit den Verbrechern aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus beschäftigten, sehr gründlich. Er widmet sich nicht nur der Frage der sog. kleinen und großen Dekrete und dem Nationalgericht, sondern auch dem Zusammenhang zwischen der Vertreibung und der Bestrafung. Im sechsten Kapitel weist er darauf hin, dass zahlreiche nationalsozialistische Verbrecher nicht bestraft wurden, weil die tschechoslowakischen Behörden die Vertreibung der Bestrafung seitens des Gerichtes vorzogen. Andererseits ging es darum, dass die zuständigen Behörden in der Tschechoslowakei daran interessiert waren, deutsche Experten in der Republik zu behalten, obwohl diese Leute auch zu den nationalsozialistischen Verbrechern gehörten. Dadurch konnten sie eine Strafe vermeiden. Frommer kritisiert die Vertreibung und bezeichnet sie als nationale Nachkriegssäuberung. Das ist eine Behauptung, die unter ausländischen Historikern häufig anzutreffen ist, in der tschechischen Fachwelt allerdings als verwegen gilt.

Frommer hat die Publikation in acht Kapitel gegliedert, in denen er sich den einzelnen problematischen Aspekten der Bestrafung widmet. Im ersten Teil konzentriert er sich auf die sog. wilde Bestrafung. Er untersucht kriminelle Straftaten, die als Vergeltung an den Verbrechern gerechtfertigt wurden. An dieser Stelle befasst er sich mit der Vertreibung zum ersten Mal und betont die Verbrechen der tschechoslowakischen Bevölkerung, die sie im Laufe der wilden Vertreibung an den Deutschen verübte. Selbstverständlich vergisst er nicht, diese Vorgänge im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Besatzung zu beurteilen. Er weist darauf hin, dass die Situation in der Zeit der wilden Bestrafung völlig destabilisiert war. In dieser Phase der Bestrafung setzten sich vor allem Sadisten und Gewalttäter durch, die keine Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Nationalität machten, vielmehr rechneten sie mit ihren persönlichen Gegnern ab. Allen heiklen Fragen, die damalige Gesellschaft und das Gericht

betreffend, widmet er sich sehr ausführlich. Er beschäftigt sich auch mit der Problematik der Massenverhaftungen. Ohne im Voraus die Beweise zu überprüfen, wurden zahlreiche Menschen nur auf Grund einer Anzeige verhaftet.

Die Denunzierung erforscht er im vierten Teil der Publikation. Auf Grund statistischer Angaben, die er im ganzen Buch benutzt, befasst er sich mit der Frage der Denunzierung vom Standpunkt der Gender-Problematik. Er widerlegt die langjährige Behauptung, dass die die Straftat der Denunzierung die Domäne der Frauen wäre.

Im fünften Kapitel bewertet er die Verstöße, die nach dem sog. kleinen Retributionsdekret Nr. č. 138/1945 beurteilt wurden. Nach diesem Dekret wurden die Personen tschechoslowakischer Nationalität verfolgt, die sich gegen die nationale Lehre vergingen. Es handelte sich um Verbrechen, deren Verurteilung nach dem großen Dekret nicht möglich war. So standen die Personen vor Gericht, die während der Besatzungszeit in Kontakt mit Deutschen standen, sich zur deutschen Nationalität bekannten, mit der Tätigkeit der Nationalsozialisten sympathisierten oder als Leiter von Behörden, Fabriken und nationalsozialistischen Organisationen wirkten. Es erwies sich aber, dass zahlreiche Fälle sehr schwer zu beurteilen waren. Ein Problem war, dass vor Gericht Personen standen, die nicht nur Verräter waren, sondern sich auch im Widerstand betätigten. Frommer bezeichnet diese Handlung mit dem tschechischen Wort „švejkovina“, nach dem weltbekannten Roman von Jaroslav Hašek *Der brave Soldat Schwejk*. Diesen Vergleich hat er von Edvard Beneš /übernommen: „Ich mag Schwejk nicht..., aber wir haben keine andere Möglichkeit als diese Zeit mit ‚švejkovina‘ zu überleben.“

Das zweite und dritte Kapitel widmet er dem wichtigsten Gesetz gegen die NS-Verbrecher und Verräter – dem großen Retributionsdekret Nr. 16/1945 und den mit ihm verbundenen außergewöhnlichen Volksgerichten. Er befasst sich mit allen Umständen, die zum Erlass des Dekretes führten und belegt, dass die Wurzeln dafür in der Zeit der tschechoslowakischen Exilregierung in London liegen. Er weist auch auf die Einstellung der Kommunisten hinsichtlich der Bestrafung hin, denen er im letzten achten Kapitel – *Der Weg zum Februar 1948 und was folgt weiter* – seine Aufmerksamkeit widmet. Nach dem „Coup von Prag“ eröffneten die Kommunisten einige Rechtsfälle wieder, die schon abgeschlossen waren. Die kommunistische Rhetorik verwies darauf, dass in einigen Fällen, die vor dem Februar 1948 verhandelt wurden, die Verräter begünstigt worden wären und diese häufig gegen die Arbeiterklasse gerichtet gewesen wären. In diesem Absatz kehrte er zum Nationalgericht zurück, das die prominenten Verräter richtete. Es handelt sich um die Prozesse gegen die Minister und den Präsidenten des Protektorats. Die Kommunisten kritisierten die milden Strafen und beschuldigten nicht nur die Richter, sondern auch den ehemaligen Justizminister Prokop Drtina.

Mit der Problematik des Nationalgerichts, das nach dem Dekret Nr. 17/1945 entstand, beschäftigt er sich im Kapitel sieben. Frommer befasst sich nicht nur mit dem Prozess gegen die Minister und den Präsidenten, sondern auch mit dem scharf beobachteten Prozess gegen den Schauspieler und Komiker Vlasta Burian. Hier ist es wichtig zu bemerken, dass Frommer sehr häufig die damaligen Zeitungsartikel benutzt und so hat er in seine Arbeit die angespannte und Atmosphäre der damaligen Zeit hineingetragen.

Sehr oft stellt er die Frage, ob die Bestrafung als ein Vorzeichen für die bevorstehende Totalität in der Tschechoslowakei zu werten ist. Auf den Seiten verurteilt er nicht die Bestrafung als solche und bietet keine einseitige Meinung an. Der Autor zeigt die Bestrafung als einen Prozess, der für die Gesellschaft der Nachkriegszeit gewissermaßen eine Bedeutung hatte. Er betont, dass es in zahlreichen Fällen nicht um die Einforderung der Gerechtigkeit ging, sondern es sich vielmehr um Rache und Vergeltung handelte.

Frommer zeigt die Bestrafung im bisher nie dargestellten Ausmaß und äußert sich mutig zu allen Fragen. In zahlreichen Fällen bezeichnet er sie nicht nur als einen Prozess der Gerechtigkeit,

sondern auch als eine dunkle Etappe der tschechischen Geschichte, mit der sich die tschechische Gesellschaft abfinden muss.

Bočková, Hana: *Knihy nábožné a prosté. K nábožensky vzdělávací slovesné tvorbě doby barokní*

Lucie Toman

[Books Plain and Pious. Religious Educational Writings of the Baroque Period], Matice moravská, Brno 2009. 256 pages.

This book is a result of long-term research pursued by the author in numerous shorter papers. In her work she had to overcome various difficulties. Religious educational writings represent a major branch of literary production of the baroque period but since they are not a part of high culture they were not systematically studied. In addition this kind of literature is extremely hard to grasp using classical literary tools. Those are often works connecting various genres in one functional creation (for example priers, songs, sermons and dialogues in so called “*knihy domácí*”, literally home books), so they can hardly be classified by genres. Sometimes it is impossible to identify the author, especially in the case of translations. Translators frequently used originals only as a source of inspiration altering them greatly, in other cases later editions are transformed, or author is “only” collecting citations of authorities and from the Bible. A prime example closely described by the author is a Czech translation of one of the dialogues from *Colloquia familiaria* by Erasmus of Rotterdam. *Uxor mempsigamos*, a sophisticated Latin textbook, became in its first Czech edition from the beginning of the 16th century a moralizing speculum fairly at the level of humanistic literature of the time, whereas the edition from the 19th century is a simplified and naturalized text conveying Catholic ethic.

To overcome those difficulties Bočková used Jaroslav Kollár’s theory of inter genre context. According to this Czech literary scholar, this context is formed by authors who use the same ways of describing reality, the same approach to theme, as well as similar motifs and expressions linking texts in different genres. Additionally following Wolfgang Brückner, Bočková also uses the function of the text as a way to classify it. In the actual text all three functions are present in some degree, but one of them is prevailing. There are catechetical writings whose main goal is to teach, frequently using rhetorical approach or dialogue to compare arguments; persuasive texts that try to convince the reader; and finally spiritually elevating texts, whose chief function is “*aedificatio*”.

Bočková herself is focusing on the texts from the 17th and 18th century. She ignores confessional barriers traditionally taken into consideration by Czech literary science claiming that this grouping of literature has common traits and uses similar or even the same methods and forms regardless of the writer’s confession. She understands religious educational writings as those used in a domestic environment, i. e. read by individuals or in a small family circle, complementing church and school in their educational mission, written “for the sake of simple folk”. She concentrates on two of Brückner’s functional groups, catechetical and spiritually elevating within the broadest group of recipients. Her aim is not to form a universal classification or ever-valid theory of religious educational writings. She attempts to show different ways in which common goals could be realized in various writings.

There are chapters dealing with single genres, e. g. dialogue, the favorite form of catechetic book, which is presented by Bočková in various realizations. Encyclopedia production is represented by *Eludicarium*, a compendium of knowledge from the 12th century, which played an important role in this circle of literature as well. On the contrary the allegory of journey appears repeatedly. It is used as a frame for catechetic dialogue, or only as an opening symbol followed by meditative text. Bočková analyzed some symbols as well, among them “preacher” which was used especially by Protestant writers, who suggested that every head of a family can and should claim the role of spiritual guide in his household. The Bible is a leitmotif reappearing in the whole book. It is mentioned as a source of exemplum, inspiration for apocrypha, biblical citations are used for the verification or chosen according to exact key and compiled into new complex composition.

In one case Bočková made an exception to her rule of writing only about texts used primarily in the domestic environment. Literature for pilgrims in a way connects the private and public spheres. The greatest attention is paid to the legends forming the tradition of the sanctuary and miraculous objects. Christian legends in other forms are omitted as well as homiletics, piers and spiritual songs, which can certainly be used in the domestic environment and serve educational or meditative purposes, but the author primarily associated them with the public sphere. Bočková is not trying to be comprehensive and there are countless questions deserving further study. Hopefully this book will stimulate broader research on this branch of baroque literature in the future.

Marie Koldínská – Ivan Šedivý: *Válka a armáda v českých dějinách:* *sociohistorické črty*

Jiří Hutečka

[War and the Military in Czech History: Essays in Social History], Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha, 2008, 579 pages.

Military history does not have that much of a “sound” among academic historians anywhere, usually prompting long faces, eyes turned, and thoughts about so-called military buffs. On the other hand, historians who decided to follow the proverbial “sound of the guns” anyway sometimes tend to answer this kind of academic criticism with an almost equal sort of ignorance, especially in terms of new trends and methods used by their colleagues outside their self-imposed ghetto. All this can be said about history in general basically anywhere in the world (I personally met with similar attitudes at several US universities). The situation in the Czech Republic is exacerbated by the *de facto* non-existence of any academic institution that would at least try to study war through the lens of contemporary historical methods.

Authors of the reviewed study are well aware of this situation, writing that “positivism tends to be a rule in Czech [military] historiography”¹, and that military history is not, “in the conservative eyes of today academics”², a natural part of history in general. They also rightly point out that the Military History Institute in Prague, instead of leading the way in terms of research in this field, “focused on exhibitions and army propaganda at the expense of basic research”³. Ivan Šedivý and Marie Koldínská decided to put forward a considerable effort to redress this rather sad situation – and this effort ended up to be a rather successful one, it must be said.

In the preface they divide historiographical approaches to warfare into two groups – military history (i. e. operational history, history of military technology, organization, dislocation) and “history of warfare” (i. e. “new military history”, putting war into wider social and cultural context of its time and place) – and declare the intention of joining these sometimes artificially separated concepts into one whole. This intention is unquestionably useful and probably right, however, the very scope and nature of their topic (war and the military in Czech history) pulls them almost invariably to the latter concept of “war and society”. It is not so much of a criticism as a given fact, and a positive one at that, there are basically *no* works of this kind in Czech historiography. Thus, these authors should be thanked for bringing first light into the dark corners of Czech military historiography.

Authors also admit further influences, especially John Keegan’s inspirational, albeit a bit flawed, effort to create a “new cultural military history”⁴ or Quincy Wright’s socio-historical approach.⁵ Thanks to these influences, war and its institutions are “fundamentally embedded in

¹ M. Koldínská – I. Šedivý, *Válka a armáda v českých dějinách: sociohistorické črty*, Praha 2005, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴ J. Keegan, *History of Warfare*, New York 1993.

⁵ Q. Wright, *A Study of War*, Chicago² 1965.

social structures”⁶ for them, especially in culture. Their conviction is especially apparent when they point to specific aspects of Western military institutions and – rightly – mention cultural roots of warfare as one of the main problems of the contemporary world: “Many cultures – in contrast to ours – refuse to see defeat or victory as a decisive aspect in their understanding of war... We are then left with only choice – to understand these cultural concepts, and to accept them to at least some level.”⁷ This approach to military history also leads to a highly innovative and interesting interpretation of a specific “Czech military culture” roughly filling a role of local “discourse of war” as defined by John Lynn.⁸ Defining this culture constitutes the book’s main thesis – the authors claim that throughout history, “Czech society has always shown a particularly low level of militarization”, basing this argument on a series of conclusions arrived at throughout the text. However easy a target for criticism this thesis is, it cannot be denied that it is a highly important contribution to research into the relations Czech society has or used to have with warfare or with its institutions.

As noted above, the main thesis is based on partial conclusions. To arrive at each of these conclusions, our authors used several different and even separate approaches, giving the whole work the structure of “essays in social history” contained in the subtitle. Thus, the reader should not expect a coherent synthesis, or even an effort to arrive at one. The authors are well aware that such synthesis is currently impossible thanks to basically non-existent primary research and rightly decided to follow the path of separate, loosely connected essays. One should bear this in mind, barring a path to deep disappointment. On the other hand, if we accept the authors’ decision, the disappointment is gone and we can fully enjoy a series of interesting analytic insights into a rather sidelined topic. However, this approach indeed has its negative aspects, as some important topics, even from chronological point of view (which is pretty bad as the whole concept is chronological), are hugely underrepresented. This is painfully apparent for example in the almost non-existent analysis of the 18th century (present only in the section on traditions and memory). It is hard to believe that the era of the military enlightenment and limited wars projected into the Czech environment was so unimpressive or analytically barren.

The study itself begins with a short introductory chapter, giving the reader a sort of historical background for the following analysis, which starts with the chapter called “Ideas”. Here, the authors focus their attention on theories Czech intellectual elites held about war and warfare throughout the centuries. Following a general introduction into the just war theory, they analyze in detail the justification of warfare in the Hussite era, during the Poděbrad era as well as around the beginning of the Thirty Years War; the humanistic criticism of Comenius as well as a few slightly bizarre conclusions of T.G. Masaryk or surprisingly inspirational (and timeless) thoughts of Edvard Beneš on the connection between war and culture. The conclusion of this analysis is that the theory of warfare has always been neglected in Czech intellectual thought, thus supporting their general thesis of “low militarization” of Czech society. The problem here of course is assuming such a conclusion based only on a lack of theoretical interest in a given topic. It would for sure be possible to find “theoretically indifferent” although highly militarized societies. Here a wider context would really help (not only European, but also in terms of human civilization), and as well a higher level of comparison with foreign secondary literature. There is always the danger of drowning one’s analysis in too much theory, but lack of use of such a vast amount of literature is a little unnerving (see below).

⁶ M. Koldinská – I. Šedivý, *Válka a armáda v českých dějinách*, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁸ J. Lynn, *Battle*, Oxford 2003.

Anyway, it is indeed perfectly possible to acknowledge the authors' argument about a specifically Czech attitude towards warfare, i. e. about the existence of Czech military culture. This culture was a product of specific needs and abilities of local society and its elites, as is well described here even during the Poděbrad era with its negative look on warfare stemming from previous historical experience. This attitude can be probably followed further throughout history well into the modern era, but it can hardly be an argument for some basically inherent form of "low militarization" – my opinion would be that political and social realities of past centuries were much more important than anything else here.

The following section focuses attention on military forces and military institutions as they functioned in local circumstances, and it needs to be said that this part is probably the most problematic. First, we are given a perhaps too simplistic interpretation of the creation of mass armies during the early 19th century here – the argument about longer and more intensive conflicts as a necessary precondition to ideological motivation might be applied vice-versa, I guess. Also, "a natural [human] aversion to warfare"⁹ is a claim open to possibly inconclusive discussion. However, some problems are much more serious, for example, a total absence of any reflection about the influential theory of the so-called "military revolution" of the 15th to 18th centuries. Generally speaking, the theory first postulated by Michael Roberts in 1956 operates with several causal chains (depending on the author), all leading from tactical change on the battlefield to the creation of a modern bureaucratic state, thus connecting military history to large historical structures. As this does not happen that often, one would expect at least a side-note given to this theory in this kind of work. Moreover, I am sure I would not be the only one who would welcome an application of this theory to Central European realities, an effort which can yield some interesting results given the lack of attention given by most of the original authors to anything east of Elbe. Considering the fact that one of them, Clifford Rogers, at least deals with the Hussites in his version its omission in the subject text is indeed regrettable.

Despite the above mentioned shortcomings, the chapter on military forces still carries plenty of interesting analysis with it, following the change from the supranational army into a national one, into a sovietized one, and, in the end, a national and professional one. Also of similarly high quality analysis to be found is the chapter on "society", which focuses on society's attitudes towards the army and the service. In particular authors follow the line of change from confessional views toward professional honor that is later overshadowed by patriotism and then nationalism, giving birth to the "small multinational army" of the Czechoslovak Republic between the world wars. The authors present us with some interesting specific analysis as well, for example that of stereotyping servicemen ("little soldier", "officer", "hero"). In general, they use their analysis of civil-military relations to support their general thesis about the low level of militarization of Czech society (they present various cases, for example officers' social standing, almost non-existent "military families", dislike towards draft, a negative social attitude towards the army in general). Here it is necessary to ask, if all these cases are really that specific or if we can argue about a low level of militarization of European society in certain phases of history as well.

Arguably the most significant and interesting section of the book, however, comes at the very end. Being called "Images and Words", it focuses fully on stereotypes and the historical memory of war. Images of enemy people of this country held for centuries are traced by the authors, as well as other traditions followed and discarded by Czechs with surprising ease. Another rich field for their analysis are military myths, containing not only "our glorious defeats", but also the still living and popular "myth of the army never beaten", i. e. the army of 1938. This myth especially then posits a question – how it fits into the thesis about our low level of militarization?

⁹ For both arguments, see M. Koldinská – I. Šedivý, *Válka a armáda v českých dějinách*, p. 134

Why do we need repeated mythological insurance that we would win, if only we would fight? Why are we particularly obsessed by a war that never was? Can we take “the myth of Munich” as yet another case for the thesis? Is it not a symbolic twin sibling of the popular idea that “army makes men”, although not even one of them wants to be personally subjected to the rigours of military discipline? Is it not important to glorify one’s own presumed military ability *because* of one’s own perceived lack of military competence (and militarization)? And why do we need myths to fight the collective feeling that we are not natural born soldiers?

There is probably no better effect a book might have on a reader than prompting him or her to a myriad of further questions. The openness of the book under review here, pushing readers into further analytical effort, is really inspiring and its authors are indeed *the* pathfinders on the way to our understanding of the connection of war and society in this country and its history. All the above mentioned reservations notwithstanding, we can only hope that with this book, Czech military history has crossed a line and it will never be the same. And that thanks to Marie Koldinská and Ivan Šedivý, academic historians will have the chance to realize that military history is not just about counting battles, buttons, bunkers, or the dead.

Daniela Tinková: *Tělo, věda, stát.* *Zrození porodnice v osvícenské Evropě*

Hana Matějková

[Körper, Wissenschaft, Staat. Die Entstehung der Geburtsklinik im Europa der Aufklärung]
 Argo, Praha 2010, 669 S.

Die Geschlechtergeschichte gehört zu den Forschungsthemen, die sich – im Gegensatz zu der angelsächsischen und deutschen Historiographie – in der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung seit einer relativ kurzen Zeit entfaltet. Zudem befasst man sich häufiger mit der Geschichte der Frauen und eine breiter aufgefasste gender-orientierte Forschung bildet eher eine Ausnahme. Das im letzten Jahr erschienene Buch der Prager Historikerin Daniela Tinková (* 1973) reiht sich zu den Werken, die man ohne weiteres dem Begriff Geschlechtergeschichte zuordnen kann.

Tinková, die am Institut für tschechische Geschichte der Philosophischen Fakultät der Karlsuniversität in Prag wirkt, befasst sich vor allem mit Themen wie der Geschichte der Kriminalität und des Strafrechtes¹, der Französischen Revolution², der Geschichte des ärztlichen Denkens und der Gesundheitsinstitutionen sowie auch der Körpergeschichte und den Gender-Aspekten in der Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit. Hauptsächlich spezialisiert sie sich auf die Zeitspanne des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts.

Gerade die angeführte Zeitspanne des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts ist für die Autorin als Umbruchszeit, die für den Wandel der alten Weltordnung und die Entstehung des modernen Europas steht, ausschlaggebend. Diese Tendenzen, die durch die Aufklärung vorangetrieben werden, sind auf allen gesellschaftlichen Ebenen deutlich zu beobachten. Eines der Gebiete, die sich enorm und relativ schnell verändern, stellt die Medizin dar, und in ihrem Rahmen dann vor allem die Geburtshilfe. Mit dem wachsenden Interesse der Ärzte für Geburten und der Entstehung der ersten Lehrstühle für Geburtshilfe wird das Jahrhunderte lang andauernde Monopol der Hebammen auf diesem Gebiet bedroht und es kommt in einem sog. Kompetenzstreit zu einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen den Ärzten (Männern) und den Hebammen (Frauen). Dieser Thematik wurde in der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung zwar schon eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, jedoch handelt es sich überwiegend um nicht besonders umfassende Studien (z. B. von Milena Lenderová) oder um Übersichtswerke über die Entwicklung der Geburtshilfe, deren Autoren aus den Reihen der professionellen Ärzte stammen (zuletzt Antonín Doležal). Das rezensierte Buch stellt also die erste komplexe Monographie zu diesem Thema in der tschechischen Historiographie dar.

Die Hauptachse des Buches stellt also die „Professionalisierung“ der Geburtshilfe und die Strategien der Durchdringung der männlichen „Experten“ in die bislang überwiegend feminisierte Geburtshilfe dar. Das Werk ist in drei Teile – Bücher – gegliedert: Im ersten Teil (*Gender, věda, stát* [*Gender, Wissenschaft, Staat*]) widmet sich die Autorin den neuen aufklärerischen Theorien der Staatsaufsicht über die Gesundheit der Population und den verschiedenen „Polizeyen“, indem sie sich auf das Konzept der Biomacht und der Medikalisation der Gesellschaft von

¹ D. Tinková, *Hřích, zločin, šílenství v čase odkouzlování světa* [Sünde, Verbrechen, Wahnsinn in der Zeit der Entzauberung der Welt], Praha 2004.

² D. Tinková, *Revoluční Francie 1787–1799* [Das revolutionäre Frankreich 1787–1799], Praha 2008.

Michel Foucault stützt. Sie versucht auch zu zeigen, wie sich die Auffassung von der Maskulinität und Feminität im medizinischen Diskurs verändert und wie die Geschlechterrollen neu definiert werden. Die Optik verengt sich im zweiten Teil (*“Růžová zahrádka” a “Azyl nevinnosti”*. *Profesionalizace porodnictví v osvícenské Evropě* [*“Der Rosengarten” und “Das Asyl der Unschuld”*. *Professionalisierung der Geburtshilfe im Europa der Aufklärung*]) auf die Frage der Entstehung der Lehrstühle für Geburtshilfe und der Geburtskliniken in verschiedenen Ländern Europas (Frankreich, England, Deutschland, Italien), sowie auf den Ablauf des Studiums. Es wird auf die Problematik der allmählichen “Unterordnung” der Hebammen unter die Aufsicht der Ärzte und ihre Schulung eingegangen, sowie auf die Strategien, welche die akademisch gebildeten männlichen “Experten” in ihren für die “abergläubischen” und teilweise analphabetischen Hebammen konzipierten Hebammenbüchern gebrauchen, um sich selbst und ihr Recht auf das Hauptwort in der Geburtshilfe zu legitimieren. Ein Bestandteil dieses Teiles ist auch eine detaillierte Fallstudie über Florenz und die Toskana (zunächst habsburgisch, dann französisch). Das dritte Buch (*Mít oči na špičkách prstů. Bábý a akušéri v Čechách na přelomu 18. a 19. století* [*Augen auf den Fingerspitzen haben. Hebammen und Akkuscheure in Böhmen um die Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert*]) konzentriert sich auf die Entwicklung in Böhmen, hauptsächlich in Prag. Ein breiter Raum wird hier nicht nur dem Prager Lehrstuhl für Geburtshilfe eingeräumt, sondern vor allem auch der privaten Geburtsklinik des Johann Melitsch, die bisher fast außerhalb des Interesses stand. Tinková zeigt auch überzeugend, welche enorme Rolle für die “Professionalisierung” der Geburtshilfe in den böhmischen Ländern die tschechische Sprache spielte. Sehr interessant ist auch die Feststellung, dass der Kompetenz- und Konkurrenzstreit nicht nur zwischen den Ärzten und Hebammen verlief, sondern auch zwischen den Ärzten untereinander sowie zwischen den geprüften und ungeprüften Hebammen.

Jeder der drei Teile des rezensierten Buches kann als eine Sammlung von Essays angesehen werden. Die Autorin selbst bezeichnet den ersten Teil mit diesem Terminus (S. 89). Die Struktur ist sehr übersichtlich, am Anfang jedes Abschnittes stellt sich Tinková Fragen, die im Text beantwortet werden, jeder Teil wird durch ein Teilfazit abgeschlossen. Auch die Methode der Verengung der Optik von allgemeinen Erscheinungen über die Fallstudie bis zur Situation in Böhmen ermöglicht, die Problematik sehr komplex zu erfassen. Dank ihrer Sprachkenntnisse, die es ihr ermöglichten, französische, englische, italienische sowie auch deutsche Quellen heranzuziehen, ist es der Autorin auch gelungen, ein plastisches Bild der Entwicklung der Professionalisierung der Geburtshilfe in Europa darzustellen und die böhmischen Länder in den europäischen Kontext einzugliedern.

Der Eindruck von den Qualitäten des Textes wird durch die nicht besonders gelungene Redaktion gestört. Zu einem beträchtlichen Lapsus kommt es bereits in der Einführung des Buches. Obwohl hier Fußnoten mit Zahlen angedeutet werden, sind diese Fußnoten nirgends zu finden. Im Text befindet sich auch eine relativ hohe Anzahl von Druckfehlern. Am markantesten ist die doppelte Schreibung des Namens des Barons Fauchet auf zwei nacheinander folgenden Seiten (S. 268 Baron Fauchet, S. 269 Baron Fouchet aber auch Fauchet), in einem Fall ist sogar eine Verdoppelung von zwei Absätzen gelungen (S. 278 und 281). Was der Autorin bzw. der Redaktion auch nicht passieren sollte, ist die unterschiedliche Schreibung von altschechischen Namen (S. 154 Matouš Dačický z Wolkemberka; S. 183 Matouš Dačický z Walkmberku; S. 208 Matouš Walkmberský; im Quellenverzeichnis S. 630 als Matouš Walkmberský z Walkmbergku). Es gibt im Altschechischen zwar keine einheitlichen Rechtschreibregeln, man sollte jedoch eine Variante wählen und sie einhalten.

Die Thematik wird aus der Sicht “von oben” bearbeitet, d. h. aus der Sicht der Staatsinstitutionen, Professoren der Lehrstühle und der einzelnen Ärzte. Wie bereits gesagt stellt das Buch die erste komplexe Monographie zu diesem Thema in der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung

dar. Es ist also wichtig, eine komplexere Übersicht zu erstellen. Es bleiben also weitere interessante Fragen offen: Wie wurde der Kompetenzstreit und dessen Auswirkungen von den Hebammen bewertet bzw. welcher Strategien bedienten sie sich im Konkurrenzkampf gegen die Ärzte? Wie wurde der Übergang von der ausschließlich weiblichen Geburtshilfe zum männlichen "Experten" von den schwangeren und gebärenden Frauen, die zu kranken Patientinnen werden, welche behandelt werden müssen, gesehen? Mit welchen Empfindungen war er verbunden? Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Wortwahl der Autorin für die von der Hebamme oder dem Arzt geleistete Geburtshilfe. Während die Hebamme der Frau (laut der Autorin) bei der Geburt *hilft*, wird die Frau vom Arzt *entbunden*. Durch diese Formulierung wird deutlich, wie sich die Auffassung der Geburtshilfe in der Aufklärung verändert hat und wie diese Veränderung seitdem unsere Denkweise prägt.

Stanislav Brouček – Tomáš Grulich: *Zrádná emigrace ve službách západních imperialistů. Domácí postoje k zahraničním Čechům v novodobých dějinách (1918–2008)*

Jitka Pelikánová

[The Traitorous Emigration at Western Imperialists' Disposal – Homeland Attitudes to Czechs Living Abroad in Modern History (1918–2008)], Public History, s. r. o., Praha 2009, 231 s.

The book's title might be translated as "The Traitorous Emigration at Western Imperialists' Disposal – Homeland Attitudes to Czechs Living Abroad in Modern History (1918 – 2008)". It was written by erudite and competent authors who are deeply involved in the research connected with exile and emigration. Stanislav Brouček works in the Ethnology Institute in Prague. He published several books concerning the question of emigration in the last ten years. The second author Tomáš Grulich used to work in Czech museums and at this time he is a senator in the Parliament of the Czech Republic and a member of a committee for Czech compatriots abroad.

The title makes a reference to the fact that the attitudes toward emigration were not and still are not definite and clear. Moreover, the attitudes changed during different periods of Czech, formerly Czechoslovak history. The book tries to fulfill two aims. Firstly, it provides an overview of the Czechoslovak emigration policy and in this way it shows people's and government's changing attitudes toward compatriots. These changes are the most obvious when we compare the period between the two world wars with periods after 1948 and 1989. The book follows this and it is divided into two parts. First part deals with the interwar relations to compatriots and the second part is focused on the afterwar period. The division is clear and the chapters are arranged logically.

The interwar period was influenced by ideas of freedom and independence. The return of nationals living abroad was thought to be the logical consequence of the first Czechoslovak Republic's establishment. But these assumptions were not fulfilled. Nevertheless, emigrants and expatriates were considered to be Czechoslovak allies. The authors deal with the question of the part which the state played in that period of time. They refer to an emigration bill from 1922 and the ministries and organizations (e. g. the so-called Emigration Institute or the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute) which were involved in emigration affairs. The emigration reflected world events, e. g. it was influenced by the Great Depression.

A dramatic reversal of the situation came after 1948. It soon became apparent that the alliance between compatriots and Czechoslovaks was going to turn into hostility. People living abroad became enemies. They were suspicious and discredited. The book makes a reference to measures which were taken against state enemies. For more than forty years the Czechoslovak nationals were persuaded that the compatriots tried to do harm to the peacefully living socialistic people. And according to the authors this distrust still lasts. The result is the small nationals' enthusiasm for reemigrants and the lack of appreciation which is felt by compatriots. So the second aim of the book is to show that also at the present time we are obliged to define our attitudes to compatriots

and find the way to cooperation and mutual enrichment. The authors hope to persuade the public and the authorities to get involved in the emigration issue. In my opinion the book fulfilled both its aims although the results of the second task are not visible yet.

The book is not a description of compatriots' lives. It rather refers to the behaviour of the Czechoslovak society toward people living abroad. The authors are aware of the fact that not all attitudes are included. Tomáš Grulich claimed in the interview for Český rozhlas (the Czech Radio) that they had mostly focused on negative aspects after 1948, i. e. on Státní bezpečnost (the Police Force).¹ This was caused by the fact that their research was based on new materials which have been recently declassified. These materials are not only analyzed in the book but they are also included there. Readers can acquaint themselves with materials of Archiv bezpečnostních složek ministerstva vnitra (the Police Force's Archive of the Ministry of the Interior). These archive documents are the main source of the book. Four other archives' funds were investigated for resource and research purposes.

The detailed list of literature shows that the authors are very knowledgeable and experts on this topic. It also reminds us that there is still room for other research. Although we can find several books dealing with the question of emigration, exile and compatriots, the homeland attitudes have not been deeply discussed yet. The publication reveals new facts and in this way it brings new views of the topic. In my opinion this is the great contribution of this book.

In addition to the sources and literature we can find a list of abbreviations and a name index with a few black and white photos of emigrants. An English written summary will be certainly appreciated by foreign scientists. The book also contains notes at the end of the text. Although the book has all the qualities of a scientific publication it can also be recommended to people who are not historians but who are interested in this topic. The book is suitable for everybody who wants to learn not very well-known facts about Czechoslovakia in the 20th century. And that was the authors' intention – to offer the discussed period to the public and encourage them to think about it and its impact on our relations with expatriates. The book is very readable. It provides clear explanations, reasons, consequences and examples of particular events. We can find there the explanation how the machinery of the Police Force worked. Young people who did not experience the communist regime can become more aware of its drawbacks.

From the formal point of view no mistakes or deficiencies can be found there.

In conclusion, in the authors' opinion we should reconsider our attitudes to Czechs living abroad. They would like to rouse the discussion and gradually find a *modus vivendi* between nationals and compatriots. By all means the state should play an important role in this process. The authors are aware of the necessity of cooperation with the European Union in the question of migration. The global trends of development must be taken into the consideration as well.² This book can be a good resource for the discussion and can be fully recommended for both scientists and involved public.

¹ Interview with Tomáš Grulich, *Nová kniha o krajanech mapuje vztah čs. státu k exilu*, 5. 9. 2009, www.radio.cz/cz/rubrika/krajane/nova-kniha-o-krajanech-mapuje-vztah-cs-statu-k-exilu (3. 5. 2011).

² S. Brouček – T. Grulich, *Migrace a česká zahraniční politika* (the lecture at the international symposium), www.tomasgrulich.cz/clanek/963/15_41/nepoliticke-aktivity_prispevky-na-odbornych-konferencich/migrace-a-ceska-zahranicni-politika-prednaska-na-mezinarodnim-sympoziu (3. 5. 2011).

Zdeněk Beran: *Poslední páni z Michalovic.* *Jan IV. († 1435/1436) a Jindřich II. († 1468)*

Martin Barus

[Die letzte Herren von Michalovice. Johannes IV. († 1435/1436) und Heinrich II. († 1468)], Veduta, České Budějovice – Hradec Králové, 2010, 222 Seiten.

Das neue Buch des jungen Historikers Zdeněk Beran, bei dem es sich um ein Erstlingswerk handelt, bildet den achten Band der Edition “Die Persönlichkeiten der böhmischen und mährischen Geschichte” des Verlags Bohumír Němec-Veduta, der diesen Band zusammen mit der “Alma mater” des Autors, der Universität in Hradec Králové, herausgab. Berans Publikation beschäftigt sich, wie schon der Titel andeutet, mit den letzten Vertretern des böhmischen Adelsgeschlechts von Michalovice (von Michelsberg). Dieses Thema ist für Beran in gewisser Weise Neuland, da er bisher vor allem zum Landfrieden im nachhussitischen Böhmen sowie zu den Gütern einzelner Adelsgeschlechter geforscht hat. Aber gerade dieses Wissen nützt Beran in seinem Buch sehr gut aus.

Obwohl bei uns in den letzten Jahren relativ viele Bücher über die mittelalterlichen Adelsgeschlechter herausgegeben wurden, befasste sich keines mit dem nordböhmischen Adel. Dem großen Geschlecht der Markwartitzen bzw. seiner Anfänge widmet sich nur eine alte Arbeit von Bertold Waldstein-Wartenberg, die vor allem zahlreiche Fehler und unrichtige Interpretationen enthält. Zdeněk Beran betrat also mit dieser neuen Historiographie unbearbeiteten Raum. Dadurch ist auch der Wert des Buches größer.

Der Inhalt der Publikation umfasst mehr als nur die Lebensläufe der zwei letzten Herren von Michalovice. Nach der üblichen Charakterisierung der Quellen und der Literatur, wird der Leser mit den Anfängen des Markwartitzer Geschlechts und mit den Schicksalen der einzelnen Herren von Michalovice bekannt gemacht. Danach folgen die thematischen Kapitel – über die Entwicklung der Michalovicer Güter, über das Geschlechtswappen und über das Verwaltungssystem der Geschlechtsdomäne im 15. Jahrhundert. Dieses letzte Thema zähle ich zu den interessantesten und ergiebigsten Teilen des ganzen Buches. Obwohl Beran auf Grund des Quellenmangels nicht, wie z. B. Robert Šimůnek zu den Rosenbergischen Gütern, so ausführlicher Angaben versammeln konnte, entwarf er wenigstens ein grundlegendes Bild der Verwaltungsstruktur, der auch mit einigen Personen und ihren Schicksalen ergänzt ist.

Der Hauptteil des Buches ist natürlich den zwei letzten Herren von Michalovice, also Jan (Johann) IV. und Jindřich (Heinrich) IV. gewidmet, die beide “Kruhlata” genannt wurden. Dank der Verknüpfung der einzelnen Informationen aus den verschiedenen Quellen (narrative Quellen sowie Quellen aus den Bereichen Recht, Wirtschaft und Korrespondenz), versuchte Beran erfolgreich interessante Lebensläufe abzufassen, in denen sich die Ereignisse von Lands- oder Staatsbedeutung natürlich mit den Vorfällen innerhalb des Familienlebens abwechselten. Diese ausführliche Beschreibung der Schicksale der zwei letzten Herren von Michalovice hilft uns die komplizierte Zeit der hussitische Revolution und das darauf folgende “Podiebrader” Zeitalter zu verstehen, vor allem die persönlichen Aktivitäten und Meinungsänderungen. Obwohl die Herren von Michalovice Katholiken waren und Jan während der hussitischen Bewegung natürlich auf der Seite des Kaisers Sigismund stand, war sein Sohn Jindřich als ein Getreuer des

“ketzerischen” Königs Georg von Podiebrad. Beran erklärte diese “Veränderung” sehr ausführlich und die entscheidende Rolle erkannte er hier Jindřichs Vormund Jan von Smiřice zu. Detailliert verfolgte er auch die bedeutende Hofkarriere Jindřichs, die tragisch in der Schlacht bei Turnov am Anfang des Krieges zwischen Georg von Podiebrad und dem ungarischen König Matthias Corvinus endete. Das letzte Kapitel widmete Beran noch den übrigen Mitgliedern der Familie (Jindřichs Schwestern) und dem Schicksal der Geschlechtsgüter.

Insgesamt ist die Konzeption des Buches gut durchgedacht. Nur als Anreiz zu Überlegung und wahrscheinlich auch für weitere Arbeiten möchte ich hier einige Fragen stellen. Hatten die Herren von Michalovice eine Geschlechtsnekropole? Wenn es wahrscheinlich bis 1420 das Kloster Hradiště war, was wird nach seiner Zerstörung in diesem Jahr? Wie war es mit der Michalovicer Geschlechtskanzlei, existierte diese Institution oder benutzten sie die Dienste einiger Klöster bzw. der Stadt? Geben die Quellen darüber Auskunft, ob es intensive Beziehungen bzw. Kooperation zwischen den Herren von Michalovice und den anderen “Markwartitzer” Geschlechtern (von Wartenberg, von Zvířetice, von Lemberg und von Waldstein) gab?

Anerkennung verdienen auch die übersichtlichen Tabellen und die vom Autor selbst erstellten Landkarten. Entsprechend wurden auch die Bilderanlagen ausgewählt und ebenfalls gut ist die graphische Anordnung.

Das Erstlingswerk Berans ist eine sehr hochwertig verfasste Studie, die einen interessanten Ansatz zur Charakterisierung des Zeitalters durch das ausführliche Kennenlernen der Persönlichkeiten vorstellt und die wohl am Anfang einer reichen Erforschung der “Markwartitzer” steht.

