

The **Department of Medieval Studies** of CEU, **CULTSYMBOLS** and **OTKA Saints Projects** cordially invite you

to the **public lecture** of the **OTKA Saints Colloquia Series** by

## Kateřina Horníčková

(Institut für Realienkunde, Universität Salzburg/Krems)



### **Martyrs of "Our" Faith:** Community Identities and the Cult of the Bohemian Martyrs in Post-Hussite Bohemia

at 17:30 p.m. on Tuesday, September 24, 2013

Faculty Tower, Room 409 CEU, Nádor u. 9, Budapest

Hagiography typically works within a conceptual framework set by (and for) either Catholic or Reformation perspectives. The representations of the Bohemian saints in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and of the martyrs of the Bohemian Reformation as well as other expressions of their cult in the Bohemian Utraquism pose therefore an interesting challenge to the traditional concepts in cultural history. Focusing on images and feasts of saints in the "historical anomaly" of the Bohemian proto-Reformation context (F. Šmahel), this paper discusses their function in the context of the Utraquists' attempt to construct independent religious identity.

**Kateřina Horníčková**, PhD. (CEU), is research fellow in the ESF-EuroCORECODE Project Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities, as a member of its Austrian subproject The Visual Representation of Saints – Closeness, Distance, Identification and Identity, Twelfth-Sixteenth Centuries. Her research interests cover visual culture of medieval and early modern Central Europe, with a particular focus on the sign language of religious art. She lectures at the University of Southern Bohemia, and participates in the project J. A. Comenius as a Site of Memory at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences.



The **Department of Medieval Studies**, **CULTSYMBOLS & OTKA Saints Projects** of Central European University cordially invite you

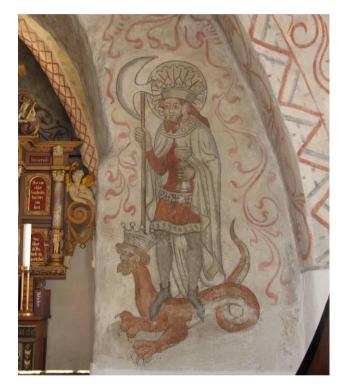
to the **public lecture** of the **OTKA Saints Colloquia Series** by

## Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen

(CULTSYMBOLS, University of Copenhagen)

on

## Saints and Identities in Scandinavia: Patterns and Paradoxes



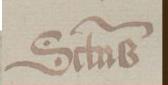
St. Olav, ca. 1460

#### at 17:30 on Tuesday, December 3, 2013 Faculty Tower, Room 409, CEU, Nádor u. 9, Budapest

This paper explores questions of identity, regionalism and belonging through the Scandinavian national saints. Through this I will try to extrapolate conclusions concerning the status and importance between the local and the international in the saints' cult of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. By examining the wall-paintings and altarpieces and posing questions such as how the saints are grouped in the churches, in what order they are represented and who donated them to the churches and furthermore comparing the answers with known liturgical feast insights can be gained into the devotional and social role of saints in medieval Scandinavia.

**Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen** is employed as an editor at the source publication *The Churches of Denmark* at the Danish National Museum and was a postdoctoral researcher in the ESF CULTSYMBOLS project at the University of Copenhagen. He has specialized in medieval and early modern art and its role in the devotional life of the period. He has written on saints, pilgrimage and shrines. His doctoral thesis *Art and Ritual: Changing the interiors of Danish village churches c. 1450-1600* will appear in Brepols in the spring 2014.

http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu, http://cultsymbols.net



## OTKA Saints Colloquia Series Tuesdays, 5.30 pm

#### FT 409, CEU, Nádor u. 9, Budapest

#### **Fall Semester**

September 24 Kateřina Horníčková (CULTSYMBOLS, Krems/Salzburg): Martyrs of "Our" Faith: Community Identities and the Cult of Bohemian Martyrs in Post-Hussite Bohemia

- October 8 Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu (CEU, Budapest): A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Murals in Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakerék)
- October 15 Nils Holger Petersen (CULTSYMBOLS, Copenhagen): Saints' Liturgy, Historiography and Identity Formation in the Latin Middle Ages

November 19 Sebastian Salvadó (CULTSYMBOLS, Trondheim): Sanctifying the Hispanic March: Crusades, Politics and the Twelfth-Century Historia of Raymond of Barbastro

- **November 26** Jenni Kuuliala (Tampere/Budapest): The Boundaries of Difference: Physical Disability in Medieval Canonization Processes
- **December 3** Martin W. Jürgensen (CULTSYMBOLS, Copenhagen): Saints and Identities in Scandinavia: Patterns and Paradoxes

**Department of Medieval Studies** 

**OTKA Saints Project** 

**EuroCORECODE CULTSYMBOLS Project** 



http://cultsymbols.net/



to the **public lecture** of the **OTKA Saints Colloquia Series** by

## **Nils Holger Petersen**

(University of Copenhagen)

on

## Saints' Liturgy, Historiography, and Identity Formation in the Latin Middle Ages



Saint Knud Lavard (c. 1090-1131), woodcut, Lübeck 1492: Magnus slays Knud

#### at 17:30 on Tuesday, October 15, 2013 Faculty Tower, Room 409, CEU, Nádor u. 9, Budapest

In this lecture, I shall discuss the liturgical use of saints' legends in saints' offices as a particular way of producing "sacred history," focusing on the way such texts were integrated into the Nocturns (of Matins) in a saint's office. I am not primarily concerned with the textual construction of saints' legends as such, but rather with the mechanisms involved in the liturgical appropriation of a saint's narrative, of significance also for the composition of the saint's legend in the first place, since, as a text, it would have often been designed for being read in the saint's office. First, I shall take up the question of how stories about saints and miracles were seen as part of "sacred history" in the theological philosophy of St Augustine, and how this seems to be a main reason for saints' legends to have been accepted as liturgical readings for saints' feasts. Secondly, I will discuss the meaning of inscribing saints' legends in liturgical (saints') offices and thereby in the overall annual round of liturgical celebrations, exemplifying this procedure by way of a brief discussion of one section from the Office of St Knud Lavard, a Danish saintly prince, killed in 1131 and canonised in 1169 by Pope Alexander III on the initiative of Knud's son, King Valdemar I of Denmark.

Nils Holger Petersen is Associate Professor of Church History at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. His research focuses primarily on the reception history of Christianity in liturgy, music, and drama. He is the Project Leader of the international collaborative project of the ESF Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities (CULTSYMBOLS). He is the main editor of the book series Ritus et Artes: Traditions and Transformations at Brepols Publishers, Belgium, and an area editor for the Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2009–). Among recent publications are: a monograph (with E. Østrem), Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); and a co-edited volume (with E. Østrem and A. Bücker), Resonances: Historical Essays on Continuity and Change (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

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#### to the **public lecture** of the **OTKA Saints Colloquia Series** by

## Sebastian Salvadó

(Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)

## Sanctifying the Hispanic March: Crusades, Politics and the Twelfth-Century *Historia* of Raymond of Barbastro



Sarcophagus of St Raymond, 1170, Roda de Isábena (romanicoaragones.com)

#### at 17:30 on Tuesday, November 19, 2013

#### Faculty Tower, Room 409, CEU, Nádor u. 9, Budapest

Barbastro, located on the foothills of the Aragonese Pyrenees (Spain), was a strategic city for the eleventhand twelfth-century military struggles between Christian and Muslim kingdoms. Known to historians as the destination of the first official 'Crusade' (1063-1065), Barbastro was finally captured by King Pedro I of Aragon and Navarra in 1101. The present paper seeks to discuss, by examining a hitherto neglected liturgical source, some facets present in the afterlife of Barbastro as a part of the newly formed Christian frontier territories. A late twelfth-century Psalter and Hymnal from the city of Barbastro, currently in the Lleida Capitular Archive (Ms. RC\_0029, *olim* Roda 11), contains a hagiographic portfolio for St Raymond, Bishop of Barbastro-Roda (d. 1126). Written ca. 1138 this material represents one of the earliest extant 'libelli' for a saint in the territories of the Spanish March. I seek to present the main characteristics of the saint, and, more importantly, to discuss how his elevation is tied to pressing issues confronting the community of Barbastro. An analysis of the *vita* and *historia* reveals the liturgical 'corpus' of St Raymond participating in contemporary issues touching on developing a regional crusading ideology, settling ecclesiastical disputes, and acting as a peculiar *specula principum* to Arago-Catalan nobility.

**Sebastian Salvadó** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the ESF CULTSYMBOLS project group based at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim. He is currently writing a monograph on the liturgy of sainted kings tentatively titled, *Historiae and the Representation of Kingship: The Liturgical Crafting of Sts Oswald and Edmund in the Middle Ages.* He is generally interested in examining the discourses of liturgy as a source for socio-political history.

#### Symbols that Bind and Break Communities

#### Nils Holger Petersen

#### Presentation at Faculty of Theology, Copenhagen, 26 November 2013

Today, we shall present and discuss results and ideas from the collaborative research project *Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities*, a project based on collaboration between groups of scholars from five different European universities from Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary and Norway. This is one out of three projects under the EuroCORECODE programme of the European Science Foundation which began in 2010 and has now recently been officially ended although, of course, much still remains to be published from these projects. All three EuroCORECODE projects deal with identity formation and European regions. Our project focuses on saints' cults in the Middle Ages and has tried to contribute to the understanding of the development of regional and other communal identities in Europe under an overall perspective of cultural memory within the particular context of cults of medieval saints and the reception of such cults also in later times, in some cases up to our own time: I shall point to some general conclusions and also give an example before scholars from the various parts of the project take over to tell about other general and more specific results from our work these past three years.

As emphasised by Jan Assmann, cultural memory and identity are two sides of the same coin. Therefore, what is involved in communal identity are not the individual identities of humans *per se*, as these can be approached and studied psychologically or through other hermeneutical disciplines. Although such individual perceptions of humans' identities are not at all irrelevant to the notion of communal identity, the *communal* aspect means that we are studying socially constructed features: how certain narratives and artefacts, certain feast days or memorials, certain curricula and not least certain ethical and political values are made canonical in or for a particular community, a "region" we may say, if by region we may also think of social groups that may not necessarily consist of a geographically defined area but may for instance just as well constitute a group of humans who share certain identity-related memories having certain approaches to life and history in common.

In our very interdisciplinary, historically oriented project, the various groups have studied the cultural memory of saints through texts, images, music, and other sources from the Middle Ages and – in some cases – up to the present. The project has studied and we still study how the formation of communal identities in various groups, Nations, regions, may be understood to be related to historical processes concerning the establishing of saints, their preservation and, not least, their transformations over time, including – sometimes – their extension from local areas to larger regions, nations or even to a universally recognised significance or, oppositely, their marginalization or even disappearance as markers of identity for the regions or social groups in question.

#### Why saints?

The idea behind the project is very simple, and let me explain this by way of a very brief introduction to the establishing of saints' cults in the history of Christianity. Saints were generally seen as manifestations of what it meant to be an ideal Christian; that is they manifested a Christian identity which ordinary people

would not be able to claim as their own, but which nevertheless would stand as a mark of ideals which the faithful would accept as normative and worth striving for. Ultimately, these ideals were connected to how Christ was perceived as the ideal human. Since saints, however, were human beings, not divine in their earthly lives, they also manifested the possibility, even if only for the select few, of actually attaining such ideals.

The liturgical practice of saints' cults was, naturally, inextricably connected to the liturgical offices which were partly based on the Rule of Benedict (for the so-called Divine Office, the liturgical hours especially cultivated in monastic contexts) but further developed for centuries during the Middle Ages and only gradually – not least following the Carolingian liturgical reforms – further stabilised in structure and contents, including the nightly Matins or Nocturns where readings of saints' lives were inserted among responsories and other musico-poetic elements.

Inserting a saint's narrative into the structure of the Divine Office constitutes a mixture of two different time representations. A linear time representation based on the progression of the church year fundamentally following the narrative of Jesus' life, death and Resurrection, at least in sections, was juxtaposed with structures repeated daily in the liturgical hours, the daily masses etc, and weekly, through the distributions of the chanting of the biblical psalms according Benedict's Rule, or annually in terms of the church year with its different seasons. Altogether this is a complex juxtaposition of linear development and cyclic repetitions.

The complexity of these juxtapositions is made clear in the way the changing aspects of the church year put their mark on the mentioned repetitive structures of the mass and the Divine Offices in terms of lesser or greater festivity according to the lesser or greater festive character of the day or the season in question. The overall structure of medieval (and later Catholic) liturgical offices stresses repetition in various ways and various degrees, in accordance with age-old oral ritual traditions where what is new is not what is said or done but that it is said or done *anew*. Expressing the ritual aspect in the briefest possible way – leaning on traditional medieval understandings of the basic agreement between liturgical practice and theological doctrine, while acknowledging that anthropologists and ritual studies in particular show no clear consensus about how to define a ritual – liturgical practices have been (and still are) performative events where religious identity in terms of adhering to fundamental ideas of religious thought and practice are confirmed and reinforced, not least by the communality and the repetitiveness of the performative acts.

Saints, and not least the cults of saints during the Middle Ages have contributed to these processes, probably more than generally acknowledged. This is what our project has attempted to investigate.

Saints exemplified values sanctioned by religious doctrine or revealed divinely through special events in his or her life or death. Miracles which identified saints, were seen as manifestations of God's continued sacred history with mankind post-biblically. Augustine of Hippo, around 400, later venerated as a saint himself, among other works also in his *De civitate dei*, "The City of God," attested to the belief in miracles in his time reporting many miracles that he witnessed himself. He made it clear that he would wish such miracles to be known just as the biblical narratives of God's sacred history were known to people and read in church.

Indeed, during Augustine's life the canon of the Bible was finally defined and Augustine was present at the council in 397 where this happened for the North-African churches, and where it was also decided that in church only biblical readings were allowed, except for the narratives of the passions of the martyrs [Slide 2].

Such decisions were the basis for what became a general feature of medieval saints' offices in the Middle Ages, readings of saints' lives during Matins of the saints' offices, in such a way inscribing contemporary exemplifications of God's sacred history with humans into the overall context of the canonised sacred biblical history which for Christian Antiquity as well as for the Middle Ages and much further in our European history remained an unquestioned canonical narrative, defining important elements of the Christian cultures, their cultural identity. The saints and the saints' offices thus represented ideals of the good life as fundamentally imagined and preserved in the cultural memory by way of the fundamentals of Christianity, sometimes emphasising or bringing back ideals thought to have been forgotten, identified in the life history of a saint, at least as understood, received or constructed by the (ecclesiastical) agents turning the person into a saint.

The cult of a saint also meant that the community in question shared – at least ideally – a common practice, the celebration of the saint's office at certain days and times, the celebration of a particular day (or days) in the calendar, possibly also additional private devotions. But it also meant that members of the community in question would share the saint's life history, a particular narrative, or narratives, saints' legends that contained the events of the saint's life which identified – at least for the devoted believer – the saint as a saint and thus as someone who contributed importantly to the identity of the believer as part of that community.

My point is to emphasise the connection between the identity of the person who venerates the saint and the identity of the saint, and thus also between the identity of the saint as brought out in the saint's narrative(s) and the community cultivating the saint, expressive possibly of a region where the saint was cultivated, or a National identity for a saint representative of a kingdom. This should be understood in the sense that all in that community have at least a share in that narrative and its suggestions of values, beliefs, in brief its guiding orientation, not so that everybody necessarily shares the ideals in all details, but that they belong to the identity of everybody in such a way that they stand as authoritative and either must be respected as such or lead to necessary adjustments or even confrontations.

In the various groups of our projects, different manifestations of the reception history of saints' cults have been studied, as you will hear more about it in the following presentations.

I shall give one short example from my own studies of one saint in particular, St Knud Lavard, a Danish prince, murdered by his cousin, Prince Magnus in 1131 [Slides 3–4], canonized by a papal bull and translated into his saint's shrine in 1170, who in his preserved saint's office [Slide 5] was constructed as a monastic pious and just ruler leading the Danish people to salvation. He was received in manifold ways up through the centuries. After the Reformation, a Danish language Saint's Play, *Ludus de sancto Canuto* has been preserved from, the 1570s constructing the saint as a pious and just hero, a role model for Protestant faithful [Slides 6–7]; we shall hear a song from this play later today [Slide 8–9]. In the nineteenth-century also art songs based on the narrative of Knud Lavard transformed what in the liturgy and the medieval cult was a veneration of Knud's saintliness to the benefit of those venerating him, and what in the play rather

was a presentation of a human Christian role model of saintliness, honesty and true nobility, now into a symbol of the Danish Nation. Even in the twentieth century a number of dramas and literary as well as musical receptions of Knud Lavard exist. Most recently, Maria Helleberg, a popular writer of historical novels published her *Knud Lavard* in 2011.

The Danish composer Niels W. Gade set a poem by Carsten Hauch, *Magnus and Knud Lavard* (1842) for solo voice and instruments in 1849, which we shall hear at the concert later today [Slides 9–10]. The poem recounts the traditional narrative briefly and concludes with a statement seemingly reading Knud Lavard's story as the story of Denmark, pure and good, but naïve, a message not lost on contemporary Danish audiences at the time of the first war between Prussia and Denmark (1848–50) about the southern dukedoms of Schleswig and Holstein. The message was clearly reinforced by Gade repeating the final sentence of the poem twice in a musical coda which moves away from the c minor Romantic ballad style of the setting of the narrative into an E flat major Andante *con espressione*: "O, Danmark, paa Rænker du aldrig dig forstod, det har du tit betalt med dit reneste Blod," Oh Denmark, you never understood schemes; often you have paid for that with your most pure blood. [slide 11] The song was also printed in a piano reduction in a very popular Danish collection of 1500 Danish songs, *Danmarks Melodibog*, for solo piano, but with the words written into the music, for use in bourgeois homes with a piano. The edition I show you here is without date, but from a personal inscription in the volume dating from no later than the 1930s [Slide 12].

The overall point is that the reception of the saint's narrative preserves much of the narrative identity connected to the medieval legend but re-contextualised into the contemporary world of the reception. The cultural memory of medieval saints is not just preserved as a museum culture, but conveys moral and narrative identity for readers, for a group of historically interested secular readers, but these new characteristics of identity are still drawn out from the basic narratives and the basic values promoted in the original cult of the saint. They exhibit well-known cultural changes, but also manifest continuities underlying otherwise radical transformations of traditional identities.

# Symbols that Bind and Break Communities

**Nils Holger Petersen** 

## **CultSymbols Project**

## **Dissemination seminar, University of Copenhagen**

## 26 November 2013

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Centre for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals, University of Copenhagen www.teol.ku.dk/English/dept/cskmr Concilium Carthaginense [Tertium] (397), in *Concilia Africae 345–525*, ed. by C. Munier, CCSL CXLIX, 239-41 (p. 340).

- Vt praeter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatvr svb nomine divinarvm scriptvrarvm.
- Sunt autem canonicae scripturae, id est: 1. Genesis. 2. Exodus. [...] Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum cum anniuersarii dies eorum celebrantur.
- That beside canonical scriptures nothing is read in the church under the name of divine scriptures.
- Moreover, these are the canonical scriptures: 1. Genesis. 2 Exodus. [...] It is also allowed that the passions of martyrs are read when their anniversaries are celebrated.

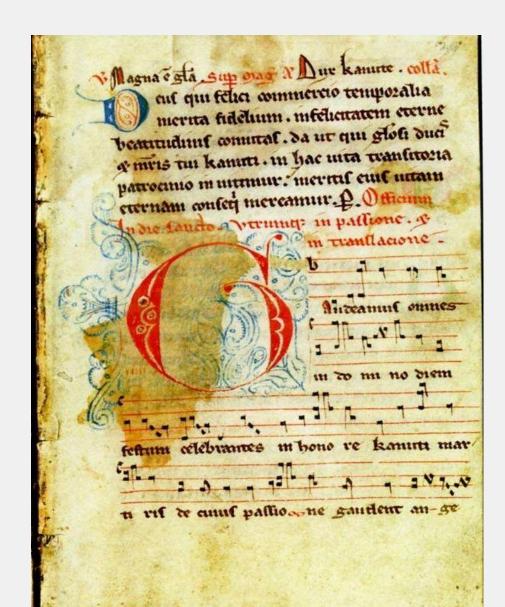
## Saint Knud Lavard (c. 1090-1131), woodcut, Lübeck 1492: Magnus slays Canute



## Modern appropriation: at the place of the martyrdom



The Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard (Kiel, Univ. Lib. MS S.H. 8 A.8°), ed. by John Bergsagel 2 vols (Ottawa and Copenhagen: Institute of Mediaeval Music and The Royal Library, CPH, 2010), I (ms facsimile), f. 39r (End of second Vespers and beginning of the Mass).



Ludus de Sancto Canuto duce Royal Library, Copenhagen; Thott 1409. 4º (fols. 48-77, here f 48r)

 Ludus de Sancto Canuto duce, qui fuit filius regis Danorum Erici Eyegod, dux Sleswich:, Slavoniæ et Vandaliæ, nominatus et coronatus Obotritorum rex ab Imperatore Lothario, ob suspicionem regni Danici a patruele suo Magno, filio tum regnantis Danorum regis Nicolai, simulatione secreti amicique colloquij ad Insidias euocatus, 7. die Ianuar: anno Christi 1130. nefarie trucidatur in vicina sylua Haraldstedt, vnde translatus est ad templum Dmi. Benedicti Ringstadien: et relatus est in numerum Sanctorum cultusque et honores diuinos accepit anno 1170; filio Waldemaro primo id petente a pontifice Romano.

English translation in Thomas A. DuBois and Niels Ingwersen, "St Knud Lavard: A Saint for Denmark" in Sanctity in the North: Saints, Lives, and Cults in Medieval Scandinavia, ed. by Thomas DuBois (Toronto: U of T Press, 2008), 154-202, p. 178.

A Play about the holy Duke Knud who was the son of Erik Ejegod, who was the king of the Danes, Duke of Slesvig, Slavonia, and the Wends, and was appointed and crowned king of the Obotrites by Emperor Luthair. On account of suspicion from the Danish royal court, Knud was enticed to an ambush under the pretence of a secret friendly dialogue by his cousin, Magnus, son of the Danes' then reigning King Niels. On the seventh of January, year of our Lord 1130, he was disgracefully butchered in a forest neighbouring Haraldstedt from which he was conveyed to the holy Bent's shrine in Ringsted. He was also taken into the host and worship of the saints and canonized in the year 1170, as his son, Valdemar the First, had requested from the Roman pontiff.

ludus de sancto Canuto duce (Royal Library in Copenhagen, Thott 1409), f. 71v

pondel e gers our Thinks i soule Lise. Saa Kally Voll, Down For Will gringe Vousen Jm Sill File my Ing Magins Vill rg Se ach Som veole din Kannins Hanfins com nunbo, Tyrny nonciang decem de mang 5. maym bertis. et cankle mos fallh vely Vorgen 519 wach ig. Ser Sala

ludus de sancto Canuto duce (Royal Library in Copenhagen, Thott 1409), f. 72r

Der Armer als vourse-Jr.II Saa am anlans "the t'ny' 0 ill. For 189 Della och Vill Fiep hifin ous nu Vill Longo

Niels W. Gade/Carsten Hauch, *Magnus og Knud Lavard*, in *Danmarks Melodibog* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, w.d.), bd 5, 127.



Niels W. Gade/Carsten Hauch, *Magnus og Knud Lavard*, in *Danmarks Melodibog* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, w.d.), bd 5, 128.



Niels W. Gade/Carsten Hauch, *Magnus og Knud Lavard*, in *Danmarks Melodibog* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, w.d.), bd 5, 129.



Danmarks Melodibog (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, w.d.), bd 5, front page.

