

Carnival XIII

2011



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Editorial

Dear reader,

With some delay the 13th edition of Carnival became reality. After applying last-minute at the General Assembly at the conference in Helsinki in 2010, I had no idea that this would become such a long project and I was certainly not expecting to also become the future president of the International Students of History Association. I was not yet fully aware of what I was getting myself into... What started as helping out with organising a seminar in Utrecht in 2009, ended up becoming almost a way of life: the ISHA-life.

Unfortunately there was also real-life of writing theses and work which prevented us finishing the journal earlier. Nonetheless, I want to thank all the contributors and other people involved not only for their willingness to share their work, for their help but also for their patience. And of course a special thanks goes to the other half of the editor-team: Margot Ellenbroek as this is our joint effort.

Carnival is definitely a very important part of ISHA, therefore I hope that volunteers to work on this journal will keep surfacing among the people that participate in the seminars and conferences. ISHA is great fun, but it would not exist without all those students throughout the years that have volunteered and spent a lot of their spare time to keep the organisation running. Among those people are the members of the previous International Board 2010-2011, Sarah, Sven, Timo and Bodil: Thanks for another great ISHA year!

Fortunately for Carnival there is a very enthusiastic and active team ready to collect all those new articles after the Jena Conference 2012. So please take a look at the Call for papers at the back of this Carnival and start writing!

This edition of Carnival is dedicated to the theme of the Annual Conference 2011 in Pula, Croatia: "East and West: Bridging the differences". Personally I am a big fan

of this theme, it showed last in year in Pula that there are so many different ways to interpret 'East' and 'West'. This is also clear when you look at the different subjects of the articles that were written by different students located more to the east and more to the west of Europe. There is one statement that I remember well from the final conclusions session in Pula. After some discussion a person said: 'What is east and what is west? It depends where in the world you are standing'. I think that this is very true, unfortunately I am not sure about the name attached to that quote, so whoever you are: I hope you can forgive me this plagiarism!

ISHA was founded to bring together History students from the geographic European East and West, in the beginning of the nineties of the last century. It looks like ISHA is expanding beyond this one continent, with interested students in Africa, the America's and Asia. When we do make the full circle around the globe, there literally won't be an East and West for ISHA anymore.

Yours sincerely,
Stephanie Bakker

Editor-in-Chief 2010-2011

A Word from the President

31st of August 2011

Dear reader,

It is my privilege to present to you this new edition of Carnival, the journal of the International Students of History Association. The academic topics of all the ISHA events that were held during this year were the sources for the articles in this edition. Several history students (and students of related sciences) worked together to put this year's edition into a reality. I wish to thank all the participants of the ISHA events for giving inspiration. Special thanks go to all those directly involved in the creation of this edition for their valuable contributions!

And this edition of Carnival is certainly not the only outcome of the past ISHA year. Let's take a short journey through a another wonderful chapter in ISHA's story. The year started with an exceptional occasion, the five yearly International Conference of Historical Sciences. A delegation of students had the opportunity to represent ISHA at this extraordinary meeting place for the international historical community. An excellent kick-off indeed!

Of course, the centerpieces of this ISHA year were the seminars organized by the ISHA sections. The agenda included not only the traditional 'seasonal' seminars, but also a weekend seminar following the previous year's example. The autumn seminar took place in Sofia (Bulgaria) and participants involved themselves in discussions on 'Unions through History'. The next stop was Berlin (Germany). While debating 'Utopia and Dystopia', participants jointly entered the New Year against the magnificent Berlin setting. In February, ISHA Leuven (Belgium) welcomed the ISHA members at a weekend seminar focusing on 'History used as Propaganda'. The ISHA year was closed in beauty during the summer seminar in Bucharest (Romania), an ideal venue to elaborate on 'Myths, Heroes and Identities'.

The focal point of the ISHA year was the Annual Conference, this year organized in Pula (Croatia) with the topic 'East and West: Bridging the Differences'. Especially

worth mentioning is the conference's Final Conclusions session, which was turned into a promotional event with a camera crew present. The visit to the 'Pula Arena', one of the best preserved amphitheatres of antiquity, was a unique experience. Many thanks go to the ISHA Pula organizational team for making the conference in Istria an unforgettable experience for all those participating!

Also valued greatly this year was the cooperation with other organizations and networks. Our already existing partnerships with Euroclio (the European Association of History Educators), The Europaeum (an association of ten leading European universities) and CLIOH-WORLD (the Europe-wide history network) were continued and given new input. Attention was also given to ISHA's involvement in activities of ESU, the European Students' Union. New partnerships were initiated with initiatives that actively deal with specific students concerns, namely, with Study Portals (the European student choice platform) and with the Right to Research Coalition (R2RC). ISHA actively engaged in IFISO, the Informal Forum of International Students Organizations, and the high value of this initiative was emphasized even more firmly during this year.

The last accomplishment I wish to address is all the work done during this year in an effort to improve and optimize the internal working of the organization. Especially in this respect, my gratitude goes to all the officials active during this ISHA year, in the first place my colleagues in the International Board of ISHA. Furthermore, I want to thank those active in the council, treasury committee and all other people making ISHA into a proactive and vibrant organization this year! A big thank-you to all of you!

Viva ISHA!

On behalf of the International Board – the Vice-president, Sven Mörsdorf, the Secretary, Timo Vuorikivi and the Treasurer, Bodil Lindberg –

Sarah Stroobants

President of ISHA 2010-2011

Alexander the Great(est) – From Macedonian Prince and Aristotle’s Student to “Skopian” Hero and Religious Icon

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Introduction

Alexander the Great is one of the most intriguing historical personalities, and his reign is considered to be one of the turning points in history of mankind. His deeds influenced and inspired many, and can be traced throughout history. But who was Alexander? Was he a great military commander or a ruthless killer? Was he a genius or a psychopath? A wise ruler or a bloodthirsty tyrant? In which way has his reign influenced the historical periods to come – positive or negative? Once a person starts dealing with a persona like Alexander, many questions arise, and sometimes it is really hard to provide correct answers. This work will try to answer at least the basic ones and briefly sum up the main aspects of Alexander’s heritage. I shall start with providing a short biography of Alexander, dealing mostly with his military campaigns, and then I shall try to briefly summarize the effects Alexander’s reign had on certain territories, and also on historical personas and historical periods.

Alexander as a prince

Alexander was born in 356 BC in the town of Pella, which is situated in today’s Greece. He was a son of Philip II, the king of Macedon, and Olympias, the princess of Epirus. The only historian who wrote about his childhood was Plutarch, so there is no alternative but to trust his words, and according to him, Alexander was a very clever young boy. There are several episodes from his childhood that depict this – for example, Plutarch mentions the time when Alexander had to welcome the Persian ambassadors in Philip’s absence, and how impressed they were with Alexander’s curiosity, intelligence and knowledge of politics. The way he tamed his horse Bucephalus also depicts Alexander’s discernment; he was the only one to realize that the horse is afraid of its own shadow, so he took the animal by the leash and started walking in the direction of the sun; that way, the shadow was shrinking and the horse was not scared any more (Lamb 1993, 21). Throughout his childhood he had several teachers, the most notable one being, of course,

Aristotle. Aristotle taught Alexander many things – from poetry, philosophy, ethics to rhetoric, anatomy, zoology and music. However, one of the most crucial things he taught him was to never make assumptions, but to organize and analyze the facts before drawing conclusions, because every situation is different than the one before. Alexander remembered this advice and never forgot to apply it, especially on the battlefield. The perfect example of this is the Battle of Chaeronea, fought in 338 BC, which was decided when Alexander noticed the gap between the Athenian and the Theban forces, and this brought a decisive victory for his father, Philip II, marking the beginning of the Macedonian hegemony over the majority of Greece. Interestingly, it also marked the end of idyllic relations between Alexander and his father – soon after the battle, Philip married Cleopatra Eurydice, the niece of Attalus, one of his generals. This put Alexander's heirship into question, since the girl was pregnant with a boy. Also, Alexander was not very happy with the fact his father was preparing the invasion of Persia without him, meaning there would be no glory for him to achieve. However, destiny interfered once again; in October of 336 BC, as Philip was entering into the theatre of the town of Aegae (where the court gathered to celebrate the wedding of Alexander I of Epirus, and one of the Philip's daughters), a man called Pausanias killed him. There are several theories explaining why he did it, but the truth will never be known because Alexander's guard stabbed him to death immediately after he committed the murder (Lamb 1993, 56). Most historians believe Olympias (Alexander's mother) is to be blamed for this crime, since she was abandoned for another woman and her son was about to lose the throne. The real truth will, however, remain a mystery forever.

Alexander as a king

Once the Philip was dead, a great number of cities rebelled against Macedonian rule, since they were sure the young Alexander was not powerful enough to maintain his father's kingdom. Luckily for Alexander, his father's generals stayed faithful to him, and helped him to crush the rebellion. In order to show he should not be taken for granted, after the capture of Thebes, the city was sacked, burnt and destroyed. Allegedly, Alexander cried his eyes out after giving these orders, but the message for the other rebelling cities was

quite clear (Lamb 1993, 101), and more importantly, it was effective. The next thing to do was to invade Persia. Interestingly enough, Alexander did not really feel like doing it – it was his generals who convinced him to do it. He agreed only because he believed the Gods reside somewhere far in the East, and he felt it was his aim to discover that place. He crossed the Hellespont in 334 BC with approximately forty thousand soldiers, and paid tribute to his role-model Achilles near the Troy (Lamb 1993, 132).

The first encounter with the army of Persian king Darius III and his mercenaries is today known as the Battle of Granicus. It was Alexander's first victory on the Asian soil. (Alexander's military campaigns present a special chapter in his life, and discussing them in details would require a work of its own, so here I will just mention the most important ones). This victory allowed him to proceed to the city of Gordium, and here he needed to prove he was destined to rule Asia, i.e. to untie the famous Gordian Knot. This episode of his life is another example how intelligent and cunning he was – claiming that it is not said how the knot has to be untied, Alexander simply cut it with his sword. The night after there was a great storm, and it seemed that Zeus approved of this. The first face-to-face encounter with Darius was the Battle of Issus in 333 BC. Darius fled from the battlefield, leaving behind his wife, mother and daughters. Alexander took care of them, treating them with highest respect. The message was clear: by taking care of the Persian women, he sent a message that he was a Persian king. Soon after, Darius sent him a letter offering him to keep all the territories he gained and offering his daughter's hand, and promised to treat Alexander as his equal. Alexander was discussing this offer with his generals, and it was then that one of the most famous dialogues in history happened. General Parmenio said: "If I were Alexander, I would accept the offer." Alexander replied: "So would I... if I were Parmenio. But I am Alexander." The offer was rejected, and instead of an affirmative answer Darius got an angry letter where Alexander demanded that he should be titled as "the king of Asia", and wanted Darius to defend his throne on the battlefield (Lamb 1993, 189).

Alexander's first disappointment came after he liberated the cities of Asia Minor. He realized they did not really care about being "liberated", but just wanted their trade to be undisturbed. Some of them refused to allow access to Alexander's troops, for example the city of Tyre. The city was under siege for seven months, and once it was conquered,

eight thousand men were crucified, and thirty thousand people were sold as slaves. On the other hand, the Egyptians were thrilled to see the Greeks overthrowing the Persians. Alexander visited the oracle of Siwa in Egypt. Supposedly, one of the three questions he asked was whether he was a son of Zeus. Not surprisingly, the answer was affirmative, and after finding out about this, his troops felt invincible. Their invincibility was proven in the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC. Alexander refused to attack the Persian forces by night, saying he did not want to steal the victory (Lamb 1993, 212). Once again Darius fled. Later, he was murdered by one of his officers, and Alexander arranged a royal funeral for him. Alexander entered Babylon, and his soldiers were sure that this was the end of the campaign, but Alexander saw it as a beginning, wanting to reach the ocean. In 327 BC, an exhausting Indian campaign started, and it marked the beginning of the end of Alexander, who died in 323 BC in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II.

Influences: Asia Minor – Egypt – Persia – India

As I mentioned earlier in the text, Alexander influenced all the regions he conquered during his lifetime, but also the cities, kingdoms, rulers, military commanders and periods that were to come later. Even though the Ionian cities were not very enthusiastic about being liberated, this liberation changed their fate forever. After coming to Asia Minor, Alexander made its people free from paying taxes. He was very merciful to the ones who plotted against him, or wanted to betray him, that way gaining their trust and affection. As he crossed the Hellespont in 334 BC, he was not only surrounded by his soldiers, but also by geographers, biologists and historians. New types of plants, insects, and seashells were discovered, as well as new diseases. He sent back to Athens the statues that were stolen by the Persian king Xerxes during the Greco-Persian Wars (Fremaan 2011, 73). Before Alexander's reign, if you were coming from Greece to Asia Minor, you were either a refugee or a mercenary. All of a sudden this changed, and the Ionian cities became some sort of a promised land. In 325 BC the Jews made a commitment that all firstborn male children born during that year would be named Alexander – this is how this name (together with many other Greek names) entered the Jewish world. In Egypt, Alexander allowed the Egyptians to keep their religion, schools, sanctuaries and customs. He founded the city of Alexandria, which was to become the center of Hellenistic world – a city with greatest library, theatres, temples. The city where people like Eratosthenes, Archimedes and Euclides resided. Today, Alexandria is

a city with a population of eight million people, and 80% of Egypt's imports and exports move through its harbor. (Pollard and Reid 2007, 23).

There is no doubt Alexander was impressed by the Persian culture. Soon after becoming the ruler of this mighty empire, he started wearing Persian robes and behaving as a typical Persian ruler. The Persians saw their ruler as some kind of a God on the Earth, so they treated him as an impeccable and almighty deity, showing their respect by kneeling or even lying before him, kissing his hand etc. For the Greeks, this was a pure blasphemy – only the Gods were supposed to be addressed that way. All three Alexander's wives were Persian, and in 324 BC he even arranged a mass wedding between his Greek soldiers and Persian women. This was supposed to be a symbolical unification of Greek and Persian cultures. Further, one of the Alexander's role-models (alongside Achilles and Hercules) was Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire under the Achaemenid dynasty, who was also very tolerant to the peoples he conquered (Briant 2002, 77). Once he conquered Persia, Alexander allowed the Persians to keep their customs and religions. The taxes were collected only in the cities or villages where something was needed to be built – the schools and temples remained as they were before. He limited the authority of satraps and installed independent treasurers. He encouraged his people to learn the language that was spoken by the Persians, but also encouraged the Persians to learn Greek. That way, Greek philosophers got the opportunity to become familiar with Eastern philosophies. He wanted his soldiers to treat the Persians not as a conquered people, but as their equals, especially the Persian women. Needless to say, Alexander's soldiers were not very happy with the fact they had to, for example, wait in line for water with Persian women, or to pay Persian blacksmiths when getting their equipment repaired etc. He believed that there should be one kingdom where all peoples were supposed to be free and equal – this is why he did not want to make any of them dominant. In India, the Greeks became familiar with a great number of new plant and animal species. The most notable were elephants, the battle tanks of the Ancient Times. Also, it was believed that the river Nile is an affluent of the river Indus – however, the Indian campaign proved this to be wrong; also the map of the world created by Hecataeus of Miletus was abandoned forever. The Greek sculptors got to know the Indian architecture, and the Indian sculpture and architecture became very influenced by the Greek ones (Banerjee 1961, 91).

Hellenism – shaping force of Ancient Rome and Byzantium

After Alexander's death, his empire started to disintegrate, as it was divided by the Diadochi. However, the process of disintegration was only geographical – mentally, the world started to integrate. A new period in human history was born – Hellenism. It marked the end of Athens as an economical capital of the Mediterranean – Alexandria “stole” its role. New cities were founded, and their structure changed; they were not randomly built houses around the main temple, but were organized in details, with temples, theatres and libraries dominating. The world became a greater place, and this fact caused a certain degree of panic when it came to Greek intellectuals, who had problems with Hellada not being centre of the world any longer. The rulers were perceived differently than before, and they felt obliged to build a lot. Wearing a beard went out of the fashion. Alexander's coined money became the universal currency, and the trade and traffic finally started to develop in the furthest East. Also, Hellenism can be seen as the first stage in emancipation of women.

Roman rulers used to spread the borders using a typical method of Alexander's, which was turning armed military camps into civil settlements, which were (at first) populated by the army veterans and their families (Mackay 2004, 133). When the famous city of Pompei was being built, the map of Alexandria was used to guide the architects. Also, the belief that one emperor rules the peoples with God's authority and by God's will is something that was unknown in Europe before Alexander adopted this concept from the Persians. The first Roman emperor was called “divi filius” – the son of a God. The emperors of Byzantium adopted Persian customs too, they even wore clothes very similar to those Alexander started wearing in Persia. The Byzantine coats of arms included an eagle. That eagle was most probably a descendent of Si-Murg, the eagle Persians believed flies from Heaven to the royal palace and vice versa, giving the king instructions from God (Lamb 1993, 157). It was used as an emblem of the Roman Army, and later on in the Byzantine coats of arms. From there, it “travelled” to many Medieval coats of arms and is still present in the coat of arms of many modern day countries, for example Russia.

Two Byzantine emperors that may be compared to Alexander are Justinian and Heraclius.

Justinian was the last emperor to speak Latin as a first language. Just as Alexander, he had received a quality education and this is just one of many similarities between these two; another more obvious one is the fact that both of them founded cities that were named after them (Justiniana, in case of Justinian). Further, Justinian was known as the “emperor who never sleeps” (Treadgold 1997, 95). He was easy to approach, and made a selection of people around him on the basis of merit. He had a keen interest in theological matters, and participated in debates about Christian doctrine, which can be compared to numerous debates Alexander had with Indian philosophers. Heraclius, the other great Byzantine emperor, was nicknamed “The second Alexander”. He was responsible for abandoning Latin in favor of Ancient Greek, thus further hellenizing his empire. Like Alexander, he led successful war campaign against the Persians, driving them out of Asia Minor. The list of great historical personalities that can be compared to Alexander does not end there – almost every major general compared himself to Alexander the Great, and almost everyone of them felt that somehow he fell short of Alexander. Julius Caesar supposedly wept when he turned thirty-three, because he believed that the first thirty-three years of his life compared to those of Alexander were worth nothing. Napoleon never hid his admiration for the Macedon king, copying his way of dealing with soldiers; remembering their names, treating them as his equals, praising their courage on the battlefield.

Alexander influencing in religious and political issues

The traces of Alexander can be found even in religion. Dhul-Qarnayn (“He who has two horns”) is a figure mentioned in Qur’an. It cannot be claimed explicitly that it refers to Alexander (other interpretations indicate Dhul-Qarnayn is either Cyrus the Great or Heraclius), however, in many parts of Asia Alexander is described as a two-horned demon who came straight out of Hell, so it most probably is him. When it comes to Christianity the fundamental nature of Christ as both man and God ultimately derives from Greek tradition of the divinity of Alexander, since the kings of Israel were never understood to be divine. The similarity becomes even physical; in the Basilica of San Vitale, Jesus Christ is presented as having blonde hair and no beard. Once the image is compared to any of the images of Alexander, the resemblance is more than obvious. In the parts of India conquered by the Greeks we find the statues of Buddha with a halo and robes of Greek tradition (Banerjee 1961, 93).

Modern times are not immune to the influence of Alexander's existence either. Just as in religion, his name and persona can be found in everyday politics. The best example is the disagreement over the use of the name "Macedonia" between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, or Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). The Republic of Macedonia declared independence in 1991, and was officially recognized in 1993. However, Greece wanted and still wants this country to change its name, in order to make a clear distinction between today's Republic of Macedonia and Greek region of Macedonia. The Republic of Macedonia is asked to at least put a prefix or a suffix next to its name (for example: Vardar Macedonia, Northern Macedonia or Skopje Macedonia), but since they refuse to do so, a number of countries all over the world refer to it as the FYROM, with Greece also using the name Skopje (the adjective being "Skopian"). Logically, this has put Alexander's heritage into question – since Alexander and his fathers were considered to be Macedonians, to which of these two "Macedonias" do they belong? Going into details here would take too much time and space; however, it is obvious that believing that Alexander was a Slav is ridiculous. He can in no way be treated as a predecessor of today's Slavic Macedonians. On the other hand, there are many arguments that indicate Greece is the rightful owner of his cultural heritage. It is not easy to predict the outcome of this dispute, especially not now that Alexander has got a monument in Skopje (with his finger pointing to Greece), the capital of Republic of Macedonia/FYROM, whose football stadium is also named after Philip II, Alexander's father.

Conclusion

No doubt, Alexander the Great will always be one of the most intriguing persons in the history of mankind. He spent thirty-three years on our planet, and yet when we come to summarize the main effects of his rule, it seems as if he lived for centuries. The moment he was born changed the world forever – after his death the world seemed an entire new, different planet. Cities, trade routes, fashion, ruling style, military tactics, science, people's mental setting – everything changed. The more a person explores and learns about him, the more he or she becomes fascinated by the effects of his short reign. Asking questions about Alexander is easy – providing answers, on the other hand, is a very complex work, since he was an ambiguous personality. His conversations

with Aristotle create a special chapter of his life, his love affairs as well; his military campaigns, psychological profile – all these things need to be explored and understood in order to be able to at least try to define Alexander. Even if we question the ‘greatness’ of his personality, when we consider the powerful influence he had on shaping the world to come, there is no doubt he deserves to be called ‘the Great’.

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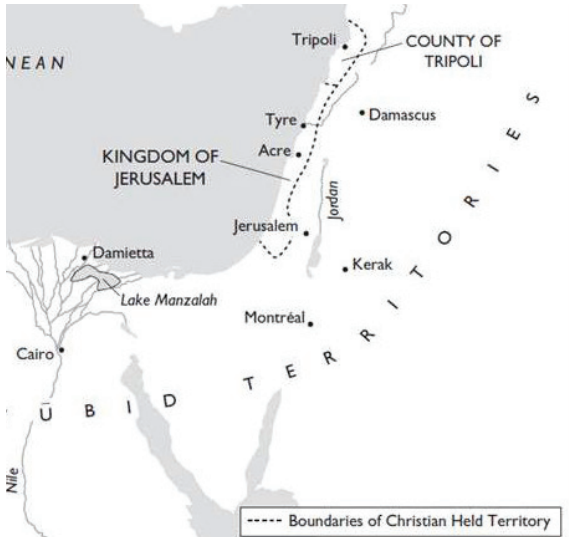
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Chroniclers During the Fifth Crusade in the Middle Between the Muslim East and the Christian West:

The Works of Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn Bridging Latin and Arabic Historiography

Jan Vandeburie
University of Kent

In this short contribution, we will try to shed some new light on the literary activities of two chroniclers participating in the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221). Some recent discoveries in the works of Oliver of Cologne and Jacques de Vitry point out that a much greater intertextuality existed between Arabic and Latin historiography during the Crusading period than earlier assumed. After briefly introducing our two protagonists of this research, we will look into some interesting links between the written culture of East and West.

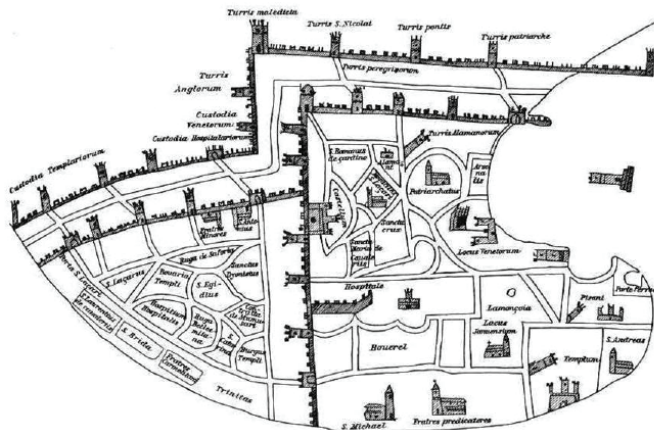


The Holy Land at the time of the Fifth Crusade.¹

1 James M. Powell, 'Fifth Crusade (1217-1221)', in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 427-31, p. 428.

Jacques de Vitry and the Fifth Crusade

Jacques de Vitry was born c. 1165-1170, probably in Vitry-en-Perthois, southwest of Rheims.² Between c. 1185-1208, Jacques studied in Paris, where he might have been taught by the famous Peter the Cantor (d. 1189). He arrives in the priory of Saint-Nicolas d'Oignies in the Diocese of Liège in 1208 and was probably anointed as priest in 1210 before being part of the entourage of the bishop of Liège, Hugues de Pierpont (1200-1229). Around 1212 Jacques de Vitry commits himself to the preaching of the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) in the North of France. Between 1215-1216 we find him preaching the Fifth Crusade and he attends the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Elected bishop of Acre in 1216 by pope Innocent III (1198-1216), he is given the episcopal see officially by Innocent's successor, pope Honorius III (1216-1227). De Vitry embarks to the Holy Land from Genoa and arrives in his new episcopal city in November 1216.



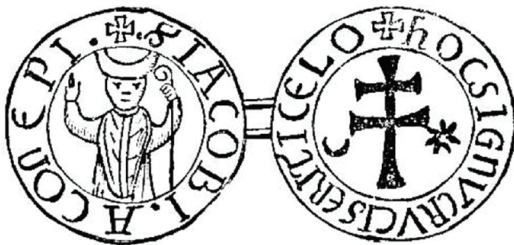
Plano di Acri di Martino Samio Tonnelli, 1310. Cit. Zippel, Leipzig, 1898, piano 21, preso da un antico codice di Londra, n. 27376.

After Saladin conquered Jerusalem in the wake of the Frankish defeat at the Battle of Hattin (1187), Acre, as the new Christian capital, became the centre of economic and cultural exchange between the Crusader states and the surrounding Muslim territories. Italian drawing of the port of Acre c. 1320.³

2 The most complete biographic study of the life of Jacques de Vitry is still: Funk, Philipp, *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909).

3 D. Pringle, 'Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *The Medieval City under Siege*, ed. by Ivy A. Corvis and Michael Wolfe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. 107.

In the winter of 1216-1217, the newly arrived bishop starts travelling and preaching in the Holy Land. He visits Acre, Antioch, Sidon, the sources of the Jordan, Mount Liban, Beiruth, Byblos, Tripoli, Krak des Chevaliers, the Templar stronghold of Château-Blanc, Tortosa (Antarados) and Margat castle. Not surprisingly, from these travel experiences, Jacques de Vitry gathered a huge amount of knowledge about the Holy Land. On the 24th of May 1218 he joins the Crusading army departing to Egypt and witnesses the capture of the tower of Damietta in August 1218. Just one year later, he witnesses the decisive battle of Damietta on the 29th of August 1219 and the capture of the city in November. Since arriving in the Holy Land, de Vitry regularly reports to Rome in the form of extensive letters describing his experiences in *Outremer* and the progress of the Crusade. Already in the summer of 1221, the Christian army has to retreat out of Egypt after a devastating siege of the city by the Ayyubid sultan Al-Kamil (1180-1238).



*The episcopal seal of Jacques de Vitry.*⁴

Oliver of Cologne

The German preacher Oliver of Cologne, otherwise known as Oliver of Paderborn or Oliver Scholasticus (d. 1227), contributed to the thirteenth century historiography as a chronicler participating in the Fifth Crusade.⁵ Before his adventures in the Holy Land, Oliver of Paderborn built up an impressive curriculum. After gaining the title

⁴ Cannuyer, C., 'Les emblèmes sigillaires de Jacques de Vitry reproduits sur trois pièces du trésor d'Oignies', *La Vie wallonne*, 58 (1984), 117-126.

⁵ A more extensive overview of the life of Oliver of Paderborn can be found in Hermann Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinalbischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1894), i-xi and in the introduction to *The Capture of Damietta. By Oliver of Paderborn*, trans. by John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), 1-10.

of *Magister* in Paderborn, he was appointed as professor at the cathedral school of Cologne. Around 1207, when he was studying in Paris, Oliver started his career in the Crusading movement by contributing to the preaching for the Albigensian Crusade under the influence of pope Innocent III. The latter sent him out to preach the Fifth Crusade in Oliver's own province of Cologne as well as in Lüttich, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, Geldt, Utrecht and Friesland (1214-1215).⁶ During this period, Oliver undoubtedly already came in contact with Jacques de Vitry, who was around that time also studying in Paris and who was preaching the new crusade in France.⁷ He also attended the Fourth Lateran Council where Oliver acted as the representative for the archbishop of Cologne. Only a year after Jacques de Vitry was appointed bishop of Acre, Oliver of Paderborn also shipped in to join the crusade where the two of them would record the events that unfolded.

The *Historia Orientalis* and the spread of knowledge of the Middle East

Sometime between 1216 and 1224, all the knowledge and experiences of the Holy Land that Jacques de Vitry gathered during his travels culminated in his *magnus opus*, the *Historia Orientalis* or 'History of the East'.⁸ This monumental 'Travel Guide for the

6 On this period of preaching, see the contributions of Jaap van Molenbroek: 'Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland 1214: Oliver of Paderborn and Crusading Propaganda', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 13 (1987), pp. 251–72 and 'Dreihundert Schiffe für das Heilige Land. Oliver von Köln und die Kreuzzugskampagne der Jahre 1213–1217', in *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 201 (1998), pp. 19–44.

7 On the School of Paris in the early thirteenth century and the relationship between Oliver of Paderborn and Jacques de Vitry, see: Rudolf Hiestand, 'Oliver Scholasticus und die Pariser Schulen zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts. Zu einem neuen Textfund', in *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 58 (1987), pp. 1–34.

8 See: Bird, Jessalynn, 'The Religious' Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World: Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones ad Status* and *Historia Occidentalis*', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. by C. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 209–229; C. Cannuyer, 'La date de rédaction de L'*Historia Orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170–1240), évêque d'Acre', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 78 (1983), 65–72; R.B.C. Huygens, 'Les passages des lettres de Jacques de Vitry relatifs à Saint François d'Assise et à ses premiers disciples', in *Hommages à Léon Hermann*, Collection

Middle East' provided the people in Western Europe with a general history of the Holy Land together with a political, religious, social, geographical and natural description of the lands of *Outremer* roughly at the end of 12th century and beginning of the 13th century. Selecting information from older sources and combining this with his own experiences and critical comments, Jacques de Vitry outlines the history of both Christianity and Islam in the region as well as the history of the previous Crusades, and gives an extensive overview of the different peoples and religious sects in the East, these were popular chapters that contributed greatly to the fast spread of his work in post-Fourth-Lateran-Council Western Europe. These descriptions of strange customs and doctrines might have been used by the readers to reaffirm their identity as orthodox Latin Christians or to compare these strange beliefs with heresies in Western Europe. Descriptions of the culture and rites of strange peoples could also be used to reconfirm or criticize western culture, in particular in this period of reformation. For example the detailed depiction of the utopian society of the Brahmins intended to highlight western Christendom's failings must have given many readers something to think about. In one manuscript this chapter was even retitled 'Contra malos christianos'.

The encyclopedic genre knew an immense popularity in the 13th and 14th centuries and also the *Historia Orientalis* profited from these European interests in the exotic 'other'. Together with the renewed interest in the Crusades after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and the efforts of the reform movement after Lateran IV, this gives us an explanation for the –at least- 124 manuscripts of the *Historia Orientalis* that are held in collections all over Europe today.⁹ The first vernacular translations of the work already made their appearance by the second half of the 13th century. A preserved manuscript in the French vernacular originates from the end of the thirteenth century (Abbey of Saint-Germain-

Latomus 44 (Brussels, 1960), pp. 443-453 and Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. by J.F. Hinnebusch, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 17 (Fribourg, 1972), pp. 16-20.

9 J. Donnadieu, 'L'*Historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry. Tradition manuscrite et histoire du texte', *Sacris Erudiri*, 45 (2006), 379-456, pp. 381-410. Donnadieu provides a more extensive list of manuscripts than Hinnebusch: J.F. Hinnebusch, 'Extant Manuscripts of Writings of Jacques de Vitry', *Scriptorium*, 51 (1997), 156-64, pp. 157-58.

des-Prés).¹⁰ Another manuscript with fragments of the *Historia Orientalis* has been preserved at Troyes and has been dated around the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹¹ As early as the second half of the fourteenth century, we notice the appearance of a manuscript in Castilian, now preserved at the National Library of Madrid.¹² These early translations in the vernacular Spanish language are quite remarkable considering the limited number of manuscripts of the *Historia Orientalis* preserved in Spanish archives (10 manuscripts). It seems that a fast spread of the writings of Jacques de Vitry among the non-educated population was necessary to strengthen them in their confrontation with the Moors on the Iberian Peninsula and support the *Reconquista* effort. From the provenance of the oldest manuscripts, we can form an idea of the central region of the spread of the *Historia Orientalis*. Not surprisingly, most of the oldest preserved copies can be traced to religious houses in the North of France: The Abbey of Saint Martin (Tournai),¹³ Clairvaux,¹⁴ and another manuscript of which the specific location in the North of France is unknown.¹⁵ These religious houses are all part of the same network in the region where Jacques de Vitry was preaching the reformation and crusading movement a few years earlier. Another manuscript can be traced back to Cologne, not coincidentally the home of Oliver of Cologne.¹⁶ There seems to be a correlation between the spread of the earliest manuscripts and the ties between Rome and the religious houses involved in the reformation and calls for crusades after Lateran IV. The travels of Papal legates might have been a very important factor in the spread of the *Historia Orientalis*. An early manuscript in the Bodleian Library of English origin also shows the important role of England in this

10 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Français, 17203.

11 Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. Français 1399.

12 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 684. Two other manuscripts in Castilian are also preserved from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3013. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 8173.

13 London: British Library, Ms. Add. 40075.

14 Troyes: Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 2403.

15 Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms. Reg. Lat. 504.

16 Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 30.5. Augusteus.

thirteenth-century crusading movement.¹⁷ It is clear that together with the call to join the Crusading movement throughout Europe, Rome was also contributing to the spread of knowledge about the Holy Land among the Western European population.

The Siege Engine of Damietta

Oliver of Cologne's detailed accounts from the events in Palestine and Egypt during the Fifth Crusade show a remarkable military interest and knowledge for a historian with such a religious background. More than once we notice his enthusiasm when it comes to military matters, especially when his own people are involved.

*Rejoice, province of Cologne, exult and give praise, because in ships, instruments of war, warriors and weapons, supplies and money, you have given more aid than the rest of the entire German kingdom!*¹⁸

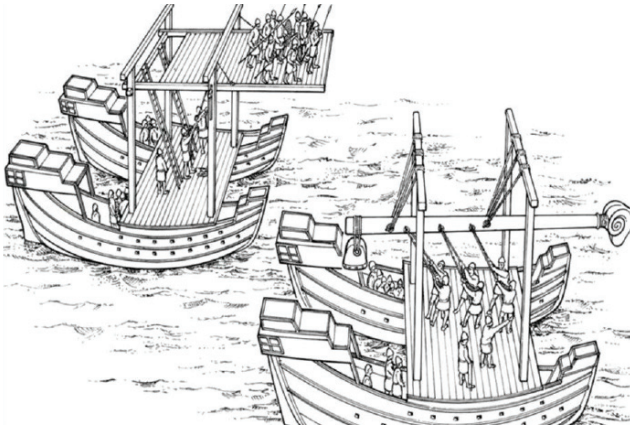
One of these accounts is of the siege of Damietta (1218-1219), in which Oliver describes the construction of an ingenious piece of siege machinery to capture an enemy tower surrounded by water.

*With the Lord showing us how and providing an architect, and with the Germans and the Frisians providing supplies and labor, we joined two ships which we bound together sturdily by means of beams and ropes and so prevented (by their closely connected structure) the danger of drifting. We erected four masts and the same number of sail yards, setting up on the summit a strong fortress joined with poles and a network fortification. We covered it with skins about its circumference, as a protection from the attacks of their machine, and over its top as a defense against the Greek fire. Under the fortress was made a ladder, hung by very strong ropes and stretching out thirty cubits beyond the prow.*¹⁹

17 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson C. 152.

18 Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. by John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1948), p. 48-49.

19 Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. by John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia:



Similar constructions as the one described by Oliver of Paderborn.²⁰

French colleague Jacques de Vitry attributes this invention in his own account of the events to Oliver himself.

Cum autem nobiles et potentes exercitus de expugnatione turris iam fere desperarent, quidam homines paupers, deo devoti et humiles, videlicet Frisones, consilio magistri Oliveri Coloniensis cancellarii super duas naves sibi invicem connexas et colligates mirabilem et a seculis inauditam erexerunt machinam cum magno labore et expensis, scilicet duarum milium marcarum.²¹

In Oliver of Paderborn's writings and other crusading sources, one gets the impression that aside from acting as the spiritual leader of the German and Frisian contingents, Oliver also played an important role as a military leader and even seems to have provided the other military leaders of the Crusade with strategic advice at their meetings.

Advenit itaque quidam magister Oliverus nomine, Coloniensis ecclesie

University of Philadelphia Press, 1948), p. 25.

20 Bennett, M. and others, *Fighting Techniques of the Medieval World AD 500-AD 1500* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2005).

21 *Jacques de Vitry. Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, ed. by R.B. Huygens and trans. by G. Duchet-Suchaux (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 96. The reference to Oliver 'consilio magistri Oliveri Coloniensis' is left out of the French translation of the Latin text. That is why we prefer to use the Latin text of Huygens.

*canonicus, qui in partibus suis auctoritate domni pape crucem predicaverat, qui multos cogones cruce signaverat et infinitos homines. (...) Congregato igitur quadam die capitaneorum omnium consilio cum ad aliquid faciendum ipsos vehementer dictus magister ex parte suorum incitaret peregrinorum, inspirante Spiritu sancto ab omnibus unanimiter concordatum est Babyloniam ire, sicque factum est quod in die Ascensionis Domini iter ab Accon arreptum est per mare, quousque favente domino Damiatam civitatem Egyptiorum permaximam supra ripam fluvii paradisi sitam prospere perventum est.*²²

In an article by Dominic Francis, where the author is looking into earlier examples of similar siege engines like the one supposedly invented by Oliver of Paderborn, it is pointed out that Flavius Vegetius' Roman military manual *Epitoma Rei Militaris* was likely to have been one of the influences that inspired our German preacher.²³ Francis sees a remarkable resemblance with Vegetius' description of a *Sambuca*:

*Sambuca dicitur ad similitudinem citharae; nam quemadmodum in cithara chordae sunt, ita in trabe, quae iuxta turrem ponitur, funes sunt, qui pontem de superiore parte trochleis laxant, ut descendat ad murum, statimque de turri exeunt bellatores et per eum transeuntes moenia urbis inuadunt.*²⁴

Oliver of Cologne's idea to use ancient siege tactics might also have come from his knowledge of the work of Quintus Curtius Rufus, not without coincidence the one and only reference to source material that can be found in Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiattina*.²⁵ Curtius describes the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great where the Greeks used similar tactics to capture the peninsula where Tyre was located.

22 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, 82-84.

23 Dominic Francis, 'Oliver of Paderborn and his Siege Engine at Damietta', in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), pp. 28-32.

24 Flavius Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, Book IV, Chapter XXI.

25 Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. by John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1948), p. 23.



Depiction of Vegetius' Sambuca.

Vegetius and the Crusades

The link to Vegetius' manual proves to be more interesting than earlier assumed. We would like to consider the popularity of Vegetius' work on Roman warfare and military organisation. Although the work had its origins in the late fourth century, it remained the standard military treatise throughout the Middle Ages.²⁶ Several important medieval writers used Vegetius' manual in their works: The Venerable Bede (672-735), Alcuin (c. 740-804), Rabanus Maurus (c. 780-856) and John of Salisbury (c. 1120-1180).²⁷

Accordingly, the chapters on siege warfare seem to have been most popular. Geoffrey Plantagenet used Vegetius' descriptions of siege engines very literally at the siege of a stronghold in the Loire valley in 1147.²⁸ This interest in works on siege warfare belongs to the popular Byzantine literary genre of *Poliorcetica*, which became widely spread mostly from the twelfth century onwards.²⁹ Also Vitruvius was already widely spread

26 Charles R. Shrader, 'The Influence of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*', in *Military Affairs*, 45 (1981), pp. 167-68.

27 Shrader, 'The Influence of Vegetius', p. 172.

28 A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 127-30.

29 Worth mentioning here is an early sixteenth century manuscript from the University Library of Glasgow that collects extracts from different classical authors and contains a drawing depicting a boat designed by Athenaeus as a siege weapon with a tower and ladders hanging on ropes. Glasgow, University Library, Ms. Hunter 220 (U.2.11): Athenaei, *De Machinis*, f. 6r.

by the beginning of the thirteenth century and mentions the use of *sambucae* on ships.³⁰ Oliver could have read in Livy's *Ab Urbe Conditur* how the Romans besieged Syracuse by joining two ships together and equipping them with a tower and battering engines.³¹ Some of the remaining manuscripts containing Livy's work are very likely to have been available for Oliver of Paderborn. Two of the manuscripts can be traced back to Corbie and Tours in the early thirteenth century and one was even held in Bamberg, only a few days journey away from Paderborn.³²

Especially for the thirteenth century, one notices a remarkable use of Vegetius. Aegidius Romanus wrote *De Regimine Principum*, a *fürstenspiegel* for the son of king Philip III of France in 1280, mainly relying on the work of Vegetius. So did Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264) in his *Speculum Majus* on the art of war. That same author was also greatly influenced by the works of Oliver's colleague Jacques de Vitry. King Alfonso X of Castille (1252-1284) had significant knowledge of Vegetius' manual and used it in his *Siete Partidas*, as did Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in his writings on the *Just War*.³³ Aside from the numerous versions in Latin, the first translations in vernacular were made from the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century onwards. The first translation in Anglo-Norman French dialect was made probably somewhere in the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁴ The most influential French translation is the one by Jean de Meun in 1284.³⁵ Between this date and 1335, it was translated another four times into French, making Vegetius' manual the second most frequently classical work

30 Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, X, 16.9.

31 Livy, *Ab Urbe Conditur*, XXIV, 34. 6-7.

32 Francis, 'Oliver of Paderborn and his Siege Engine at Damietta', p. 30-31.

33 Josette A. Wisman, 'L'Epitoma rei militaris de Végèce et sa fortune au Moyen âge', in *Moyen Age*, 85 (1979), pp. 23-31 and M. Springer, 'Vegetius im Mittelalter', in *Philologus*, 123 (1979), p. 86.

34 Christopher T. Allmand, 'Fifteenth-Century Versions of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by M. Strickland (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1998), p. 33.

35 Christine Knowles, 'A 14th Century Imitator of Jean de Meung: Jean de Vignay's Translation of the "De Re Militari" of Vegetius', in *Studies in Philology*, 53 (1956), pp. 452-58.

translated into French in the Middle Ages.³⁶ From this French interest, we can assume that Vegetius' manual was very well known and used extensively in Parisian education already in the first half of the thirteenth century. However, there is no direct evidence of manuscripts of Vegetius being available for Oliver of Paderborn when he was living in Paris in the early years of the thirteenth century.

The use of Arabic sources

The Arabic Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir, describing part of the events during the Fifth Crusade from the Muslim perspective, shows us that the Muslims had a very specific word for the floating siege machines that Oliver of Cologne describes.

*After the Franks had disembarked on the peninsula, separated by the Nile from Damietta, they built a defensive wall and made a ditch to guard them from attacks. They began to engage the garrison in Damietta and they made siege equipment, **marammas** and towers to use them on their ships for attacks on that [chain] tower with the aim of taking it by assault.³⁷*

This could be explained by the Muslim knowledge and use of ancient Greek and Roman works through Arabic translations. Most interesting to consider here, is that in this case,

36 *The Earliest English Translation of Vegetius' De Re Militari*, ed. by Geoffrey Lester (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1988), pp. 14-15; Robert H. Lucas, 'Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500', in *Speculum*, 45 (1970), pp. 248-50; Wisman, 'L'Epitoma rei militaris', pp. 17-20 and P. Meyer, 'Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce et en particulier Jean de Vignai', in *Romania*, 25 (1896), pp. 401-23.

37 *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 3: The years 589-629/1193-1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, trans. by D.S. Richards (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 176. See also: E. Blochet, 'Extraits de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie relatifs au siège de Damiette sous le règne d'al-Malik al-Kamil', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, xi, 1908, 240-260, p. 242 and Hans L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit: Eine Studie zur Geschichte Vorderasiens und Egypten in der ersten Hälfte des 7./13. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 1958, p. 77.

Oliver of Cologne's idea for 'his' siege engine could have been borrowed from an Arabic translation of the works of Curtius or Vegetius. And while it is rather unlikely that western chroniclers could read Arabic, it is very likely that these Arabic works were available for them through local translations. This would not be exceptional since both Oliver of Cologne and Jacques de Vitry mention that the Christian army came in possession of an Arabic translation of the *Revelationes beati Petri apostoli a discipulo eius Clemente in uno volumine redactae*.

Indeed after the capture of Damietta, the Legate of the Apostolic See [Pelagius] had a book which was written in Arabic read aloud briefly and by means of an interpreter, in the hearing of the multitude; and as we considered and contemplated the antiquity of its bindings and maps, we discovered we ought to proceed. This book is entitled 'The Book of Clement', written, as they say, from the lips of the Prince of the Apostles by Clement himself concerning the revelations made known to Peter by the Lord between His resurrection and ascension.³⁸

Vt autem omnis ambiguitas ab hiis qui dubitant tolleretur, hoc presenti anno Suriani qui nobiscum erant in exercitu, librum alium antiquissimum lingua sarracenica scriptum de antiquis armariis suis nobis ostenderunt, cuius erat superscriptio: 'Revelationes beati Petri apostoli a discipulo eius Clemente in uno volumine redactae'. Quicumque autem libri huius auctor extiterit, ita aperte et expresse de statu ecclesie dei a principio usque ad tempora Antichristi et finem mundi prenuntiavit, quod ex completionem preteritorum indubitatum facit fidem futurorum.³⁹

This shows us that the Crusading army did use Arabic works and although neither of the Chroniclers knew Arabic, the Christian army must have had translators with them. It is

38 Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. by John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1948), p. 72.

39 Jacques de Vitry, *Epistola VII*, 587-596.

also known that some of the units of the army were recruited from the local (Christian) population in the Levant whose first language was Arabic. It is however doubtful that these soldiers and local translators were educated enough to translate complete Arabic works into Latin. An answer can be found with the local Egyptian Christian Copts in Damietta. Although they were not very cooperative with the Christian conquerors, they would have provided them with the necessary working knowledge to translate the Arabic works into Latin for them since they had a strong tradition of translating Latin works into Arabic. Also the Latin works used for these translations were probably still present in the extensive Egyptian Libraries.⁴⁰

Conclusion

The literary production during the Crusades and the immense popularity of these writings contributed greatly to the spread of knowledge of the Middle East, Islam, and Arabic literature throughout Medieval Europe. In these specific case-studies on some aspects in the works of Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Cologne we clearly see a strong intertextuality with contemporary Arabic works and Classical works through Arabic translations.

Hopefully, future research will make it possible to look further into the influences present in the works of Crusading chroniclers by reconstructing their education and life. By investigating the contents of the medieval Western and Middle Eastern libraries, it might be possible to determine the source material available in the Holy Land and to see if and perhaps how both Christian and Muslim historiographical traditions were combined into new works bringing together information from East and West. This could hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the knowledge and writings of not only Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn but also of other contemporary Crusading chroniclers such as Alberic de Troisfontaines (d. 1251/1252).

40 On the Copts, see: Atiya, Aziz S., *History of Eastern Christianity* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968) and Wilfong, Terry G., 'The Non-Muslim Communities: Christian Communities', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 175–197.

Jesus and ‘Īsā

A Contribution to Studying the Christian-Islamic Interactions

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The concept of “East” and “West” has for long been a rather frequent element in historical accounts, of both laymen and professional historians. Unspecified, subjected to generalizations and self-preserving only inside a context, these divisions have been used to roughly define not only geographical areas, but *milieus* with special political, cultural, linguistic and religious characteristics. Serving as a cornerstone of total history in the positivistic discourse, this mechanism created the image of the antagonistic “Christian West” and “Muslim East”, whose collision has marked the history of Europe since the early Middle Ages. This paper tends to show a different perspective in the relations between these two dominions, i.e. how the supposed “Christian West” contributed to the creation of its historical counterpart.

The impact Christianity had during the formative period of Islam can be traced through the fact that the new religion embraced elements from the traditions already present on the Arabian Peninsula. Many characters from the Bible are mentioned and play an important role in the storyline of the Qur’ān: for example, Noah (Nūḥ), Moses (Mūsā), Solomon (Sulaymān) and David (Dāwūd) are all attested in the sacred script of the Muslim faith. Apart from the personalities from the Old Testament, the Qur’ān tells of the protagonists of the Gospel, among which one of the most significant is Jesus, or ‘Īsā, as he is known in Islam. The incorporation of these figures in the Islamic dogma alone is indicative enough in the context of Christian influence, but analyzing each one of them would ask for an endeavor far beyond this paper. That is why this one focuses solely on the image of ‘Īsā, which represents the Islamic antipode of the central figure of the New Testament. Now, being as important a character as he is, ever since the codification of Islam Jesus has been an inspiration for both religious scholars and poets. This led to an intensive development of Islamic Christology and created a rich corpus of texts, giving accounts of Jesus from different perspectives and with different implications. As the paper is limited to the theological image of Jesus, the first part

shows how he is described in the Qur'ān, and how the holy book of Islam defines his nature and purpose.

Naturally, the theological interpretation is just one aspect. Since the goal of this paper is to make the phenomenon historically relevant and explain it in a wider social and political context, the second part deals with the contacts of pre-Islamic Arabs and the sources of Christian influences which came from Byzantium. The theological legacy which can be traced in the Qur'ān is a remnant of a wider spectrum of influences, including political and administrative, social and economic ones, all of which are taken into account in the text. Although Romans were present in the Arabic world since the first century B.C, Christianity started influencing the inhabitants of the Levant and Arabia intensely after it was recognized as one of the state religions in 313. Thus the chronological outline of this overview will cover the period from the first half of the fourth, until the end of the sixth century, creating an introduction to the rise of Islam in the seventh.

I Theological interpretation

As mentioned above, Islamic Christology is a rather complicated issue, elaborated through generations of both sacred and profane, literary texts of the Muslim world. Nonetheless, the primary source which tells of the prophet 'Īsā and his role in the creation of Islam is the Qur'ān itself.¹ Through fifteen suras and ninety three ayahs, the Qur'ān describes his creation, life and purpose in the material realm, with special emphasis on his nature, which differs diametrically from the Christian account.

* * *

Just like in the biblical tradition, Jesus is the son of Mary, or Maryam, as she is called in the Qur'ān. She was a descendant of the line of 'Imrān and under the strict protection

1 For this paper, two translations of the Qur'ān have been used and compared: Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī, trans, *The Holy Qur'ān* (McGregor & Werner, INC, 1946) and Besim Korkut, trans, *Prijevod Kur'ana* (Novi Pazar: Mešihat Islamske zajednice u Srbiji, 2009) The quotations given in the text are followed by references in brackets, where the number of the *sūrah* is in Roman, and the number of the *āyāt* in Arabic numbers.

of the prophet Zakarīya, whose son, Yaḥyā (John the Baptist), announced the coming of Jesus. Raised in a religious community, Mary grew up to be one of the most pious and noble women in existence: "Behold! The angels said: 'O Mary! God hath chosen thee and purified thee – chosen thee above the women of all nations.'" (III: 42)

The context of Mary's chastity is directly connected to another important element in the story of 'Īsā, borrowed from Christianity – sinless conception. One day, as she withdrew from her family, a divine intervention occurred. She was visited by Ġibrīl, a sort of antipode to the Christian archangel Gabriel, who manifested to Mary in the form of a "man in all respects" (XIX: 17).² The shape in which the angel showed himself was crucial in all later attempts of Islamic scholars to define the essence of Jesus. According to the Andalusian Sufi mystic Ibn 'Arabī (1165–1240), 'Īsā was created from "the actual water of Maryam and from the imaginary water of Ġibrīl", which was infused with the moisture of his breath. Since Mary was human, and the herald took that form as well, it was only logical that the child would come to existence as a regular human being.³ But, regardless of these facts, it would be not only wrong, but blasphemous as well, to consider the angel to be the father of Jesus. When Mary asked how she could have a son if no man had touched her, the angel replied: "Even so: God createth what he willeth: when He hath decreed a Plan, He but said to it 'Be!' and it is!" (III: 47). It was thus the imminent will of Allāh and his word that created the child in Mary's womb, through the breath of Ġibrīl.

Six months after this event, Mary gave birth to Jesus. He was called *al masīh 'Īsā ibn Maryam*, or Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary. Although *Messiah* in Islam doesn't carry the same implications as in Christianity, being more an honorary title, the term itself remained in the nickname for Arab-speaking Christians, who are called *abd al-Masīh* (servants of the Messiah).⁴ When Mary brought the child to her family, they were about

2 Peter Lamborn Wilson, "Angels", in: *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 49.

3 Ibn Arabi, *Dragulji mudrosti [The Bezels of Wisdom]*, trans. Jovan Kuzminac (Beograd: Prosveta, 2007), 147.

4 Srđan Simić, *Biblijski i apokrifni tekstovi u Kuranu [Biblical and apocryphal texts in*

to reject it as a progeny of sin, and probably would have, had he not spoken from the cradle and declared his purpose in the world: "He said: 'I am indeed a servant of God: He hath given me Revelation and made me a prophet; and He hath made me blessed wheresoever I be, and hath enjoined on me Prayer and Charity as long as I live.'" (XIX: 30–31) Being a servant or a slave of God meant the hierarchy was clearly set, and the concept of the "son of God" uprooted from the start: "It is not befitting to (the majesty of) God that he should beget a son. Glory be to Him! (...)" (XIX: 35)

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And yet, there was obviously a higher purpose for 'Īsā. He was venerated for being the blessed child (*mubarak*), as important to God as angels themselves. He was given, as Ġibrīl had foretold: "the Book (*kitāb*) and Wisdom (*al-ḥikma*, divine inspiration), the Law and the Gospel." (III: 48). Now, *the Law* is a metaphor for the Torah, the Pentateuch of Moses, known as *Tawrat* in Islamic tradition, and *the Gospel* is the New Testament, or *Injil*.⁵ Just as the role of Moses (*Mūsā*) was to deliver the *Tawrat*, it was Jesus' task to bring the *Injil*.⁶ It is interesting how Muslim scholars later managed to take advantage of the fact that their faith was the youngest among the monotheistic religions. Since the Qur'ān consists of motifs already attested in Christian sacred texts, they interpreted Christianity as something already known and familiar, something that couldn't have offered them anything new.⁷

Apart from spreading the word of Allāh through the *Injil*, 'Īsā's prophethood was determined by another important task. Just as Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyā had foreseen the

the Qur'ān] (Beograd: Visoka škola Srpske pravoslavne crkve za umetnost i konservaciju, 2010), 199.

5 Stephen Cory, "Ahl al-Kitab", in: *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, 27.

6 In Islam, the Qur'ān is considered to be the one true Book, while its predecessors, *Tawrat* and *Injil* are just fragments and copies. They were gradually translated to humans to announce the coming of the last of the prophets and the mother-Book: "We gave Moses the Book and followed him up with a succession of Apostles; We gave Jesus the son of Mary clear signs and strengthened him with the holy spirit." (II: 87).

7 Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 175.

coming of his cousin, it was ‘Īsā’s mission to announce the arrival of the last of God’s emissaries, Muḥammad: “O Children of Israel! I am the apostle of God (sent) to you, confirming the Law (which came) before me, and giving glad Tidings of an Apostle to come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad.” (LXI: 6) Ahmad, or Muḥammad, stands for the “Praised One” or the “Praiseworthy”, a name well fit for the prophet who would bring the process of revealing Allāh’s word to an end, a prophet who represents a sort of balance between Moses’ strict legalism and the concept of love and compassion embodied in Jesus. In theory, there shouldn’t be any difference among the apostles of Allāh: “Those who deny God and his apostles, and (those who) wish to separate God from His apostles (...) They are in truth (equally) Unbelievers (...) To those who believe in God and His apostles and make no distinction between any of the apostles, we shall soon give their (due) rewards” (IV: 150–152) And yet, although the Qur’ān forbids it, Muḥammad was often given advantage over other prophets, his supremacy easily understood in the context of his role in the creation of Islam.



Persian miniature: Muḥammad leading the other prophets in prayer. To the left are Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ‘Īsā. (source: Barbara A. Hanawalt, The Middle Ages – an Illustrated History (Oxford University press, 1998), 35)

* * *

The miracles of ‘Īsā are described in detail in the Qur’ān: “I have come to you, with a Sign from our Lord, in that I make for you out of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird and breathe into it, and it becomes a bird by God’s leave: and I heal those born blind, and the lepers, and I quicken the dead, by God’s leave.” (III: 49) Here, an emphasis on Allāh’s permission should be noted – all these miracles were done through the will of Allāh, and glorified not the prophet who performed them, but the deity which made them plausible. The question of resurrection is especially important, since Islamic mystics used it as an argument for proving ‘Īsā divinity. According to some faulty interpretations, he was said to have reanimated not only the flesh, but the mind as well, which was considered god-like. Ibn ‘Arabī explained the phenomenon with the fact Ğibrīl was in human shape when he conceived ‘Īsā with his breath. Had he come in the shape of an animal or plant, or had he manifested in his primeval, immaterial form, Jesus could not have performed his miracles before he transformed to that adequate to Ğibrīl’s.⁸ Of course, this interpretation is rather disputable, and thus it shouldn’t be much of a surprise that the question of the divine element of ‘Īsā’s personality became a cornerstone of theological conflicts among Islamic sects.

The miracles of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad alike were often forsaken and interpreted as sorcery by those who had trouble seeing them as evidence of Allāh’s greatness: “And the unbelievers among them said: ‘This is nothing but evident magic.’” (V: 113) And yet, there were those who followed ‘Īsā, believing and fearing Allāh. His disciples are attested as *ansār*, (“helpers on the path of Allāh”), which linguistically resembles the form *nasārā*, most probably used to describe groups of “Jewish Christians” from Nazareth.⁹ The Qur’ān gives an account of a miracle ‘Īsā performed to strengthen the faith of his followers and demonstrate Allāh’s power. Upon their request, he summoned a table set with food and drinks from the heavens, the point being that God was the

⁸ Ibn Arabi, *Dragulji mudrosti [The Bezels of Wisdom]*, 148.

⁹ François de Blois, “Naṣṣrānī (Ναζωραῖος) and hanīf (Εθνικός): Studies on the Religious Vocabulary of Christianity and of Islam”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 65/1 (2002), 11.

ultimate sustainer of their needs. In Christian tradition, the followers of Christ were the ones to continue his legacy, i.e. institutionalize the faith he was preaching. In the Islamic discourse, the disciples were just helping 'Īsā on God's path, which basically makes them servants of Allāh. In other words, the Muslim Jesus did not leave his unfinished affairs to his disciples, thus depriving them of greater relevance to the faith itself.

* * *

The typical "life and times" of prophets usually follows the same pattern: anecdotal birth and childhood, followed by preaching and performing miracles, and in the end, martyr death caused by the inability of the masses to understand and accept their teachings. The end of Jesus' existence in the material realm in Islamic tradition is radically different from the Christian account. The major distinction is that there is no crucifixion in the Islamic version. Namely, just like there are traces of antagonism towards Jews in Christianity blaming them for the death of Jesus, the Qur'ān also presents them in a generally negative context, but for different reasons: "For the iniquity of the Jews we made unlawful for them certain (foods) good and wholesome which had been lawful for them; in that they hindered many from God's Way; That they took usury, though they were forbidden; and that they devoured men's substance wrongfully (...)" (IV: 160–161) Obviously, murdering Jesus was not among the sins of the Jews, since it was nothing but their delusions leading them to the conclusion that they had done it: "They said (in boast), 'We killed Christ Jesus the son of Mary, the Apostle of God'; But they killed him not, nor crucified him, but so it was made to appear to them, and those who differ therein are full of doubts, with no (certain) knowledge (...) for of a surety they killed him not." (IV: 157)

Now, since he was not crucified by the Jews, the question of how he died remains to be explained. The clue the Qur'ān gives is that Allāh summoned him: "Behold! God said: 'Jesus! I will take thee and raise thee to Myself and clear thee (of the falsehoods) of those who blaspheme (...)" (III: 55) And yet, this doesn't give a definite answer.

Various schools of Islamic exegesis interpreted these verses differently. According to one account, 'Īsā ascended to heaven, where he would remain until his second arrival. Under the influence of Christian Gnostic texts, stories of 'Īsā's "double" have been introduced. It is said that shortly before the act of crucifixion, one of his disciples took his form and got himself killed, saving his master. Sufi tradition offers other explanations: allegedly, his "lower soul", or his material shell got crucified, but his spirit had ascended.¹⁰ *En tout cas*, the point is the Jews did not take 'Īsā's life. Their sin was of other nature – not being able to recognize his messianic essence and thus forsaking him.

* * *

Muḥammad's idea was to found a strict monotheistic religion, with no indications of various Gods, or multiple natures of a single deity. Thus one of the five pillars of Islam, the *šahādah*, says there is no other God but Allāh.¹¹ Diminishing his greatness, as attested in many passages of the Qur'ān, is considered to be a mortal sin (*kufṛ*): "God forgiveth not that partners should be set up with Him (...) to set up partners with God is to devise a sin most heinous indeed." (IV: 48).

As for Jesus, it was necessary for the founder of Islam to forbid any attempts of deification which might have receded from the Christian dogma. He was indeed considered to be the word (*kalima*), the spirit (*rūh*) and the slave (*abd*) of Allāh, but not in any case divine or godly: "In blasphemy indeed are those that say that God is Christ the son of Mary. (...)" (V: 19) Although privileged, he was created from dust and the will of Allāh, like Adam long before him. Also, the fact 'Īsā himself is aware of his status in comparison to God is vital in reflecting this issue: "But said Christ: 'O Children of Israel! Worship God, my Lord and your Lord. Whoever joins other gods with God, God will forbid him the Garden and the Fire will be his abode. There will for the wrong-doers be no one to help.'" (V: 75) Despite being fairly simple, this concept did not save later generations of

10 Annemarie Schimmel, *Isus i Marija u islamskoj mistici* [*Jesus and Mary in Islamic mysticism*], trans. Sead Muhamedagić (Zagreb: Jesenski i Turk, 2009), 22.

11 "Shahada", in: *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, 753.

orthodox Muslims from quarrels with the Christians. Usāma ibn Munqidh, an eleventh-century Arab witness to the Crusades, tells of a peculiar encounter with some Frankish soldiers in Jerusalem. When the Europeans asked him and his companion, also Muslim, whether they wanted to see God as a child, they followed him to a picture portraying Mary and the infant Jesus. Shocked, Usāma wrote in his memoirs that God was indeed highly exalted above all the blasphemies the infidels came up with, since attributing divinity to Jesus was equal to the sin of idolatry (*širk*).¹²

Another notable aspect is the question of Trinity in Islam. It would seem that, while getting to know the ways of Christianity among the Christians of Ḥiğāz, Muḥammad misunderstood the concept, firstly because he interpreted it as sheer polytheism, i.e. tritheism. Secondly, linguistic issues made him misinterpret the nature of the Holy Spirit: since the word *spirit* is generally feminine in the Semitic languages (Arabic *rūh*, Hebrew *ruah*), Muḥammad attributed to the Holy Spirit the female principle, making him equal to Mary, the mother of Jesus.¹³ This can also be a trace of ancient traditions of the East which venerated the cult of the mother-goddess, similar to Ishtar or Isis.¹⁴ Of course, Mary's hypothetical divinity was banned just as that of Jesus: "Christ son of Mary was no more than an Apostle (...) his mother was a woman of truth. They had both to eat their (daily) food." (V: 78) This verse denounces the divine character of both Mary and her son, since God does not suffer from human needs, such as alimentation. Finally, all connections of Allāh to a Trinity are discarded: "They do blaspheme who say: God is one of three in a Trinity: for there is no god except One God. If they desist not from their word (of blasphemy), verily a grievous penalty will befall the blasphemers among them." (V: 76)

12 Usama ibn Munkiz, *Knjiga pouke [Book of contemplation]*, trans. Darko Tanasković (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 2008), 157.

13 Simić, *Biblijski i apokrifni tekstovi u Kuranu [Byblical and apocryphal texts in the Qru'an]*, 240.

14 Henry Preserved Smith, "Christian influence upon Islam", *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 42/4 (1926), 279.

II Historical background

The concept of Jesus is one of the representative examples of how the Islamic doctrine incorporated Christian influences, both Orthodox and of discarded teachings. But, religious connections cannot be maintained without contacts of other sorts. This chapter is to show how political and economic factors led to the rooting of Christianity among the Arabs, interpreting the religious interactions through the prism of Byzantine political ambitions and the relations with the Arab tribes.

* * *

Life of the early Arabian communities was in many ways determined by their natural surroundings. The barren soil of the Peninsula tended to be rather inhospitable, forming mostly deserts and steppes. An old Egyptian is said to have given his son wise counsel not to venture into the desert, because there he would become like a rootless tree, infested with maggots.¹⁵ In time, this environmental issue was bound to become a social one – due to evident lack of fertile ground, the scarce areas which could have been used for agriculture were distributed unequally throughout the Peninsula, making the early settlements small, compact and scattered on all sides. The desert, however, influenced not only the commerce of the Arabs, but their habits, culture and in particular, their beliefs. Naturally, when seeking the roots of Islam, it is necessary to identify another crucial element, a foreign one. As noted by a W. N. Norton, “Islam is largely a filtrate of Hebraism and Christianity through desert sands.”¹⁶

The demographic factor is rather important in the context of Christian-Arabian interactions because Bedouins were perhaps dominant, but surely not the only inhabitants of the Peninsula. The western oases were inhabited by Jewish and Christian settlers. The migrations of the Jews to the territory of Arabia, which started in the eight century B.C. oscillated over the course of history, reaching a sort of climax after the destruction of

15 Esad Bej, Muhamed – *rađanje i uspon islama* [*The Birth and Rise of Islam*] (Beograd: Gavrilović, 1990), 15.

16 William Harmon Norton, “The Influence of the Desert on Early Islam”, *The Journal of Religion*, 4/4 (1924): 388.

the Third Temple in 71 A.D, and after the uprising of Simon Bar-Cochbar (131–134), when the Jews were banned from Jerusalem.¹⁷ Being as it is, the Jewish communities prospered due to agriculture and craftsmanship, which stimulated trade. Al-Madīnah, the “City of Muḥammad” was originally a Jewish settlement, which later became one of the cornerstones of Islam.¹⁸ For Christians, the Arabian Peninsula was a sort of haven in times of great political and religious turmoil in Byzantium. Ever since the councils of Arles (314) and of Nicaea (325) where Donatism and Arianism were condemned, the Christian *credo* was exposed to numerous blasphemous teachings which caused not only doctrinal, but political confrontations as well. Those whose teachings would be discarded were forced to look for shelter in the remote areas of the Empire, or even beyond its borders, and Arabia was just the place where they could preserve their faith, since it was far enough from the sight of imperial and ecclesiastical authorities. This way, the early Arabian population got in touch with many a Christian sect, including Nestorians, Monophysites and Malkites. As mentioned above, motifs concerning the life of Jesus which are attested in the Qur’ān are derived not from the generally accepted Orthodoxy, but from the apocryphal teachings of various doctrines.

* * *

Christianity began spreading intensely in the Eastern Mediterranean after it was recognized as one of the Empire’s religions in 313, firstly affecting Syria and Palestine and later spreading over the Levant, all the way to the Sinai Peninsula, which fostered numerous hermitages and monastic communities. But, the Christian mission was pulled back by internal conflicts. Several major heresies threatened to jeopardize the unity of Christianity, and the presence of various banished denominations added more challenge to the religious expansion of the Roman Empire in the East.

17 M. Cary, H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine* (London: Macmillan Press, 1975), 417; Cary, Scullard, *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine*, 441.

18 Aslam Farouk-Alli, “Holy Cities”, in: *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, 313.

As for the Arabs, their primeval lifestyles and habits decisively influenced the relations with the Empire. First of all, one should keep in mind that there wasn't really an *esprit de corps* or a central government among the Arabs of the time. As such, their external "policies" differed, making some of them allies and causing others to endanger positions of the Roman Empire in the Levant. Some of the Arab tribes came to develop sheer hostility towards the Romans, but on the other hand, there were those who were employed as auxiliary troops. Technically, this made the Arab tribes *foederati* of the Empire, among which the Tanūkhids were the most influential in the fourth century. However, a lack of fidelity and treacherous behaviour marked their relations vividly. Apart from military cooperation, the two sides met in other aspects of everyday life. One of the early Christian champions in this region was St. Euthymius the Great, who enforced Orthodoxy and founded the Paremboli, the first settlement of converted Arabs, to the east of Jerusalem. As mentioned, Christianization of the Arabs was complicated because of its inner conflicts, but also since the future converts were not particularly interested in the dogmatic struggles. Those debates were too abstract and irrelevant, which meant that Christian missionaries had to find other ways to penetrate into their spiritual life: they attended markets and fairs, preaching the word of Christ among the crowds which gathered to make business.¹⁹

In a wider context, Arabia was particularly important to the international economy during the fourth century. Since the Roman Empire and Sassanid Persia waged war, major trade routes via the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates were cut off, and the focus of commerce was redirected to the south of Arabia. But, in 384 the two sides came to a peace agreement. Until 502, the Red Sea trade was renewed, causing the economic deterioration of Arabia, as well as the interest the Empire showed in its respect.²⁰

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19 Alexander A. Vasiliev, "Notes on Some Episodes concerning the Relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire from the Fourth to the Sixth Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9/10 (1956): 310.

20 Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs in History* (Oxford: University Press, 2002), 23.

The fifth century brought new perspectives into Arab-Byzantine relations. The internal matters of the Roman Empire which led to the fall of its Western part in 476 gave military formations in the East a chance to breach the defensive system on its outskirts. The main defensive line on the Eastern Mediterranean at the time was the *limes orientalis*, especially the part connecting Bostra and Aila (Aqaba), via Gerasa, Philadelphia and Petra.²¹ The *limes Arabicus*, as it was named, was jeopardized by two main factors: the efforts of Sassanid Persia to expand its territory and the sudden rise of Arabian tribes from the Peninsula. The danger of barbarian invasion made the Romans enforce the *limes*, in a way which led to further incorporation with the imperial structures and deepening Christian influences among the Arabs.

The *limes* was organized as a two-layer structure – the so-called *inner shield* was inhabited by the tribes who had an official agreement with the Empire. In the fifth century, the Salīhids stood among them as the most prestigious. These treaties embraced the Arabs into the provincial system of Byzantium, their chieftains even bearing eminent Byzantine titles. On the other hand, the *outer shield* consisted of lesser tribes which were not as attached to the Empire as the previous ones, but which were quite important because they represented the exponents of their authority deeper in the Arabian Peninsula and guarded the *inner limes*. Their territory extended mostly in northern Ḥiğāz, possibly all the way to Wādī al-Qurā near Medina. The influence and control which Byzantium had over these groups was limited, but opened new possibilities for expansion to the south of Arabia in the sixth century.²²

Of course, administrative context is just an outline of cultural and religious interactions, which are *per se* more relevant to this paper. Along with political authority, the Byzantines strived towards expanding the church organization as well. Euthymius' work was continued by missionaries such as St. Sabbas in Palestine, or Simeon Stylite in the northern Levant. Such zeal in spreading the Christian faith finally resulted in Arabs

21 Glen Warren Bowersock, "Limes Arabicus", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 80 (1976): 222.

22 Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington D.C: Dunbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, 1989), 506.

themselves being incorporated into its promotion and into the *ecclesia* itself. The tribe of Iyād was known for constructing monasteries and encouraging the development of the Arabic script, and the Salīhid king Dāwūd gathered a group of scholars to translate Christian religious texts.²³

The roots of the Arab Church can be traced back to the fourth century, when it was a part of the patriarchate of Antioch. In time, as the number of ally tribes, and with it the power of the *foederati* corpus grew, the Arab element in the Church was getting stronger. Apart from establishing the Parembolē, St. Euthimius influenced the Church authorities to appoint its first bishop. It was an Arab chieftain, Aspebetos, known as Peter after his conversion.²⁴ Since then the number of Arab bishops constantly went up, to the extent that basically every tribe had its own. Until the end of the century, clergymen of Arab descent had the opportunity to seize the highest of church duties, even the patriarchal see of Jerusalem.

The existence of the Arab Church and the spreading of Christianity among the Arabs bore even more social and cultural implications. For one, it helped surpassing the primeval tribal-centered affiliation and introduced a new sense of identity and belonging. It was Christian influence that was crucial for the Arabs to start identifying themselves as descendants of Abraham, whom the Muslims know as *Ibrāhīm*. Christian faith left a clear mark on Arabic literature of the time as well. Some principles well attested in the Christian doctrine, such as asceticism or virginity, were incorporated into a new type of poetry, mostly developed by a Ḥiḡāz tribe, the 'Udhri.²⁵ Being highly venerated in the oasis, Virgin Mary was among the favourite motifs of this literature. Having in mind the theological debates regarding Mary which coincided with this period, it is clear how it came to be that the image of *Maryam* in Islam is a sort of sublimation of elements which can be characterized as both romantic and apocryphal from the Orthodox point of view.

23 Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 516.

24 Vasiliev, "Notes on Some Episodes...", 310.

25 Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 519.

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Unlike the fifth century, which was a period of relative peace and cooperation between Byzantium and the Arabs, the sixth brought both political and theological conflicts. Ever since the military formations on the Arabian Peninsula gathered enough strength, the *limes Arabicus* started breaching under their raids. One of the most powerful groups which fought its way into the sphere of influence of the Byzantine Empire were the Ghassānids, who eventually replaced the Salīhid dynasty as main *foederati*, but under very different terms.²⁶ While the former allies of Byzantium were of Orthodox faith, the Ghassānids were a strong bastion of Monophysitism, a doctrine preaching a single nature of Christ, which left obvious remnants in Islamic thought. During the second half of the fifth and the sixth centuries, the Ghassanīd-Byzantine relation depended on the Empire's ecclesiastical policy, or rather how much tolerance they showed to this "heresy". Under the Orthodox Emperor Justin (518–527), the Ghassanīds fled the Byzantine territory, and retreated to the Arabian Peninsula. There, the former *foederati* came into contact with the banished heretics, with whom they settled in a harmonious community. Apart from strengthening the Monophysite factor in northern Ḥiğāz, they also helped the efforts of the Arabs against the Jewish communities, especially Medina.²⁷

The southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula (*Arabia Felix*) were of importance to Byzantium because of the renewed trade routes which connected eastern Africa with the Mediterranean Sea and India far in the East. Of course, these resources were a prize for the Arabs themselves, and for the Persians and their allies, thus in the sixth century, the political and ethnic tensions between the Arabs, Jews and Christians tightened. A massacre of Christian population took place in Nağrān, the *Arabian martyropolis*, in 524, opening a new series of collisions between the followers of the mentioned denominations.²⁸

26 Filip Hiti, *Istorija Arapa [History of the Arabs]* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973), 68.

27 Ifan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, 1995), 38.

28 Ifan Shahīd, "Byzantium in South Arabia", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 28.

Simultaneously with the religious wars in Arabia, Byzantine-Persian relation toppled once more in 502. These two processes had an important mutual consequence – due to political instability, southern Arabia was losing its primacy among the great crossroads of overseas commerce, and the war between the two Empires cut off the Red Sea trade routes yet again. These circumstances led to the transferring of these centres to the north of the Peninsula, in the direction of Mecca, Yathrib and Ḥiğāz.²⁹

* * *

The overview of political, economic and cultural contacts between the world of Eastern Christendom and the Arabs can only logically end with the rise of Islam, which is in a way its sublimation. In the other half of the sixth century, when Muḥammad was born (ca. 570), Ḥiğāz was the center of economic life of the Peninsula, controlled by the influential Qurayš tribe. Consequently, commercial growth led to the downfall of the original gentile Arab community, where the interests of the group were always the most important.³⁰ Economic wellbeing induced social differentiation, and created fertile ground for radical changes in both social and spiritual life of the Arabs. In other words, the need for another cohesive factor in the Arab society had to be found. As a matter of fact, Muḥammad himself was originally a merchant, who made profit from the caravan trade, mostly with Syria. Having travelled much, he came into contact with Christians and Jews, and gathered the dogmatic elements which he could implement into this new religion in which he saw the bond that could unify the Arabs again.

As was shown in the previous paragraphs, the Arabs were quite familiar with the concept of Christianity, and its discourse was easily acceptable to them. Also, it was shown how the Arabs had contact with various Christian denominations and doctrines, which allowed Muḥammad to interpret Christianity in a way that best fitted his concept of a strict monotheistic religion. One of the best examples is the alleged connection to

29 Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, 30.

30 Simić, *Biblijski i apokrifni tekstovi u Kuranu* [*Biblical and apocryphal texts in the Qru'an*], 39.

Abraham, a clear remnant of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which began suppressing the Ka'bah cult.³¹ Naturally, since neither the Christians nor the Jews accepted Islam, it was necessary to present the new religion in a context of continuity. Other peoples of the Book were given the fragments of the true belief, but had misunderstood it, forged it and mutilated its divine essence. It was thus his role to be the last of the prophets who would redeem the faith and seal the process of God's revelation. But, just as religious processes in the period from the fourth to the sixth century had a character which surpassed sheer theological, Muḥammad's mission had its social background as well. He imposed himself as a political focus of the new universal community called *ummah*. Although the identity of the Arabs had been previously formed by the administrative and ecclesiastical traditions of Byzantium, Muḥammad discarded Christian communities as divided and fragmented. The influences of Christianity were still present and incorporated into the Islamic dogma, but formulated in a way of "correcting" the errors Christians and Jews made in interpreting the word of providence. This feeling of a single fortified identity made the Arab *ummah* capable of massive and fast expansion, which followed shortly after the death of its founder.

III Conclusion

When contemplating on religious interactions, it is almost impossible to pull them out of a certain context and analyse them without considering other relevant factors, such as political, economic, social and cultural circumstances. The idea of this paper was to give an example how exactly Christianity influenced Islam, but also explain the connection between the political affairs in the relations between pre-Islamic Arabs and the world of Christendom and incorporating Biblical motifs into the doctrine of the new monotheistic religion, giving the entire phenomenon a continuous note.

The image of Jesus Christ, or 'Īsā, in the Qur'ān is one of the representative examples how Judeo-Christian tradition influenced Islam. Born as a progeny of sinless conception, he was given birth by Mary (Maryam), and played the role of one of the prophets of Allāh.

31 Gerald R. Hawting, "The Rise of Islam," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 9.

Unlike in the official Christian account, he is neither the son nor a descendant of God, just an emissary who was brought into the material realm as human by the divine will. Despite not being godly, Jesus was sent with three main tasks: to serve God, to deliver the Gospel and to announce the coming of the last prophet, Muḥammad. He performed miracles and gathered disciples, but always with the blessing and with the permission of Allāh. In the end, Islam denies the crucifixion of Christ, arguing that he ascended to heaven. Thus, it is obvious that some basic layout of the Christian account was modified to serve the purposes of Islamic monotheism: the rough concept of Jesus was embraced and altered as it fitted best. Jesus was denied his divine nature, the concept of Trinity was discarded and Allāh's supremacy over every creation was defined without compromise. Also, Christian impact during the formative period of Islam can hardly be considered unified and harmonious. While Orthodoxy had a strong influence on the Arab tribes, other doctrines were present among the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula as well, among which Monophysitism left a rather significant trace.

But the theological similarities could not have manifested in this form by themselves. Introducing Christian influences in the Arabic religious thought lasted for a long time, most intensely from the fourth to the sixth century. Even before, the Arab world was divided demographically and culturally, with settlements of Jews and Christians who brought their own teachings, both orthodox and apocryphal. This latent process started unravelling more intensely after 313, when the Roman Empire itself catalysed the spreading of Christianity in the Eastern provinces. Firstly, the Empire influenced the Arabs politically and administratively, forging alliances and making them *foederati*. As the political emancipation of the Arab tribes was in motion, the first preachers ventured to the East to convert them to Christianity. This was by no means an easy task, since the survival in harsh conditions and the presence of various denominations and teachings left the future converts uninterested in the question of dogma. Gradually, the missionary efforts led to the acceptance of Christianity and creation of the Arab Church, which grew stronger in the fifth century, simultaneously with the improvement of political relations with Byzantium. Arab allies were integrated into the administrative system of

the Empire and served as exponent of their authority on the Arabian Peninsula. But, the cornerstone of the Byzantine-Arab dissension in the sixth century was the fact that the most influential Arab tribe of the time, the Ghassanīds, accepted Monophysitism instead of Orthodoxy. The doctrine started spreading over the Peninsula, causing conflicts in the second half of the sixth century, when centuries-old relations with Byzantium toppled. And although political pressure of the Empire was diminished, Christian spiritual impact was still omnipresent. This fact was used by the founder of the new religion, Muḥammad, who witnessed the time when the traditional Arab society began disintegrating. Social stratification and breaching the traditional blood ties asked for a new factor of unity, in which Muḥammad recognized Islam. Centuries of Christian presence among the Arabs played a role in its creation, since the Arabs were fairly accommodated to it and familiar with the concept of the Christian doctrine. With the ambition to create an universal Arab community, Muḥammad integrated the elements of Christian teachings, both canonical and apocryphal, into the religion which was, apart from the language, the main cohesive factor among the Arabs in the centuries to come.

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Jesus Lived in India – Between Truth and Legend. Nicolas Notovitch's Discovery-

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1. Introduction

India is a unique country, full of contrasts, with a fascinating history and a remarkable culture. Where the population is divided according to the peoples' birth and occupation, where there are spoken hundreds of languages and dialects, often unrelated to each other. Where modern combines with traditional, and technology with ancient superstitions and customs. Moreover, India is a spiritual and religious land, where religious groups are passionately committed to thousands of Hindu deities, to Allah or God, believe in reincarnation or not. Where some of the most important religions and beliefs such as: Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikh, emerged, developed and spread all over the world.

Since ancient times, India represented an attraction for westerners, who came not only for political or economic reasons, but also because of its spiritual reputation. According to Buddhist manuscripts from India and Tibet, Jesus Christ visited these Asian regions, sometime between the age of 12 and 30. This theory originated from the gap of eighteen years in the life of Jesus, upon which there is no reference in the New Testament and from the discoveries of several authors, who claimed to have found proof in Buddhist manuscripts.

This paper aims to present the theories regarding Jesus' possible visit to India. As a historian, I want to present as objective as I can the facts relating to this subject. I will discuss arguments to sustain and to contradict the idea that Jesus lived in India. Any topic related to religion should be treated with a lot of tolerance, but also with skepticism, especially when someone is talking about a historical figure such as Jesus. I am aware of the fact that this is a very sensible subject and during last years it gave rise to many controversies. In 1894, Nicolas Notovitch was the first author who reported the 'Jesus in India manuscript'. Not late after his discovery, several other authors have

written on the subject, including the religious leader Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1899, Levi H. Dowling in 1908, Swami Abhedananda (1922), Nicolas Roerich (1923–1928), Mathilde Ludendorff (1930), Elizabeth Clare Prophet (1956), and more recently in 1981, Holger Kersten published the book *Jesus Lived in India*.

2. The Problem of the Primary Sources

The attempt to demonstrate that the historical figure of Jesus Christ existed is like the physicist's attempt to prove the existence of a subatomic particle and to determine its charge. The particle itself cannot be seen by any optical devices, but it is possible after a number of experiments to record the tracks of other, larger particles with which it has interacted. By following these tracks back to their source, one can calculate the forces involved in this collision. Thanks to this process, the invisible subatomic particle can be determined.¹

The earliest written sources about Jesus' life can be divided in two categories: Christian and non-Christian. Most of the non-Christian records were written about sixty to ninety years after the crucifixion by historians such as: Josephus, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Suetonius. Unfortunately, the data provided by them, regarding Jesus' life is too brief. The Christian writings, such as the Gospels, which are probably written between A.D. 60 and 100, are the principal source of information about Jesus. Although, these are considered to have an immense historical value, scholars believe they were never intended to be biographies. Besides a few papyrus fragments from the second century, the earliest known manuscripts of the Gospels are from the fourth century. Moreover, the texts of the Gospels were in a fluid state, which means that their content was changed by copyists for theological or other reasons, until the middle of the fourth century, when they were standardized. As a result, one cannot be sure if the received Gospels are intact, or to what degree they have been edited. The reasons for modifying the texts are multiple. Some of them can be by mistake, scribal errors, or on the contrary altered to meet the needs of the orthodoxy as the Church struggled to stop so-called heresies, such

1 Holger Kersten, *Jesus Lived in India: His Unknown Life before and after the Crucifixion* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2001), 129.

as Gnosticism.²

In the Gospels there is a major lack of information regarding Jesus' childhood. Only four of the eighty-nine chapters of the Gospels, two in Matthew and two in Luke, describe Jesus' life prior to his ministry. Known as the infancy narratives, they present Jesus' genealogy, conception and birth, and a relatively small number of familiar events, such as the annunciation, the coming of the wise men from the East, the manger visit of the shepherds, the circumcision, the presentation in the Temple at Jerusalem, the flight into Egypt (where the family remained until the death of Herod in 4 B.C.) and the return to Nazareth.³ After these extraordinary events, Jesus' life is cloaked in obscurity until the start of his mission. In fact, only two other events are recorded in the Gospel of Luke — his physical and spiritual growth and his visit at the age of twelve to the Temple in Jerusalem on the occasion of Passover. This period of time is known as "the Lost years of Jesus". „The traditional position taken by Christian theologians and scholars is that Jesus was in Nazareth or nearby during the lost years and that nothing was written about that period of his life because he did nothing noteworthy to report."⁴

3. Nicolas Notovitch's Journey in India and Tibet

In 1894, Nicolas Notovitch, a Russian journalist, published the book *La Vie inconnue de Jesus-Christ* (The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ). Notovitch claimed that while traveling in Ladakh (Little Tibet) in late 1887, he found a copy of an ancient Buddhist manuscript which explicitly said where Jesus was during the lost years, and that was in India.

3.1. Notovich's Discovery

Nicolai Alexandrovitch Notovitch was born on the 25th of August 1858, in Kerch, in the Crimea. He was the second son of a rabbi. Because of the anti-Semitic policy of Tsar

2 Elizabeth Clare Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus: Documentary evidence of Jesus' 17-year journey to the East* (Corwin Springs: Summit University Press, 1987), 9.

3 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 10-11.

4 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 13.

Alexander III, Nicolas Notovitch and his elder brother, Osip, had to join the Russian Orthodox Church.⁵ Notovitch studied History at the University of Saint Petersburg, but before that he had a military training and fought in the Serbian campaign against the Turks in 1876. Notovitch also took part in the Russo-Turkish war between 1877-1878. According to a short notice in the Daily News of 23rd of June 1894, it seems he served in the military during his student days. Both Nicolai and his brother Osip worked as journalists after they finished their studies. Nicolai was more interested in the influence of Russian politics on world events. Most of Nicolas' works were in French and supported the idea of a Russian-French alliance. Notovitch undertook a number of journeys through the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Persia.

Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, our adventurer began a series of travels in the East. The object of his journey was to become acquainted with the peoples of India, to study their manners and customs, and at the same time to learn more about Indian archeology. In 1887, he set out on an important journey to India. The dates of his stay in Kashmir and Ladakh can be fixed between the 14th of October and around the 26th of November. He traveled from Lahore to Rawalpindi, worked his way to Kashmir and then to Ladakh. From there he planned to return to Russia through Karakorum and Chinese Turkestan. On his way Nicolas Notovitch visited a Buddhist gompa (a monastery) at Mulbekh. Literally, „a gompa” means “a solitary place”, a refuge from the world of temptation. Mulbekh represents the gateway to the world of Tibetan Buddhism. There, Notovitch was received by a lama who told him that in the archives at Lhasa, at that time the home of the Dalai Lama, and the capital of Tibet, there were several thousands of ancient scrolls discussing the life of the prophet Issa, which is the Eastern name for Jesus. Unfortunately for Notovitch at that time there was no such document in Mulbekh. Hearing this, the Russian journalist decided to extend his stay in India and to search for these manuscripts. After leaving Mulbekh, he tried several convents, but the monks said they did not possess any copies. Notovitch claims in his book that he finally found the manuscripts he was looking for at the great convent Himis. This monastery is located about twenty-five miles from Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

5 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 13.

3.2. Himis - The Buddhist Monastery

Himis is considered to be the largest and most celebrated monastery in Ladakh. Every year the religious festival held in honor of the Saint Padma Sambhava takes place there⁶. „It depicts Buddha’s victory over the forces of evil, the driving away of evil spirits, and the ultimate triumph of good over evil”⁷. The monastery is hidden in a valley in the Himalayas, more than 3000 km above sea level. Because of its position, it is one of the few Buddhist monasteries that has escaped the destruction of the Asian invading armies. According to the British explorer L. Austine Waddell, “more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladak”⁸.

At Himis, Nicolas Notovitch was very impressed by numerous mystery plays performed by the lamas. The Russian journalist asked the lamas if they had ever heard of Issa. The lamas said that the Buddhists greatly respected the Saint Issa but that no one knew much about him other than the chief lamas who had read the records of his life. In a conversation with one of the lamas, Notovitch found out that among the many scrolls at Himis “are to be found descriptions of the life and acts of the Buddha Issa, who preached the holy doctrine in India and among the children of Israel.” According to the lama, the documents, brought from India to Nepal and then to Tibet, were originally written in Pali, the religious language of the Buddhists. The copy at Himis had been translated into Tibetan like the ones at Himis. Notovitch wanted to see these documents, but the lama told him he did not know where the manuscripts were. The lama ensured Notovitch that if he would ever return to the monastery, he would be glad to show them to him. In order to assure the lamas that he would return soon, Nicolas Notovitch sent a gift to the lama. He gave an alarm clock, a watch and a thermometer with the message stating his wish to visit Himis again.⁹

6 Known as the Lotus Born, he was a sage guru from Oṣṣiyāna, the modern Swat. It is said he have transmitted Vajrayana Buddhism to Bhutan and Tibet, in the 8th century.

7 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 15.

8 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 15-16.

9 Nicolas Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* (Chicago: Indo-American Book Company, 1916) 94.

Notovitch's return to the convent, happened sooner than he expected. On his way back to Leh, he fell down from his horse and fractured his leg. Using the short distance to Himis, which was only a half-day's journey away, as a pretext he went back to the monastery to let the monks take care of his injury. While he was recovering, the chief lama brought him "two large bound volumes with leaves yellowed by time"¹⁰, from which he read to Notovitch the fragments related to Issa. With the help of his interpreter, the Russian journalist was able to translate the documents and to copy them into his notebook. According to Notovitch, the biography of Issa was composed of isolated verses which were untitled and scattered out of sequence throughout the text. His job was to group them and put the verses in order. For several years he tried to convince important people or a publishing house to print his book. Finally he managed to print it in the United States of America, in 1894.

4. *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* by Nicolas Notovitch

The translated and edited text from the Buddhist manuscripts, was titled *The Life of Saint Issa: Best of the Sons of Men*. It has 244 verses arranged into 14 chapters and can be seen several similarities with the Old and the New Testament such as: the Egyptian captivity, the deliverance of the Israelites by Mossa (Moses), the backsliding of the Israelites followed by foreign invasions, subjugation by Rome, and finally the incarnation of a divine child.¹¹ At the age of thirteen, the first of the "lost years," Issa was supposed to take a wife, as the Israelite custom was. His humble parents' house, became a meeting place for the rich and noble who wanted to have the young Issa as a son-in-law, who was "already famous for his edifying discourses in the name of the Almighty".¹² According to Notovitch's manuscript, Issa did not want to follow his father's wish and get married, instead he decided to leave Jerusalem to find out more about oriental philosophy. The Russian author claims that Issa was fourteen when he crossed the Sind in a merchants' caravan. Stories about Issa spread fast, and he was invited by the Jains to stay with them. Instead, he decided to go to Juggernaut and to learn from the Brahmin priests,

10 Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, 96.

11 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 18.

12 Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, 107.

the Vedas.¹³ Apparently, Issa stayed six years at Juggernaut, Rajagriha, Benares, and other holy cities. Because of his views about the society, he had a conflict with the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. Issa was teaching the holy scriptures to the lower castes, the Vaisyas and the Sudras. In that time Vaisyas were allowed to listen to the Vedas only during the festivals, but the Sudras were forbidden to even look at them. Issa had to leave Juggernaut, because the priests and the warriors wanted to kill him. Warned by the Sudras he decided to move to the north into southern Nepal. It is said he remained in the Himalayas more than six years to learn the Buddhist teaching and then he returned to Palestine, at the age of twenty-nine.

Notovitch's *The Life of Saint Issa* can be divided into three parts. The first part, from the first chapter to the forth, deals with Issa's birth and very early life. The second part, until chapter eight, describes the lost years, from the age of thirteen to twenty-nine, when Issa was studying in India and the Himalayas. And the final part, chapters 9 through 14, presents the events during his mission in Palestine. The part related to Issa's life after he returned to Palestine, is very similar to the one presented in the Gospels although there are also major differences. For instance, John the Baptist does not appear in *The Life of Saint Issa*, and the resurrection is omitted, if not completely denied.

5. Critics and Criticism

5.1. The Problems Regarding the Book's Publishing

Nicolas Notovitch wanted to publish about his discovery when he returned to Russia after his journey in India and Tibet. According to the preface¹⁴ to his book he encountered many problems in his attempt to print it. Notovitch claims that many editors were surprised by his discovery and found it very important, but refused to publish it. For instance, the celebrated archbishop of Kiev, Mgr. Platon told him that he could not

13 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 19.

14 Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, 7-13.

publish his memoirs because it would be against his own interest to do so.¹⁵ In Russia there was also the problem of censorship, so a year later the journalist went to Rome hoping he could get his manuscript published there. He asked a cardinal, who was “*au mieux* with the Holy Father”¹⁶, to help him to get it printed. Unfortunately for Notovitch, he received a similar answer as the one from the archbishop from Kiev. The cardinal refused to publish his story, saying that: “nobody will attach much importance to it, and you will create numberless enemies thereby. You are still young, however. If you need money, I can obtain some compensations for these notes, enough to reenumerate you for your loss of time and expenditure”¹⁷. Notovitch refused the cardinal’s offer and went to Paris, where he presented his manuscript to Cardinal Rotelli. Again, he was told that the Church can not publish his book, because it “suffers already too much from the new wave of atheistical thought”¹⁸. When the Russian author, finally found a person willing to publish his discovery, he refused the offer. Nicolas Notovitch was afraid, that the French philosopher M. Reanan would take his manuscript and publish the book under his own name.

Nevertheless, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* was published in 1894, in France and became an immediate success. It was also translated into English, German, Spanish, Swedish, and Italian. Since it’s first edition, the book was controversial. Some critics not only denied the authenticity of the documents but also questioned whether Notovitch had gone to Ladakh at all. The prominent Unitarian minister and author Edward Everett Hale even questioned in the *North American Review* (May 1894), the existence of the “somewhat mythical convent” of Himis, “which we do not find on our own calendar of Buddhist ecclesiastical establishments near Leh, the capital of Ladak.”¹⁹

15 Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, 10.

16 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 118.

17 Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, 10.

18 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 118.

19 Edward Everett Hale, “The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ”, *North American Review*, No.158, 1894, 594-601.

5.2. Max Müller's Skepticism

In October 1894, F. Max Müller, professor of modern European languages and comparative philology at Oxford University, published in the English journal *The Nineteenth Century* an article about Nicolas Notovitch's book. Although he had never been to India, Max Müller was considered to be one of the biggest specialists in Indian culture and philosophy. In his *The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India*, the German professor claimed that *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* was a fraud.²⁰ Müller presents in his article a letter from a British colonial officer, who confirms that Notovitch's presence in India was not documented.²¹ However, Müller admits to a certain amount of plausibility in parts of Notovitch's tale. He confirms that Pali was the language of Buddhism, which did reach Tibet through Nepal. But there were two parts of Notovitch's story that the Oxford professor found "impossible, or next to impossible."²² Firstly, the Jews who came to India from Palestine around A.D. 35 should have met the very same people who had known Issa when he was a student at Benares. In Müller's opinion the Russian traveler should have been:

"a little more skeptical when he was told that the Jewish merchants who arrived in India immediately after the Crucifixion knew not only what had happened to Christ in Palestine, but also what had happened to Jesus, or Issa, while he spent fifteen years of his life among the Brâhmans and Buddhists in India, learning Sanskrit and Pâli, and studying the Vedas and the Tripitaka. With all their cleverness the Buddhist monks would have found it hard to answer the question, how these Jewish merchants met the very people who had known Issa as a casual student of Sanskrit and Pâli in India - for India is a large term - and still more, how those who had known Issa as a simple student in India, saw at once that he was the same

20 F. Max Müller, "The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India", *Nineteenth Century*, No.36, October 1894, 515-522.

21 Kersten, *Jesus Lived in India*, 10-11.

22 Müller, "The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India", 515-522.

person who had been put to death under Pontius Pilate.”²³

Secondly, Max Müller found it strange that *The Life of Saint Issa* was not listed in either Kanjur or Tanjur²⁴, which are the standard catalogs of translated Buddhist sacred texts and commentaries. Regarding Notovich’s preface to *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, about his difficulties to find an editor and a publishing house, the German professor, thought that the fact that his story was not true would have been a reason to refuse to publish it. “If the story of Issa were historically true, it would remove many difficulties. It would show once for all that Jesus was a real and historical character.”²⁵

Shortly after Max Müller’s article, in May/June 1895, J. Archibald Douglas, a professor at the Government College in Agra, went to Ladakh, in order to demonstrate that Notovitch’s book was a fraud. His report came out in April 1896 in the *Orientalischen Bibliografie*, under the title “Documents Prove Notovitch Swindle!”²⁶. At the beginning of his research, Douglas found no evidence of Notovitch in India or Tibet, later he had to admit that the Russian journalist spent some time at the Buddhist monasteries. At Himis, Douglas spoke with the monks and found out that no Russian journalist came asking for the manuscripts. They actually even denied the existence of such manuscripts.

5.3. Nicolas Notovich’s Answer to Max Müller’s Critique

Notovitch considered Müller’s critique an attempt „to demolish” him. In a note “To the Publishers” of one of his English editions, he acknowledged that “a skillfully devised criticism”²⁷ had prejudiced the public against the book and he briefly answered to the major criticisms. Firstly, he explained why the lama at Himis denied the existence of the Buddhist manuscripts, which presented the life of Issa. In Orientals’ vision, Westerners are seen as robbers. The lamas were afraid that more Westerners would come asking for the manuscripts. Notovitch was able to see and translate these manuscripts because he

23 Müller, “The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India”, 515-522.

24 Kanjur, is the portion of the Tibetan Buddhist canon containing the Sutras, while the Tanjur, contains Sastras or commentaries and other scholastic works.

25 Müller, “The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India”, 515-522.

26 Kersten, *Jesus Lived in India*, 11.

27 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 100-114.

used, what he called “Eastern diplomacy”, an indirect approach which veiled his real interests and allayed their fears.

Secondly, regarding the absence of these manuscripts in Tanjur or Kanjur, Notovitch claimed that his „discovery would be neither a curious nor a rare one” if any Orientalist could have gone to Tibet and aided by the catalogues found the relevant passages. The author thought that the catalogues were incomplete. Notovitch said there were more than one hundred thousand scrolls at the monastery at Lhasa, while “according to Mr. Max Müller’s own statement, these tables contain a list of about two thousand volumes only.”²⁸ To answer to Müller’s question about the difficulty for Jewish merchants to find the people who had known Issa as a student in India, Notovitch said that these people were not Jewish but Indian merchants who happened to witness the crucifixion before returning home from Palestine. In his defense, to those who claimed that he invented *The Life of Saint Issa*, Nicolas Notovich protested saying: „My imagination is not so fertile.”²⁹

6. Conclusion

It is very hard to proof that Jesus Christ was indeed in India and in Tibet, between the age of twelve and thirty. Firstly, there is the problem of the primary sources. There are too few, and these sources are not reliable, mostly because they were written many centuries after the events. The written sources could have been modified for many reasons. Secondly, the later sources, like Notovich’s discovery of the Buddhist manuscripts, are also uncertain. The Russian journalist tried to demonstrate in his book *The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, that Issa mentioned in Tibetan scripts is the same person as Jesus Christ. His book was very controversial ever since its first edition many people contested the authenticity of the story. One of the main critics was Max Müller, who contradicted Nicolas Notovitch and believed that his book was a fraud. If one can bring solid proof that Jesus indeed travelled to India sometime during his life, the entire Christian believe will be totally transformed. That is why proving these manuscripts to be real is crucial.

28 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 100-114

29 Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus*, 29.

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Marvels and Allies in the East.

India as Heterotopia of Latin Europe in the 12th Century

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It has long been said that Latin Europe lost its connection to the East, specifically to Asia, in the early Middle Ages.¹ But this is only part of the truth. From late Antiquity on, there were Christians in many places between the Mediterranean Sea and China.² Even more important, trade routes and transfers of knowledge did not follow religious „borders“ between East and West.³ Even though Western people did not travel to Asia frequently, knowledge about this space existed. This knowledge was used in a specific way, and Asia had a certain function in the Western world. In this article, I will point out that especially India was used as a *Heteropia* in Latin Europe. Moreover, by doing so, I will argue against a scholarly tradition which uses the term *Utopia* to describe the function of India for Latin Europe in this time.

What is a Heterotopia?

The French philosopher Michel Foucault tried to understand the history of humanity by analysing the functions of space inside a society. For modern times, he states: „We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another.“⁴

Inside this set of related spaces, there are two „which are linked with all the others“ but „contradict all the other sites“: *Utopias* and *Heterotopias*.⁵ *Utopias*, in the understanding

1 See e.g.: John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe, with a New Introduction by Clarence J. Glacken* (New York: Dover Publications 1965), 70.

2 See e.g.: Anna Dorothee von den Brincken, *Die "Nationes christianorum orientaliū" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Köln et al.: Böhlau 1973).

3 Nayan Chanda, *Bound Together. How Traders, Preachers, Adventurers, and Warriors Shaped Globalization* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India 2007), 35-69.

4 Michel Foucault, „Of Other Spaces“, *Diacritics* 16 (1/1986), 23.

5 Foucault, „Of Other Spaces“, 24.

of Foucault, „are fundamentally unreal spaces“ which have a certain relation with the real space of society.⁶ This understanding of *Utopia* differs from a political theory following Saint-Simon, for whom *Utopia*, as a combat term, means something not *yet* real. Even though some thinkers like Ernst Bloch still used the term in this way, the general understanding of *Utopia* is the one presented by Foucault.⁷

What does Foucault mean when he writes about *Heterotopias*? They are „places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, [...] in which [...] all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.“⁸ In other words, the term *Heterotopia* means a place which is real, or believed to be real. This is the most important difference to the term *Utopia*, which is understood here as absolutely unreal. But like a *Utopia*, a *Heterotopia* has a certain function and relation to a certain society. It could be the space of crisis, of deviation of illusion, or of compensation. Taking the last one, a *Heterotopia* of compensation is „another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.“⁹ In this article, I will attempt to prove the assumption that India was a *Heterotopia* of compensation for Latin Europe in the 12th century.

India and Latin Europe in the 12th Century

Before we can discuss the function of India for Latin Europe, we first have to look at what was meant by talking about “India” in this time. Since Greek and Roman times, the name “India” had been used for many regions around the Indian Ocean like Arabia, Somalia, or Ethiopia. Quite common is the distinction between *India minor* (Lesser India) for the lands of the Indian subcontinent and *India maior* (Greater India) for Arabia and Ethiopia. In some sources, it was common to speak of “the three Indies” to

6 See Foucault, „Of Other Spaces“, 24.

7 See Lyman Tower Sargent, Art. “Utopianism”, in: *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 9 (London u.a.: Routledge 1998): 557-562.

8 Foucault, „Of Other Spaces“, 24.

9 Foucault, „Of Other Spaces“, 27.

describe these regions. This still can be found in the cartography of the Renaissance.¹⁰ It is important to keep this in mind when analysing the sources that will be presented. Secondly, what knowledge of India can be found in sources used in the 12th century?. Here, I will focus on two major sources, namely the *Histories* of Herodotus¹¹ and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. The picture of India, as exemplified in these two texts, can be found in many literary works about India, of which the *Romance* of Alexander the Great is among the most widely known. But because this is a work of strictly fictional character, I will not discuss it here.¹²

Herodotus wrote his *Histories* in the 5th century BC as one of the first historiographic works of all time. His main purpose was to analyse how the conflict between the Persian Empire and the Greek cities developed. Besides that, he gives detailed information about the peoples and cultures the developing Persian Empire interacted with. These parts of his writing can also be seen as some of the first ethnographical reports in history.¹³ About India, Herodotus writes:

„All to the east of the Indian country is sand; among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell farthest to the east and the sunrise of all the nations of Asia: for on the eastern side of India all is desert by reason of the sand.”¹⁴ [...]

10 See Gianfranco Fiaccadori, „Art. ‚India’ as Name of Ethiopia“, in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2007): 145-147.

11 The critical edition used here is: Haiim B. Rósen, ed., *Herodotus’ Historiae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner 1987). The quotes are taken from the Greek-English edition: Alfred D. Godley, trans., *Herodotus*, 4 vols., 9th ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1990).

12 For more information about the *Romance* of Alexander the Great, see Hugo Montgomery, „The Greek Historians of Alexander as Literature“, in: *Alexander the Great. Reality and Myth*, ed. Jesper Carlsen and Otto Stehen Duo (Rom: L’Emma di Bretschneider 1997): 93-100.

13 For Herodotus and his work see: Thomas Harrison, Art. „Herodotus“, in: *Encyclopaedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, vol. 1 (London/Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers 2000): 741-742.

14 Godley, *Herodotus*, III, 98, 127.

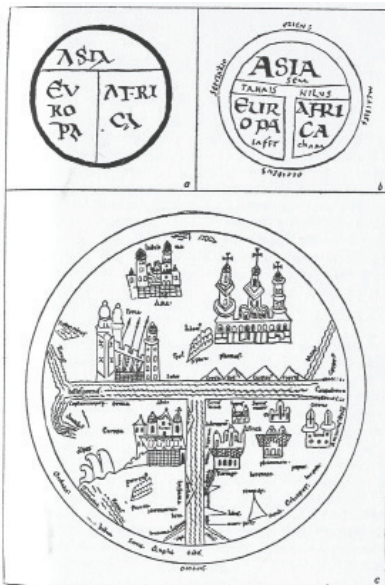
“In India all living creatures four-footed and flying are by much bigger than those of other lands [...] moreover the gold there, whether dug from the earth or brought down by rivers [...] is very abundant.”¹⁵

It is important to keep these characteristics of India and the Indians in mind: The land is farthest to the East, everything is bigger there, and it abounds in richness.

This knowledge of India can also be found in other sources like the works of Pliny and Solinus. Scholars like Orosius and Isidore of Seville preserved it for Latin Europe.¹⁶

Isidore's *Etymologiae*¹⁷, written in the 7th century AD, became one of the most important works of the early Middle Ages. In this encyclopaedia, he collected the classical

knowledge of the world and transferred it into a Christian system. The world is seen as a circle, divided into three parts. On top is Asia, covering half the world. Below, Europe and Africa share the other half. Farthest to the East, there is now no longer a pure desert but the location of Earthly Paradise, encircled by a wall of fire. From there, four big rivers emerge.¹⁸



The world pictured as T-O Maps with Asia on top. The big eastern cities on the lower map are Troy, Babylon and Jerusalem (Taken from: Wright, The geographical lore, 67.).

15 Godley, *Herodotus*, III, 106, 135.

16 Christian Deluz, Art. „India“, *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.2000): 722.

17 Michel Baniard, Art. „Isidore of Seville“, in: *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. 2000): 740-741.

18 Stephan A. Barney et. al., trans. and ed., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006), 285.

Isidore describes India as follows:

„India is so called from the River Indus, by which it is bounded on the west. It stretches from the south sea to the place where the sun rises, and reaches in the north up to the Caucasus range. It has many peoples and towns, also the island Taprobane (now: Sri Lanka), full of precious stones and elephants, rich in gold and silver. [...] It also yields ivory [...] There are also mountains of gold there, which one cannot approach because of dragons, griffins, and human monsters of immense size.”¹⁹

We can see many similarities to the description of Herodotus. India is still farthest to the East (the place where the sun rises); it still bears great richness and living things of immense size. This is, in short, the knowledge of Latin Europe about India. With the expansion of the Islam, travelling to India and to Asia became much less frequent for many centuries. Old sources like Isidore remained as the major fountains of knowledge about these far ends of the world, and their authority grew with their age.²⁰ This phenomenon is based on the principle of *topoi*, first described in the rhetoric system of Aristotle. By using a *topos*, the speaker is referring to information known to his audience with the purpose of giving his own argumentation more strength. The older the knowledge used as a *topos*, the better the argumentation. This principle was later advanced by Cicero and transferred to Latin Europe partly by Boethius and other medieval scholars.²¹

19 Barney, *Etymologies*, 286.

20 Bettina Wagner, *Die "Epistola presbiteri Johannes" lateinisch und deutsch. Überlieferung, Textgeschichte, Rezeption und Übertragungen im Mittelalter. Mit bisher unedierte Texten* (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2000), 664.

21 Luca Bianchi, Art. „Aristotlem Aristoteliansim. The West“, in: *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. 2000): 102; Marina Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden. Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2000), 266-282.

The realm of Prester John²²

We now jump into the middle of the 12th century. The tide of the battle in Palestine and Syria between the Crusaders, who conquered Jerusalem in 1099, and the Muslim leaders is beginning to turn against the Christians. Edessa is lost in 1144; the second Crusade becomes a disaster.²³ These military defeats strengthened the belief that Apocalypse was imminent.²⁴ In this moment of crisis, it seemed as if an unknown help for the Christians could arise from the East: The so-called „Prester or Presbyter John“, as Otto of Freising wrote in his *Chronica*:

“We also saw there at that time [Dec 1145] the aforesaid Bishop of Jabala in Syria.... He said, indeed, that not many years since, one John, a king and priest living in the Far East, beyond Persia and Armenia, and who, with his people, is a Christian, but a Nestorian, had warred upon the so-called Samiards, the brother kings of the Medes and Persians. John also attacked Ebactanus, the capital of their kingdom. When the aforesaid kings advanced against him with a force of Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, a threeday struggle ensued, since both sides were willing to die rather than to flee. At length, Prester John so he is usually called put the Persians to flight and emerged from the dreadful slaughter as victor. The Bishop said that the aforesaid John moved his army to aid the church of Jerusalem, but that when he came to the Tigris and was unable to take his army across it by any means, he turned aside to the north, where he had been informed that the stream was frozen solid during the winter. There he awaited the

22 Prester John with all his connected topics has been the subject of many studies in the last decades, which cannot all be quoted here. A good overview is given in these three works: Gianfranco Fiaccadori, Art. “Prester John”, in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2010): 209-216; Wilhelm Baum, *Die Verwandlungen des Mythos vom Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes. Rom, Byzanz und die Christen des Orients im Mittelalter* (Klagenfurt: Tangenten 1999); Charles Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, ed., *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot: Variorum 1996).

23 Andrew Jotischky, Introduction to *The Crusades. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, ed. by Andrew Jotischky, vol. 1 (London/ New York: Routledge 2008), 7.

24 Baum, *Die Verwandlungen*, 129.

ice for several years, but saw none because of the temperate weather. His army lost many men on account of the weather to which they were unaccustomed and he was compelled to return home. He is said to be a descendant of the Magi of old, who are mentioned in the Gospel.³¹ He governs the same people as they did and is said to enjoy such glory and such plenty that he uses no sceptre save one of emerald. Fired by the example of his forefathers, who came to adore Christ in the manger, he proposed to go to Jerusalem, but he was, they say, turned back for the aforementioned reason.^{“25}

Many scholars connect the battle described here with the battle of Samarkand in 1141. There, the Muslim armies lost against a force from Central Asia that is commonly identified with the Qara-Hitay.²⁶ Otto's *Chronica* is not the only work of that time that writes about this Prester John and a delegation from India coming to Europe, but it became the most important report. This is because of the significance of Otto's chronicle itself, which was widely read, making the idea of a Christian ally beyond the Muslim borders in the East more and more popular.

Around 1170, a letter of this ally, sent to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I. Comemnos, appeared:

„John, Priest by the Almighty power of God and the strength of Our Lord Jesus Christ, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, to his friend Emanuel, Prince of Constantinople, greeting, wishing him health, prosperity, and the continued enjoyment of the Divine Favour. [...]

If you indeed thou desirest to know wherein consists our great power, then believe without hesitation, that, I, Prester John, who reign supreme, surpass in virtue, riches, and power all creatures under heaven. Seventy kings are our

25 Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historica de duabus Civitatibus*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS rer. Germ. XLV (Hanover: Hahn 1867), VII, 33, 334-35, translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press 1962); Fiacadori, “Prester John”, 210.

26 Uwe Knefelkamp, „Der Priesterkönig Johannes und sein Reich – Legender oder Realität?“ in *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 338.

tributaries. [...] In one of the heathen provinces flows a river called the Indus, which, issuing from Paradise, extends its windings by various channels through all the provinces; and in it are found emeralds, sapphires, carbuncles, topazes, chrysolites, onyxes, beryls, sardonyxes and many other precious stones...²⁷

Over 200 copies of the letter, all in different versions, circulated in Latin Europe.²⁸ In them, we can see syntheses of the antique knowledge of India, which means *topoi* derived from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, but arranged from the perspective of Latin Europe in the 12th century. The text underwent many changes while circulating in Latin Europe. For example, in some of them, a detailed report about the peoples *Gog* and *Magog* appears, connected to the Apocalypse of John (20,7).²⁹ The question about the origin of the original letter can't be answered with absolute certainty. However, it seems very likely that the author was related to the court of the Latin Emperor Frederic I. *Barbarossa*.³⁰ But what was its purpose? The letter of Prester John has to be seen as an ideal mirror of the society and rulers of Latin Europe.³¹ Here we have, on the one hand, kingdoms fighting each other, on the other hand a ruler who gives peace to all. While in Europe poverty was all around and the powerful Muslim enemy at the gates, in India one found richness and beauty and an invincible army.

Today, of course, it is obvious that this letter was a mere forgery, but in the 12th century, "Europe had no substantial doubt of its authenticity."³² It is unlikely that the Author

27 The critical edition is still: Friedrich Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes* (Leipzig: Hirzel 1879); The translation is taken from: Denison Ross, "Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia", in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Percival Newton (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1926): 174-175.

28 When Zarncke edited the letter, he used ninety-six manuscripts. In his newest study about its historical tradition, Wagner counts 211; Wagner, „Epistola“, 156 u. 217.

29 Udo Friedrich, „Zwischen Utopie und Mythos. Der Brief des Priester Johannes“, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 122 (1/2003): 87-90.

30 Knefelkamp, „Der Priester Johannes“, 348.

31 Knefelkamp, „Der Priester Johannes“, 348; Charles E. Nowell, „The historical Prester John“, in *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies* 28 (3/1953): 437.

32 Nowell, „The historical Prester John“, 435; Knefelkamp, „Der Priester Johannes“, 435.

expected his readers to take his letter literally³³, but many if not all did. This can be seen in the answer of Pope Alexander III., who even sent his servant Philipp as a personal messenger “back” to John. In this answer, the Pope pointed out his supremacy over all Christians (including Prester John) and expressed his joy about this powerful new ally.³⁴ Also, in later centuries, travellers to Asia searched for the mighty realm, and when they could not find it, they assumed that it was destroyed, rather than that it had never existed.³⁵

The explanation, why people believed in this realm for such a long time, lies in the letter itself. As was shown above, the author of the letter used many *topoi* from antique and early medieval sources, like the geographical position, the immense richness and the bigger size of everything. By doing so, his text became more authentic, because it included the knowledge about the Far East that was believed to be true. Therefore, one may say: The realm of Prester John was believed to be real.

Conclusion

My assumption was that India functioned as a *Heterotopia* for Latin Europe in the 12th century. In order to verify this, let us recall Foucault’s definition of *Heterotopia* and compare it to the example of the realm of Prester John in India:

(1) „...places that do exist...”: The realm of Prester John was at least believed to be really existing; it therefore existed in the imagination of the people.³⁶ That can be seen in the attempt to reach it, both by the Pope’s servant and later other travellers;

(2) “...and that are formed in the very founding of society...”: The realm was formed out of the basic sources of Latin medieval knowledge, the heritage of classic Antiquity, preserved for example in Isidores *Etymologiae*, which

33 Nowell, „The historical Prester John“, 437; Kniefelkamp, „Der Priester Johannes“, 353.

34 The text is edited in: Zarncke, ed., *Der Priester Johannes* 120.

35 Kniefelkamp, *Der Priester Johannes*, 349.

36 Baum, *Die Verwandlungen*, 138.

represented the accepted truth about this far East of the world;

(3) "...which are something like counter-sites...": The realm could serve as an ideal mirror of the situation in Latin Europe. It was described like it in the letter presented here;

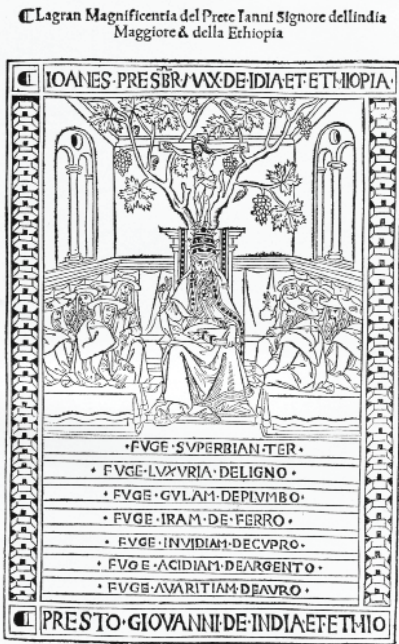
(4) "...Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.": There were three different hypotheses where the realm of Prester John lay: The Indian subcontinent, Central Asia and Ethiopia.³⁷ As I pointed out before, all this regions were known as "India" at the time, and none of them were widely accessible.

As I have tried to show, all parts of Foucault's definition of *Heterotopia* can be applied

to India in the 12th century. It is then quite surprising that the term *Utopia*, describing an *unreal* place, is so often used to describe the function of this idea.³⁸ For a proper understanding the term *Heterotopia* is much more accurate.

The history of Prester John does not end in the Middle Ages. It kept its popularity and was used for poems like the one printed here.

This popular picture was originally the frontispiece to an Italian poem on Prester John written by Guiliano Dati (1445-1524). The poem contains fifty-nine verses of eight lines and was printed in Florence at the end of the 15th century. The superscription says: „The Great Magnificence of Prester John, Lord of Greater India and of Ethiopia“ (Taken from: Ross, „Prester John“, 178f.).



37 Nowell, „The Historical Prester John“, 437.

38 For the first time: Leonard Olschiki, „Der Brief des Presbyter Johannes“, in *Historische Zeitschrift* 144 (1931): 13; Baum, *Die Verwandlungen*, 131.

The idea of his realm motivated the travels of Portuguese sailors to the Indian Ocean in the 16th century, when it was believed to be Ethiopia. One example is the account of the first Portuguese expedition to Eastern Africa, first printed in 1540, which was titled “Verdadera Informaçam das terras do Preste Joam das Indias” (A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John of the Indies).³⁹

Even in contemporary literature the myth is present: most famously in Umberto Eco’s novel *Baudolino*. Ana Belén Chimeno del Campo has given an interesting study about Prester John’s modern afterlife.⁴⁰ With further research – but this is not the purpose of this article – much could be said about the functions of this myth in our time, where East and West should be more connected than separated.

39 See Georg Wynn Brereton Huntingford, Introduction to *The Prester John of the Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John beeing the narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethopia written by Father Francisco Alvares*, 2 vols., ed. by Charles Beckingham and George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1961), 5.

40 Ana Belén Chimeno del Campo, *El Preste Juan. Mito y Leyenda en la Literatura Infantil y Juvenil Contemporánea* (Frankfurt/Main et. al.: Peter Lang 2009).

Romanesque Saxon Churches in Medieval Transylvania

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Introduction

Saxon Churches have recently attracted a growing number of tourists. Perhaps this is due to the city of Sibiu (Hermannstadt) around which many of them are concentrated. Sibiu was elected in 2007 as the European Capital of Culture, which facilitated the knowledge by foreign tourists of the central area of Romania. Some of these tourists only came to visit Sibiu for a few days, but extended their visit to discover these invaluable treasures of Europe: Saxon fortified churches. There were some important visitors who simply loved this region. One of them was Prince Charles of Great Britain who visits the small villages every year. He even bought some old German houses that were restored; his house in Viscri is a good example.

The history of Transylvania after the withdrawal of the Roman army from the province of Dacia is complicated. There have been several successive migrations of population, perhaps even more than in Western Europe. If we discuss the period between the 3rd and 9th century we can mention the Goths, Gepidae, Avars, Bulgarians or Slavs on the Transylvania territory. The Hungarians, who intended to conquer Transylvania, arrived in Pannonia in the late 9th century. After the battle of Lechfeld (10th August, 955), which marked the end of the Hungarian incursions in Central Europe, the German army of Emperor Otto the Great defeated the Hungarian army, and attempts to conquer Transylvania became more enthusiastic.

The local opposition did not discourage the Hungarians. Even if we cannot speak about an important political organization in this territory, Hungarians frequently used the best army against the local population (early Romanians). The most popular political forces

of those times were the states of Gelu¹, Glad² and Menumorut³.

Romanian historians specialized in the history of Transylvania agree on the existence of five stages, which completed the integration of the Transylvanian territory in the Hungarian sphere of influence. The last of these stages, as we will see, is the colonization of the Saxon population. There are multiple causes for the colonization. On the one hand, Hungarians had an interest in ensuring themselves against external attacks at the top-east border of Transylvania. On the other hand, the continual growth of population between the 11th and 13th centuries in Western Europe, and especially the division of feudal property and privileges, made colonists determined to settle here. It should be noted that we cannot speak about a large number of population that moved into Transylvania at the same time. There were relatively small groups and different years during which this migration occurred. Very often these groups did not exceed a hundred people. We can find this kind of migrates in what is today the southern region of Slovakia. These migrations cannot be considered as a movement of the countries borders; they are only simple movements of populations.

By the end of the migrations Transylvania was in a delicate position. Although it first had Romanian political appearance, this territory was disputed by some powerful forces of the time, among them the Byzantine Empire or the Hungarian Kingdom. The latter would prevail because of the different methods used in the attempt to control the territory of Transylvania. The most important is the colonization of entire groups of populations along the Carpathian Mountains (Southern side), used mainly to protect the areas bordering the kingdom.

In the process of gaining an important and powerful position in Europe, the Hungarian Kingdom primarily needed to consolidate the eastern border. The colonization of the

1 Gelu was at the start of 10th century the ruler of a territory in the heart of Transylvania. Capital of this state is unknown but is believed to have been near the city Cluj-Napoca.

2 Glad was the leader of a medieval state located within the historic Banat (the territory among the rivers Tisa, Mures, the Danube and the Carpathians) in the first half of 10th century.

3 Menumorut was mentioned by Hungarian king's notary Bela III. This notary, Anonymus mentioned in his chronic a country having as borders the rivers Tisa, Mures and Apuseni Mountains, with Biharea city residence, in the late 9th century.

German population in Transylvania was a smart step that actually solved two problems: improving the relations with the West and providing the militarily eastern border of the kingdom. In addition, some parts of Transylvania had a major economic boom, having the Saxons as its artisans. Western European civilization tried hard to penetrate these areas with a tumultuous history, which did not allow a faster development, as was the case in the West. It can be said that the German settlement in Transylvania reduced, unconscious or involuntarily, at that time, differences between eastern and western areas controlled by the Hungarian Kingdom.

Saxon colonization in Transylvania

In order to have a correct approach to this issue, it is imperative to locate the territory correctly. Transylvania (Hungarian - Erdély, German - Siebenbürgen) is the historical region in central Romania. Transylvania comprises the central part of Romania and the hills, respectively Carpathian Depression that bowed to it. The second meaning of the name refers, by extension, also to Maramureș, Crișana, Sătmăr, known as Partium, meaning “the parts” from Hungary, side by side after mid-century 16th historic core of the Transylvanian plateau, together constitute the Principality of Transylvania.⁴ The period to which we refer begins in the mid 12th century and ends in the 15th century, although there will be some information about the fate of the Saxon fortified churches after this century too. For this analysis it is also important, firstly, to know some of the political, social and even demographic aspects of this period. We can even make a connection between this settlement and the first two crusades of the Christians against the Muslims. The crusades took place even before the colonization process in the Hungarian Kingdom by the Saxons: 1096-1099, respectively 1147-1148. The armies in the service of the Papacy had some contacts with this area, and took a lot of information about their situation. It is possible that some of the soldiers came and stayed here, after the war. But the real causes of emigration in the East must be sought in the

⁴ Sometimes, Transylvania is given a very broad sense, referring to the Romanian territory west of the eastern Carpathians and north of the Carpathians, thus including the Banat. The fluctuating nature of content development is explained by the complex term, historical and political region from the roman period to modern times.

essence of German feudalism.⁵ Feudalism in Germany, at least in some regions, had a faster evolution. Switching from natural systems to commodity-money relations - as a result of deepening social division of labor between agriculture and crafts - meant a real economic reorganization. A part of the German peasants was attracted to the cities in training, turning the artisans producing for the market, and another part, the remaining areas were threatened with collapse of feudal households and the loss of personal freedom. Some of them, given that they could leave the areas not yet connected to the land through extra-economic coercion, emigrated settling even outside Germany. The trend was to increase migration to the east, as the conditions of life offered by the new owners were more favorable.

The German emigration in Transylvania had an interesting particularity. It took part during the final stage of the penetration of Hungarian feudalism in Transylvania, which encountered many obstacles. The conquest of Transylvania by the Hungarian kings had been done in stages, because the opposition of local Romanian population.⁶ On the other hand, there were Pechenegs⁷ and Cumans⁸ incursions; they started to arrive from north of the Danube. Along with Romanians, they opposed to the entry of the Hungarians, and the danger is extended through the Tartar invasion - the big invasion of Transylvania from 1241 - until the end of the 13th century.

When the Hungarian Crown succeeded in conquering the entire territory of Transylvania, it was keen to defend the kingdom against hostile invasion from the eastward. Confidence in the local Romanian population could not be higher than the one given to foreign groups whom they brought, making them a privileged lifestyle. The Saxons who left their native places in western Germany (Flanders, Saxony, Bavaria, and the area

5 Thomas Năgler, *Așezarea sașilor în Transilvania* (București, 1992).

6 Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu, *Cetățile orașelor. Apărarea urbană în centrul și estul Europei în Evul Mediu. Fortified Towns. Urban Defense in Medieval Central and Eastern Europe* (București, 2000).

7 The Pechenegs or Patzinaks were a semi-nomadic Turkic people of the Central Asian steppes speaking the Pecheneg language which belonged to the Turkic language family.

8 Turkic nomadic tribes racially related to the Pechenegs. At the turn of the 10th century the Cumans inhabited the southern part of Central Asia as far east as the upper Irtysh River.

between the rivers Rhine and Moselle) were colonized here from the middle decades of the 12th century onwards. The latest research, based on philological and historical findings, proved that a first group of German settlers had come from Flanders and, as example, in the oldest documents are mentioned as “*Flandrenses*”. Another group, known as the Teutonic - peasants and artisans in villages and towns of the Rhine and Mosel region, arrived in the second stage. The largest group, which arrived at the end of the 12th century, is known as the Saxons (*Saxones*) originating from the right of Rhine (province of Saxony). It seems that the generic name of Saxons is based on this group, which had forced traditional lifestyles, customs, institutions, and legal forms of social organization among all the settlers.⁹ After the year 1206 the nominal expression “*saxones*” is generalized in almost all the documents relating to the grant, confirm and reconfirm the initial privileges from the first Hungarian kings (Géza II (1141-1162), Béla III (1172-1196) and Andrew II (1205-1235); the last one is the author of privileges diploma from 1224 - Andreanum or “Golden Bull” of the Saxons on which are based all others¹⁰).

In the first stage of colonization the groups came in the Sibiu area, probably in the middle of the 12th century under the reign of King Geza II (1141-1161).¹¹ In fact, royalty had chosen a territory between Orăștie and Baraolt, which shows the original intended purpose: to strengthen the military guard of the border in south line Carpathians. Later in the 13th century there have been settlements on the north side and in parts of Sighișoara and Mediaș; areas of Hungarian nobles. Data and renewed privileges of royalty on several occasions in exchange for border security and obligations on places where they settled, assured the Saxons, at least in the first centuries of feudalism, a free life and favorable economic, political and cultural conditions. In the 13th century, in royal cities

9 Hermann Fabini, *Universul cetăților bisericești din Transilvania* (Sibiu, 2009).

10 An original document has not been preserved, but only as part of the reconfirmation of the “Golden Bull” from 1317 by King Charles Robert of Anjou. The document is in Latin on parchment with the seal hung (one of the oldest historical documents from Transylvania), stored at the National Archives of Sibiu.

11 Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen* (Hermannstadt-Heidelberg, vol. I - 1998, vol. II - 1999, vol. III - 2002).

along the border that protected the Romanian Carpathians, Saxons had the same military mission and even beehives built fortress, first between the rivers Târnava Minor and Olt, then along Olt and Hârtibaci.

Romanesque architecture in Transylvania

Maintained buildings and archaeological research have led to the conclusion that the oldest stone churches in the Saxon royal land - especially around Sibiu were built only during the first decades of the 13th century and probably only a few communities recently managed to finish the buildings.¹² Saxon settlers in the Sibiu area have imposed short basilica with three naves separated by columns linked with strong rectangular masonry arches. On the east these basilicas are usually concluded with a semicircular apse preceded by a choir main square next to the ship, but when it missing are provided with lateral smaller apse.¹³ This feature of basilicas with square choir, apse and small apse that are placed at the east side of vessels is common in the lower Rhine valley, the Upper Rhine valley rarer and widespread in central Germany, but the examples are fairly numerous in south-east Germany, where we can remember Baumburg church, consecrated in 1156 (among the oldest dated monuments of this kind), church Tegernesee (undated), and the Faurndau Benedictine monastery church (since 1220). The specific plan of this group does not appear in Hungary until the Mongol invasion; the oldest monument is the Benedictine church from Jak, where craftsmen can be inferred that the Saxons called from Bavaria and Austria who came directly in Transylvania, and built this foundation of the first local sites.¹⁴

The foundation of the Sibiu Church¹⁵, in the late 12th century, assumes the existence at that time, of several ecclesiastical buildings, probably wooden churches. In the following

12 Fabrițius Juliana Dancu, „Cetăți țărănești săsești din Transilvania” in *Revista Transilvania* (Sibiu, 1980).

13 Alexandru Avram, „Câteva considerații cu privire la bazilicile scurte din bazinul Hârtibaciului și zona Sibiului”, in *Revista monumentelor și muzeelor de istorie* no. 2 (1981).

14 Luigi Gilbert, *Arhitectura în Europa* (București, 2000).

15 In the year 1191 the city of Sibiu is mentioned for the first time in a document of the Vatican, under the name “Cibinium” (due to the river Cibin that flows through the city).

century, however, most of them were replaced by stone churches. Art historians have contributed to a more precise knowledge of the Saxon and Roman churches differently - including the new chronology - more groups. In general, the Saxons have taken the construction of Romanesque churches directly from their old homeland. It seems that this fact played an important role in southern Germany that could more easily recruit craftsmen, on the one hand because the region was closer to Transylvania, on the other hand, because during the 13th century here were still built many Romanesque churches. Romanesque style in Transylvania brings rather information on internal colonization directions. Thus, we watch how the colonization evolved geographically in southern Transylvania.

If we follow the spread of Gothic and Romanesque churches, ignoring their planimetric position, we find that they are assigned under a colonization order of different areas inhabited by Saxons, and we can observe that the oldest of them, located on the southern edge of province, are Romanesque basilicas. The oldest basilicas are now in the surroundings of Sibiu, the center of the first colonized royal territory. Neither in Sibiu, or in other cities inhabited by Saxons, except in the cities of Cîsnădie and Sebeș are not existing any more Romanesque basilicas, because these buildings, erected in the first century after colonization, have not matched the growing population, being replaced by spacious Gothic buildings. It is natural that the first settlers of the Romanesque basilicas have no links with the art style evolved from Rhine provinces from which they came; the first churches were modest buildings, limited in scale and sober, corresponding to the hard existence and always threatened by hostile incursions. An interesting fact is the absence of the transept, which gives the form of a Latin cross plan. Transept appears in Transylvania only to urban-style building so-called "crossing" (from Romanesque to Gothic), in fact, early Gothic, introduced in Transylvania by Cistercian monks in the abbey site of Cârța. It results that the masters of the Romanesque basilicas, first settlers, did not come with it. Their first church can be wooden temporary building but they have built stone churches after the economical strengthen. The stylistic character of the early basilicas around Sibiu has several analogies to the churches from the provinces of southern Germany (Bavaria), Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, from which the first

builders probably came who prepared the local auxiliary forces.

The oldest rural Saxon churches dating from 12th century, before the Mongol invasion in 1241, are located in the surroundings of Sibiu, most of them are basilicas with three naves and columns between the ship and the main apse is with semicircular small apse. These small side apses characterized the oldest type of Romanesque basilicas in the Saxon rural areas. Only at Cisnădioara the both apse of collaterals have remained intact, in the other basilicas of this apse were included in a new building - as Cisnădie, Șelimbăr, Gusterita Șura Mare, Sibiu, Ocna, Vurpăr. Basilicas of Cisnădioara, Gușterița (in its first form), Vurpăr, Roșia, Daia and Chirpăr belong to the type of short basilica¹⁶, their width being nearly equal with the length (the central nave is opening only with 2-4 arcade to the collaterals, this planimetric form being the only analogical characteristic with basilicas in the middle Rhine and those of Westphalia). This type of plan depends, in Transylvania, also on the location where the basilicas are placed.

A distinction according to the type of construction plans, inside Romanesque and Gothic styles, corresponds to the differences in time of the settlements. The deviations from this rule indicate that, in the larger settlements, with increasing population, the churches were enlarged, being modified in the style of the epoch, or were rebuilt after the destruction. It is assumed that the second or - the late - the third generation of settlers began building stone churches, which have succeeded, probably some wooden sacral buildings, from which no traces have been preserved.

Most researchers converge on the view that building the Romanesque basilicas, in the province of Sibiu, did not start before the year 1200. Therefore, if we take the approximate date of the settling in a village the year 1150, then perhaps the construction of stone Romanesque basilica did not begin until the third generation. Of course, the architectural specific of the construction was conditioned by the craftsmen that were present in a given time on the site. Building a church was a lengthy and expensive undertaking. It is true that the Romanesque church from the earliest settlements were

16 Alexandru Avram, „Câteva considerații cu privire la bazilicile scurte din bazinul Hârtibaciului și zona Sibiului”, in *Revista monumentelor și muzeelor de istorie*, no. 2 (1981).

built in decades two and three of the 13th century, but probably only a few communities have managed to finish the building soon. The presence of traces of fire due to the Mongol invasion have proven that most of Romanesque churches were completed only after 1241. Also now enters the Gothic architecture that makes its presence felt through the Cistercians.

The second half of 14th century was for Transylvania the epoch of an important progress that could be felt mostly in the Catholic religious architecture, moving from forms of late - Romanic-Gothic to those of already mature Gothic. The new and important phase of ecclesiastical architecture development in this period was closely linked, in Transylvania, with the life of cities, inside which and in parallel with whom the architecture developed as a consequence of their economic prosperity, progress of artisans, and also because of the curdle of the artists and craftsmen in working places, specialized: architects, sculptors, masons, etc. Although it is said that in Transylvania, Romanic style has experienced a bit of diversity, we tend to believe that only defensive items led to this, the Transylvanian Romanic being a simple one, without major engineering complications.

We have chosen to speak, below, about two Romanesque churches built near to the present city of Sibiu (Hermannstadt): Cîsnădie and Cîsnădioara.

Case Study

Cîsnădie (germ. Heltau)

A Lutheran Church, formerly dedicated to St. Walpurga, was built at the turn of 12th - 13th centuries, as a Romanesque basilica, with the bell tower located in front of the west side and contains a central semicircular choir apse, flanked by collateral agreements with small apse (the small apse from north side of the church was later incorporated in the chapel of the 14th century).

A massive Romanesque tower, fifty-nine meters high, has the first two floors cross vaulted and the access is through stairs built in the walls, that measure three meters

on the ground floor; on the fifth floor a bell was set out, and in the walls, eight twin windows are fitted, two on each side. From 1795 onwards it was protected by the first lightning rod in Transylvania; the tower clock dates from 1868. The four corner towers are signs of judicial authority. The thieves had to pass through three lines of defense walls fitted with corridors to reach the heart of the fortress-church. The devastating Turkish attack from 1493 had mobilized the community to fortify the church even better. Many towers and bastions were built to enhance the safety of people, but over time many of them were destroyed. The Romanesque church with three ships went through various changes; only the main portal wears the footprint of the Romanesque style.

The choir plan has a square and keeps the Romanesque cross vault. The south wall of the choir has an old Romanesque door built for priests, and on the north wall mural paintings from the Romanesque period are preserved: representations of St. Peter and St. Walpurga. The choir is separated from the nave by a semicircular opening Romanesque triumphal arch. The ships side communicates with the central nave by five semicircular arched openings supported on massive pillars of rectangular plan without capitals. In the South-West of the church is a chapel with a circular plan embedded in a defense tower from 15th century, under which it was discovered in 1911, during restoration works, a ossuary. It can be, in this case, the „rotunda” (a small circular) church of the second half of the 12th century, later transformed into the chapel of the cemetery.



General view of the church from Cisnădie (Heltau).

Cisnădioara (germ. Michelsberg)

A lot has been written about the dating of the Cisnădioara church, but the situation is even today shrouded in mystery. It is believed that the church existed in 1241 when the Tartar invasion took place in Transylvania, but the construction was far from being completed, now existing only ships foundations. The church of the Citadel, once dedicated to St. Michael, is a short basilica with three naves, with two towers planned for the west side, only partially executed. On the east, the church has a square choir and a semicircular apse, and in the right lateral, a small apse. In the south wall of the choir a door is built for the priests. In the choir there are also visible traces of wall paintings and consecration crosses are kept in several places in the church. The bottom tower rooms have cross vaults and the floor can be accessed by a stairs built into the walls. The lateral naves have cylindrical vaults and central nave has an open roof structure. More than likely that the church receives a vaulted ceiling; the access was accomplished through the ladders previously remembered.

The church is made exclusively of stone, except the western front, where the profile is relatively rich portal framed by blind arcades. The wall around the church is equipped with a tower on the south part and was built in 13th century. The area could be well surveilled from above thanks to the Battle Passage. The Gate Tower is today only a ruin. In the courtyard there is a fountain that provided demand of water for the community in the event of a prolonged siege. The northern part of the tower was placed a few feet outside the precinct wall and joined to it by a mobile bridge. Here we can find some big stones, which are still mentioned in 1850. According to oral tradition, each son had to bring such a rock in the citadel before their wedding, used for defense. But the pièce de résistance of this church is the western portal, a rare beauty in this south area of Transylvania, standing out a unique Romanesque element: four columns with cubic capitals supporting cylindrical pins, embroidery consists of carefully carved spirals, ribbons dotted with pearls, palmettes. Only in certain places between elegant decorations we can still identify one chip carved. It seems that the portal dating from the second half of the 13th century has some Cistercian influence, since they noticed the

presence of capital with proteomes.



Cisnădioara (Michelsberg). South view of the church.

Conclusions

The differences between East and West are more visible today than ever. If we refer to Europe, lately, the European Community had many programs dedicated to bridging the differences. Some of those were successful; others were only a waste of money. In 2010 a new program started, dedicated to the fortified churches. It should enable the restoration of eighteen churches from Sibiu, Brasov, Mures and Alba county. The sole problem is that only four millions euro's are available and there are still many things to do at these churches.

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A Comparative Analysis of Jewish Emancipation in the Habsburg Monarchy and the German-speaking Territories Between 1781 and 1871

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In this article I will carry out a comparative analysis of the Jewish emancipation in respectively the German-speaking territories and Austria. The article will also provide an overview of the way differences between people diminished and why this could happen. With German-speaking territories I refer to the territories of the German confederation, which was formed in 1815. My analysis begins in 1781 when the Holy Roman Empire was still in existence, lasting up until 1806. Since a supranational state-organization did not exist until the Congress of Vienna, I have decided to refer to the German-speaking territories, as the language did not change in these tumultuous times. With Austria I mean the Duchy of Austria (until 1804), the Austrian Empire (from 1804) and Austro-Hungarian Empire (from 1867). In this case the criteria is not language but government, as Austria expanded into non-German-speaking territories. My sources are articles, books, and law-texts. I start with a chronology of events in the areas to be examined, and subsequently evaluate the similarities and differences within the two processes. My hypothesis is that, while it was easier for Jews in Germany to integrate into society, but harder to maintain a Jewish identity, the opposite was true in the Austrian case.

European Developments

The state ideology of European Jewish Emancipation can be found in France. In the constitution written after the French revolution, the “equality of men”, for everyone “regardless of [...] birth, to participate” was one of the great achievements.¹ Napoleon Bonaparte called for an “Assembly of Jewish Notables”.² These notables were asked questions that were supposed to show how close the Jews and the French people were culturally. After Napoleon had received satisfying answers, he revived the “symbol of Jewish sovereignty”³, the *Sanhedrin*, which won him support of Jews all over Europe.

1 Howard Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York: Random House, 1990), 38. Hereafter Sachar *Jewish History*.

2 Sachar, *Jewish History*, 47.

3 Sachar, *Jewish History*, 49.

Equality before the law, was a new phenomenon for German, Austrian, Polish, Italian and Dutch Jews, and it came to them rather abruptly. The *Code Civil*, the Napoleonic code of law was introduced in all the countries, states and territories occupied by Napoleons *Grande Armée*, emancipating Jews (and everyone who was not yet emancipated) in an instant.⁴

This is the outset of my analysis of Jewish emancipation. How did the process of emancipation take place? Why did it take almost a century for the process to conclude? Which laws and other circumstances were crucial?

Emancipation in the Habsburg Monarchy

In the years 1781 and 1782 Joseph II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and ruler over the Austrian Habsburg lands, issued the “Edict of Tolerance” (*Toleranzpatent*). From 1765-1780 he ruled together with his mother Maria Theresia and from 1780-1790 he continued ruling alone. From that time on he was making his own decisions and ruled as an enlightened monarch, initiating reforms. The *Toleranzpatent* was the beginning of equality for Jews; a process completed in “1867 through freedom of religion in the constitution”⁵ yet it only took a gradual approach towards Jewish emancipation, removing restrictions slowly.⁶ This initiative had the goal of creating citizens that were beneficial to the state.⁷ The idea was that this could be achieved through letting the former segregated population participate in societal life. Ex post facto, the *Toleranzpatent* was only a small step towards emancipation because it did not liberalize the Jewish marriage policy and did not make the Jews as free as the Catholic part of the population.

4 Ibid., 55.

5 Cf. <http://www.vhs.at/3305.html> [accessed 25.04.2011] “Das Toleranzpatent - 1782 durch den Habsburger Joseph II erlassen - gestattete die freie Religionsausübung, ein erster Schritt zur rechtlichen Gleichstellung, die endgültig 1867 durch die Verankerung der Glaubensfreiheit im Staatsgrundgesetz durchgesetzt werden konnte.” Source: Wiener Stadttempel, the Synagogue and the Viennese Jewish institute for Adult Education, Austria.

6 Gotthard Deutsch, ‘Joseph II’ in: The Jewish Encyclopedia, 253, http://www.jewish-encyclopedia.com/view_page.jsp?artid=443&letter=J&pid=0 [accessed 25.04.2011]

7 Mordechai Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und der Emanzipation* (Münster: Waxmann, 2001), 49 [“Es sollte ihnen ferner der Besuch christlicher Schulen erlaubt werden mit dem Ziel, Juden “dem Staate nützlicher und brauchbarer” zu machen.”]

During the congress of Vienna in 1815, European leaders met in order to stabilize and reorganize the war-torn continent. The Habsburg attitude towards Jewish emancipation was rather unsupportive and until the 1850s Jews were forced to take different, undignified oaths in courts and had to pay a discriminating tax for living and enterprise rights.⁸ The year 1848 was crucial for many countries because a wave of demonstrations and revolutions was sweeping through Europe. The goal was to be granted more rights and the enemy was monarchy. The Hungarians and Czechs demanded independence from the Austrians and were granted more autonomy – for Jews it became quite difficult now among the Slavic peasants. Ferdinand I gave up the throne in this very year so that his nephew, Franz Joseph I, could become the new ruler and take care of the situation. The Jews mostly identified with German rather than Slavic culture. This was a reason for anti-Jewish riots in 1848.⁹

Werner Mosse has pointed out that the problems were pre-programmed because the Jews could not become Poles and Germans at the same time, there would always be someone unsatisfied with what the Jews did.¹⁰

A decisive difference of Jews in Austria compared to other countries was that they “saw themselves as members of various nations.”¹¹ Living in a multi-ethnic empire creates different identity structures than living in a homogenous society. According to Stephen Beller a large number of Jews were “Austrian patriots, constitutionalist Liberals *and* (German) nationalists all at the same time.”¹²

The constitution of 1867, the *compromise* (*‘Ausgleich’*) that created the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy by the emperor Franz Josef contained equality before the law for Christian, Jew and Moslem and the rights of citizenship were given to all the people living in Habsburg lands.¹³ The emancipation was completed in Austro-Hungary in the

8 Sachar, *Jewish Emancipation* 100-101.

9 Sachar, *Jewish emancipation* 111-112

10 Werner Mosse, *Revolution and Evolution, 1848 in German-Jewish History* (Tübingen: Mohr 1981), 43. Hereafter Mosse *Evolution*.

11 Stephen Beller, ‘Patriotism and the National Identity of Habsburg Jewry, 1860-1914,’ in: Leo Baeck Yearbook institute 41, 1996, 216. Hereafter Beller *Patriotism*.

12 Beller, *Patriotism*, 218.

13 Sachar, *Jewish Emancipation*, 114.

year 1867. It was a reaction to the loss of provinces and an attempt to keep the Austrian Empire alive and strong.

Emancipation in the German-speaking territories

In 1781 Christian Wilhelm Dohm published a book entitled *Regarding the civil advancement of the Jews*.¹⁴ The message of this book was the urge to make Jews more useful to the state, to assimilate them and provide a secular education for them. In Prussia, as well as in France and in Austria the ideology of enlightenment and the postulation of reason made the idea of second-class citizens seem wrong. The Prussian King Wilhelm II called for a commission in 1789 as a reaction to Dohm's book, but due to political circumstances - the war and the chaos emerging from these situations - a commission to research the topic was ready to present their findings only in 1808. The study suggested that the Jews should be given equal rights.¹⁵ After the Napoleonic wars, Karl August Hardenberg issued the *Judenedikt* in 1812, emancipating the Jews of Prussia.¹⁶ Wilhelm von Humboldt was also involved in fighting for the rights of Jews. "Just, politically necessary and consistent" with reason – these were his arguments to promote their emancipation.¹⁷

However, at the congress of Vienna in 1815 the imposed French laws were reconsidered and while Jews in France were hereafter enjoying even more freedoms (legal protection in business, ability to join Universities) than before, other countries abandoned the Napoleonic ideas, among them Jewish emancipation,¹⁸ creating a movement of Jews moving to France from the un-emancipated territories. The Prussian compromise regarding Jewish emancipation was to commit to providing all "rights heretofore

14 Christian Dohm, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Berlin 1781) [printed with royal Prussian privilege]

15 Tilman Brosche, *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (München: Beck 1990), 52. Hereafter Brosche, *Humboldt*

16 Friedrich Morgenstern, 'Hardenberg and the Emancipation of Franconian Jewry,' in *Jewish Social Studies* 15, 3/4 (1953), 253-274, here 256. Hereafter Morgenstern, 'Hardenberg', cf also Sachar, *Jewish History*, 57.

17 Brosche, *Humboldt*, 53.

18 Sachar, *Jewish History*, 96-97.

accorded to them *by* the several states” to Jews instead of “[...] *in* the several states”.¹⁹ This was a juristic ploy because the first rights had been given by Napoleon, *in* and not *by* Prussia and therefore the Prussian government was not obliged to do anything. Even if the burdens and rules the Jews had to go through were exactly the same as before Napoleon, they had been free citizens for a short time. Having to go back to the pre-emancipation state felt worse than if they never had felt freedom at all due to the experience of difference.

With the rise of nationalism (1815-1848, the era of *Vormärz*), the desire for a German nation rather than many different states and principalities, anti-Jewish feelings became visible: Jews were still considered to be a “state within a state” and a “menace...to the welfare and character of the Germans”.²⁰ The trend of *Bildung*, self-formation, of Jews had already begun in the 1770s. It continued until the completion of Jewish emancipation. Some changes are that the traditional Jewish community disintegrated because as soon as Jews could choose a profession and place of residence, few stayed in the former ghettos. The ideal of a Torah (and Talmud) scholar, a *talmid hakham*, was no longer an ideal because now secular education was the most important subject.²¹ “Worthiness thus became a code word”, meaning that Jews in Germany developed different than elsewhere, having to prove ‘morals’ and ‘knowledge’.²² The ideal of the German Jews were the very well educated *Sephardim*, the Jews of Spain – the antithesis were the *Ostjuden*, the hassidic Jews of Poland.²³

One of the examples of a lack of comradeship between Germans towards Jews are the Hep-Hep Riots in Germany. In 1819 Germans attacked Jews in Frankfurt am Main and other cities.²⁴ Surprisingly the attitude towards Jews changed in 1848, the year of many

19 Ibid., 99.

20 Ibid., 102.

21 David Sorkin ‘The impact of emancipation on German Jewry: a reconsideration,’ in: *Assimilation and community. The Jews in nineteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 183-185. Hereafter Sorkin, *reconsideration*.

22 Sorkin, *reconsideration*, 186.

23 Ibid., 188.

24 Joseph Jacobs, Artikel: “Hep! Hep!” In: Jewish Encyclopedia 350-351. http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_page.jsp?artid=610&letter=H&pid=0 [accessed 26.04.2011]

revolutions in Europe. Jews and Germans had the same enemy – monarchy.²⁵ Led by French ideas Jews demanded “Rights of Man”.²⁶ Baron points out an essay of that time, which tried to integrate the “alien, hostile nationality in the midst of German society” by means of intermarriage.²⁷ During that time, Jews tried to prove their Germanness by many means, among them articles such as: “We are Germans and want to be nothing else! We have no other fatherland than the German fatherland and wish for no other! Only by our *faith* are we Israelites, in every other respect we belong with devotion to the State in which we live!”²⁸

As a reaction to emancipation a book called “*The operated Jew*” was published. It made use of many common anti-Jewish prejudices. A Jew wanted to become German and in order to do so he tried surgery, dressing different and changing his speech pattern. None of these measures worked out. This shows the common belief that Jews were different. They supposedly looked different, spoke different and were a different race altogether.²⁹ The final step of Emancipation in Germany was the creation of the German Empire (“*Deutsches Reich*”) in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian war. Its constitution promised one law for all citizens.³⁰

Conclusion

The process of Jewish emancipation in Austria as well as in Germany lasted about a hundred years. The emancipation needs to be considered as a European phenomenon, because without the developments in France the Austrian actions and reaction cannot be properly understood. I think that without the initial French liberalization the process of emancipation would have taken much longer. In a way this century can be seen as a chain of action and reaction. In the end a combination of enlightenment, pragmatism

25 Sachar, *Jewish Emancipation* 110.

26 Salo Baron, ‘The Impact of the Revolution of 1848 on Jewish emancipation,’ in *Jewish Social Studies* 11, 3 (1949), 195-248, here 195-196. Hereafter Baron, *1848*.

27 Baron, *1848*, 208.

28 Mosse, *Evolution* 49. cited from *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* in Frankfurt in 1848.

29 K. Knittel, “‘Ein hypermoderner Dirigent’: Mahler and anti-Semitism in “Fin-de-siècle” Vienna,’ in: *19th-Century Music* 18, 3 (1995), 257-276, here 260.

30 Sachar, *Jewish Emancipation*, 114.

and necessity emancipated the Austrian and German Jewry. The (emotional) differences in perception had not completely disappeared but had vanished before the law.

I think the hypothesis from which I started is correct. Integration was quite difficult in Germany with anti-Semitic books like *The operated Jew* and the ideal of *Bildung* (education to be a 'worthy citizen') creating a mixture between integration and the ancient belief of regarding Jews (or German citizens of Mosaic faith) as different. The case of the Austrians is a little more complex and complicated. Interesting follow-up questions in this regard could be: Integrate into what? A German-speaking-*Leitkultur*, imposed by the Austrians? What about the Czech Jews living in Bohemia? They would have to know German in order to pursue a career but Czech in order to communicate with the local population. I think this made it easier to keep and maintain a Jewish identity and easier to become part of society because one had to 'give up' less of its own culture in order to become part of the multi-cultural surroundings. It was in Germany that the need or desire to integrate into a homogenous state structure was worse for the Jewish identity because one had to 'give up' more in order to become German.

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Austria-Hungary: The “Prison of Nations” or a Bridge Between Cultures?

Emanuele Rocco Di Bello
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Francois (Ferenc) Fejto (August 31, 1909, Nagykanizsa – June 2, 2008 Paris) was a Hungarian naturalized French journalist, historian and political scientist, who dedicated most of his work to the history of Central and Eastern Europe. His life and background could be considered as some kind of a “human-compound” of what used to be the “Mittel-Europa”. As an Ashkenazi Jew, his family was spread all around Europe, from Italy to France, from Croatia to Bohemia, and from Austria to Hungary. He grew up in a climate of profound multiculturalism, though always respectful to national and cultural diversities: ever since he was a child he spoke six languages fluently. His life could be a subject for a study, yet in this article I will focus on the Austria-Hungarian Empire and the situation that led to its violent fall. Fejto’s historical intuitions and especially his “Requiem pour un empire défunt”, gave me a completely new point of view to understand the beginning and the quick, catastrophic development of World War I and *latu sensu* the beginning of what a recent historiographical current calls the thirty-one year long “European civil war”, demolishing some myths about the late but very fast disappearance of the real homeland of the historian who liked to refer to himself as the “first revisionist”¹ of contemporary history. Austria-Hungary before the Great War was a multi-national entity with two capitals (Vienna and Budapest), and a probable future one (Prague). It had an advanced federal reality in which it was possible for Ruthenians, Czechs, Poles, Italians and all of the other ethnic groups to speak their own languages in their own schools and universities, to vote for deputies coming from the same area and culture and to be represented by modern and advanced political parties, in short, an atmosphere of intense and tolerant modernity.

Three pillars throughout the century

As Fernand Braudel teaches us, we will start analyzing the long-term causes: the Empire

1 F. Fejto’s speech at the conference: “L’uso politico della storia: storia bugiarda, storia condivisa, revisionismo, antirevisionismo”, (29/05/2001. Recorded by “radio radicale”)

had essentially three principles to lead its conduct since the beginning of its century-long history: Dynastic (i), Class (ii) and Reform (iii).

I

A monarchy by divine right, imposing Catholicism, by force, if necessary. In Bohemia, following the victory of the White Mountain in 1620, freedom of religion was removed and the Counter-Reformation was imposed. Twenty-seven members of the insurgency were executed in the Old Town Square², in the centre of Prague. All Protestants were forced to leave the country. The leader John Amos Comenius went into exile, and with him 15,000 other people. Three quarters of the Bohemian territories changed owners: from that moment on, the independence of Bohemia ended for a period of 300 years and the 20% of the local populations disappeared, Germans took their place.³

a) The Empire was unified by the figure of the Prince: Emperor, but also King of Bohemia, Hungary, Duke of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Cracow, Austria, protector of Jerusalem. This dynastic unification was also possible thanks to a clever and farsighted marriage policy: “*Alii bella gerunt, tu felix Austria nube*” (“The others make war, you happy Austria think about marriages” ; e.g. annexation of Hungary and Bohemia).

b) In the XVII century the Empire took back from the Ottomans the west and the northwest part of Hungary, there imposing Counter-Reformation; except in Transylvania where the Uniatist Church was the ruling one. Twenty-five percent of the Hungarian population was Muslim at the time. All Muslims will be gradually driven out.

II

All national groups were considered minorities. The Emperor founded his authority on the Aristocracy, of no matter which race or ethnical background. German, Polish, Croatian or Hungarian origins had no differences in value. There was nothing like an “ethnic principle”, nothing like an Austrian nationalism.

2 The place where it happened is still today marked on the square pavement.

3 “Bohemia in History”, edited by Mikulas Teich (Cambridge University Press, 1998)

In 1780 the population of the Empire consisted of (in millions of people):

- 5,6 Germans (most part of Austrians)
- 3,4 Hungarian Magyars
- 2,5 Czechs in Bohemia
- 2 «Belges»
- 1,8 Italians
- 1,6 Romanians from Transylvania
- 1,2 Slovaks
- 1 Polish
- 900.000 Croatsians
- 700.000 Serbs
- 360.000 Jewish
- 120.000 'Tsigani'⁴

III

Austria used reforms to give legal foundations to the Emperor's power. For this reason most part of those reforms were essentially conservative:

- a) The Counter-Reform.
- b) An "enlightened policy" with Joseph II, an enlightened absolutist, who wanted the happiness of his people, according to the rationalist conception of the XVIII century. Joseph wanted to reorganize the Empire in a more centralized way. He imposed German language as the only possible language for the administration and tried to impose a "Voltaireian" model of tolerance, against the power of the Nobles and Jesuits.
- c) A "Language Policy", with Leopold II. In 1790 Joseph II died, and was succeeded by his brother Leopold. He started a new approach in favour of ethnic minorities that will last throughout the entire XIX century. The scope was evidently to gain popular legitimacy in the dangerous period during and after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire. As a sign of openness, he wanted to be crowned King of Hungary in Pressburg (1790) and king of Bohemia in Prague (1791).

The Hungarian diet decided to propose Hungarian as an official language. In Hungary,

4 R.A. Kann, "The multinational empire", (Columbia University Press, 1950).

the official language of vital records used to be Latin until 1836, then Hungarian until the revolution of 1848. After the failed revolution, Hungarians were forced to return once again to Latin until the compromise of 1867. There were then fourteen official languages in the Empire, and many linguistic sub-groups, and inasmuch as German was the main language of power, officers had to be able to speak major languages to be understood by their people. In 1847, Croatian became an official language, despite the Hungarian attempts to avoid it.

d) The “Ausgleich” (1867): after the defeat of Sadowa against the Prussian army (1866), the Empire became “Austria-Hungary”, “Kaiserlich und Königlich”, dividing itself into two different regions: Cisleithania (western part) and Transleithania (eastern part).

e) Universal (male) suffrage declared in Cisleithania (not in Transleithania) in 1907! Long before many other European States.

f) The Cultural explosion. Vienna from the Ausgleich on became the cultural centre of Europe.

The “principle of nationality”

“Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.” It “is a theory of political legitimacy”

*E. Gellner*⁵

At the beginning of the XIX century, four Empires ruled in Central and Eastern Europe. None of them will survive the century, all victim of the “principle of nationality”. The Czech historian Miroslav Hroch spent most part of his work studying this principle and its evolution in the European context. In his book “Social preconditions of national revival in Europe”⁶, he describes the way nations follow in their development and especially in their practical construction. He distinguishes three main phases to create

5 E. Gellner, “Nation and Nationalism” (Cornell University Press, 1983)

6 M. Hroch, “Social preconditions of national revival in Europe” (Columbia University Press, 2000)

a national identity.

In the first phase Nationalism does not exist as a proper ideology. People have no national consciousness. Intellectual and artistic elites start to reveal a “hidden nation”, forgotten founding fathers and forgotten myths. Usually using mainly philology and history, but then all forms of art and science corroborate and spread this “sentiment”. During the second phase political minorities, cultural movements and secret associations embrace their “national consciousness”, proposing their new “national” model of society. The third phase occurs when a Nation-State is created. State institutions such as schools begin a process of massive inculcation of the “national spirit”.

We can systematically see those phases occur in the “building of a nation”, but of course every nation has its own development, its own “destiny”. For those nations “inside” the Austro Hungarian Empire though, we can roughly divide the development in two main different periods: before and after the 1848.

Before

After the end of the Napoleonic wars, with the congress of Vienna (1815) and the Carlsbad decrees (1819), the “three empires” (Prussia, Russia, Austria), collaborated to repress politically and militarily every form of nationalism and every claim for independence or constitutional concessions. In Poland (1831) and in Hungary (1848) Russia helped Austria and Prussia to contain social revolution.

Linguistic revivals were widespread. Everywhere “Awakeners” (writers, teachers, clergymen, grammarians, linguists) tried to wake their “sleepy people” with a massive rediscovery of languages, traditions, history, heroes, building a new, popular sentiment of nationality. Five major linguists were able to create strong and well-defined popular organizations, starting from the institution of a “literary language” were respectively in Slovenia Jernej Kopitar, in Transylvania the Romanian Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Bishop Ioan Innocent Micu Klein, in Slovakia Ludevit Stur, in Croatia Ljudevit Gaj and Bishop

Josip Strossmayer.

Czech became a literary language with the abbot Josef Dobrovski and his work as an historian and philologist. Czechs demanded the recognition of their language and asked for a common assembly of the historical Czech lands, with the unification of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in a same region. Frantisek Palacky, a teacher and historian, considered the father of the “Czech nation”, wrote a “History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia”⁷. The first volumes were published in German; an edition in Czech would be possible just after 1848. In 1848 invited as deputy representing Bohemia, he refused to go to the parliament of Frankfurt, since he was not German and had no interests in German affairs.⁸ Still, he wasn’t hostile at all to the Empire itself, he just wanted equal rights for Czechs within the Empire: a strong Empire, capable to federate southern Germans and Slavs in a same common house. This ideology is commonly known as “Austro-slavism”. Austro-slavism was a very popular ideology among Czech liberals.

The Hungarian “Spring” had its own prophets in the poets and dramatists Vorosmarty and Petofi and in the great musician and composer Ferenc Liszt.

The Hungarian region had always been linguistically and culturally “homogenous” (with the important exception of Transylvania). The “national issue” had two different approaches. The first one moderate and “cooperationist” with Ferenc Deak and Istvan Szechenyi, the second maximalist and secessionist with Lajos Kossuth.

7 F.Palacky “History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia” (5 vols, 1836-1867)

8 “...The explicit purpose of your assembly is to put a German people’s association [Volksbund] in the place of the existing federation of princes, to bring the German nation to real unity, to strengthen German national feeling, and thus to raise Germany’s power both internal and external. However much I respect this endeavour and the feeling on which it is based, and particularly because I respect it, I cannot participate in it. I am not a German – at any rate I do not consider myself as such – and surely you have not wished to invite me as a mere yes-man without opinion or will....” F. Palacky, extract from the letter to Frankfurt “Vorparlament”(April 1848).

After

With the uprisings of 1848 and then with the defeat of Sadowa, many things changed, and even though the “Dreikeiserbund” (1873-1887) renewed three times, seemed to strengthen the alliance between the three Empires, many argued anyway that the common nature of two of them (Austria and Russia) and their common aspirations would have eventually clashed. From the alliance with Germany (1879), Austria was too tied to the foreign policy of the new super-power, and after the Bismarck era (1871-1890), and the beginning of William II’s myopic “Weltpolitik” - “hysteria disguised as rush and dynamism”⁹ - the situation changed completely, and led (just a few years before it seemed unbelievable) Russia to accept a military alliance with France (1893), officially dividing Europe in two different deployments, both with essentially geopolitical natures. Russia praised the pan-Slavic movement in Serbia and in the Balkan region, paradoxically supporting a somehow ethnic identity, and after the defeat against Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) was forced to concentrate on Balkan affairs, also to hide its internal weakness.

As we have seen, the two-headed Empire showed a potential for reforms unknown beyond the Urals, and Sadowa forced Vienna to grant some concessions. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise (in German: Ausgleich, in Hungarian: Kiegyezés) of 1867, established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, replacing the Habsburg Empire. It was signed by Emperor Franz Joseph and a Hungarian delegation led by the moderate leader Ferenc Deák, it changed the empire into a monarchy with two different federate regions both governed by parliaments and prime ministers, having in common just the main ministers of: War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs (and off course the Crown).

Croatia and Transylvania were considered part of the historical Hungary; Dalmatia, the Mediterranean coast of the Empire, Bohemia, Galicia and Bukovina remained Austrian. Many anyway started to claim for a “Trialism” with the addition of a third Slavic component to the Dual Monarchy. Slavs felt despised, especially by the Hungarians. Paradoxically since it started to be a federal entity, Austria-Hungary, started also to

9 I. Bibo, “Isteria tedesca, paura francese, insicurezza italiana” (Ed. Il Mulino, 1996, 145)

appear to many as a “prison of peoples” or “a prison of nations”.

Transleithania:

At first the Hungarians adopted a liberal approach in considering minorities. The “Nagobda” (Serbo-Croatian word meaning “agreement”) of 1868, recognized the region of Croatia as a distinct political unit, with its own territory. It permitted to Croats to elect their own legislative “Sabor” (diet) and to have their own executive authorities. Serbo-Croatian was also adopted as official language. Hungarians unlike Austrians cultivated a strong nationalism. The objective remained a total “Magyarization” of minorities. Slovak nationalists were gradually persecuted: the clergymen and political activist Andrej Hlinka was imprisoned for two years.

Cisleithania:

In the Austrian part of Poland, Polish language was accepted for justice and administration, it was also allowed for Ruthenians to have primary schools in their language (Ukrainian). The main issue was to give or give not to Prague the same dignity of Vienna and Budapest. In 1871, Franz Joseph seemed to be rather favorable, but Bismarck on one side (fearing an alliance of Czechs with Russians and French) and Hungarians on the other (fearing that Croats would have asked for the same rights) made constant pressures, preventing it to happen. Czech deputies decided not to sit in the parliament of Vienna until 1878. F. Palacky refused twice the role of Minister of Education. This policy of passive opposition ended in 1878, when Czech political parties realized that by participating in decisions, they would have earned something more. Czech representatives, originally united in an only group, divided into two currents: the more conservative Old Czechs and the more radical Young Czechs. Austrians however, granted significant cultural rights: in 1880 with the “Languages Act”, Czech became an official recognized language, in Czech and mixed areas; in 1882 a Czech section was created for the first time, in the prestigious Charles IV University of Prague.

The situation was way worse in border regions. Germans were about one third of the population in Bohemia and Moravia. In some areas, the Sudetenland on all, they formed a very homogeneous majority¹⁰. Czechs wanted to maintain Bohemia united, and to impose the use of Czech language in the administration. Germans, however, tried to create an autonomous territory of Bohemian Germans and to divide the entire administration in Czech and German institutions, keeping German as the only official language. The last attempt for a deal between the two parts failed in 1897, when the Czech became compulsory in the whole Bohemian administration. Germans in those areas became more and more radical, pan-Germanism and anti-Semitism (Schonerer), became very popular. Hitler and the NSDAP, emerged in Bohemia.

A real, modern, liberal state

In 1907 Franz Joseph introduced the universal suffrage. The elected Parliament, reflected the internal ethnic contradictions: Slavs were the majority: 255 seats against 243 German and 23 Italian. Thirty-three parties shared 516 seats. Among them: eight German, six Czech four Polish, six Serb-Croat-Slovene, two Italians, two Jew, one Romanian, four Ruthenian¹¹. But on all, the real political revolution was the Austro-Marxism. Then, the most powerful and influential in Europe. Victor Adler, Otto Bauer, Karl Renner and Max Adler, members of the "Social Democratic Worker's Party of Austria (SDAPO), modernized and changed completely Socialism in Europe. They tried to conciliate nationalism and socialism in a new synthesis, suitable for the society of the Empire¹². Economically in the period 1900-1913, the per capita income rose from 0.5% to 1.4%, placing Austria-Hungary in the same level of Germany, Sweden and Denmark. The Empire was a major economic power: in 1913 the 6% of the world production¹³. Usines, Bata and Skoda, real world "giants" of production, came from Bohemia.

Overcoming Berlin, London and Paris, Vienna became the capital of culture. The

10 F. Fejto, "Requiem pour...".

11 ibidem.

12 O. Bauer: "Social Democracy and the Nationalities Question" (1908).

13 F. Fejto "Requiem pour...".

modernity passed through the Danube: "Far from the Black Forest you hurry to the sea giving your blessing to everything. Eastward you flow, welcoming your brothers, A picture of peace for all time! Old castles looking down from high, greet you smiling from their steep and craggy hill tops, and the mountains' vistas mirror in your dancing waves"¹⁴, wrote Franz von Gernerth, librettist of what is (maybe) the most famous waltz ever composed; from music (Strauss(I-II), -Brahms, Schoenberg), to literature (Rilke, Kafka, Krauss), to painting (Klimt, Moser) to architecture (the famous ring of Vienna, the Jugendstil), to medicine and psychology (Freud), to politics (Otto Bauer, the Austro-Marxism, the municipal socialism) the two-headed empire was a beacon for humanity.

The world before the end of the world

In 1898 Jan Gottlib Bloch, a man of Eastern Europe: a Polish Jew, banker and financier, one of the founding fathers of the Zionist movement, published "Is War Now Impossible?"¹⁵. A six-volumes study on the armaments of the chief forces of Europe, related to the economical resources and to the medical knowledge of the time. In the final conclusions of the book he came to say that a war between European powers would have been of such a size and such a horror that "would have never been". Thanks also to scientific discoveries and to declining mortality, there was in the world before the World War I, a real faith in "one infinite progress to unification of humanity"¹⁶. In 1899 by initiative of young Russian Emperor Nikolaj II, then on the throne from less than four years, was opened the first Hague Convention, to discuss the possibility of a "universal peace"¹⁷.

14 "...Weit vom Schwarzwald hereilst du hin zum Meer, spendest Segen aller wegen, ostwärts geht dein Lauf, nimmst viel Brüder auf: Bild der Einigkeit für alle Zeit! Alte Burgen seh'n nieder von den Höh'n, grüssen gerne dich von ferne und der Berge Kranz, hell vom Morgenglanz, spiegelt sich in deiner Wellen Tanz..."J. Strauss the son, "An der schönen blauen Donau", Op. 314 (On the Beautiful Blue Danube), 1867; II text by Franz von Gernerth, 1890.

15 J.G. Bloch "Is War Now Impossible?" (1899).

16 E. Gentile,"lezione di storia:il '900".11/11/2007. Recorded by ed.Laterza

17 "Convention(I) for the pacifical settlement of international disputes" (Hague I, 29 July 1899)

Between 1871 and 1914, there had been no wars at all in Western Europe, it was the longest period ever. And the latest wars between European powers were measured in months or even in weeks¹⁸. This concept of “blitzkrieg” (ante litteram) was ingrained in the collective psychology of the time. Despite this or perhaps because of this, the situation in Eastern Europe, since the Greek war of independence (1821-1832) was increasingly belligerent, with the Crimean war (1853-1856), the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878) which somehow gave independence to the new kingdoms of Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, and the two Balkan wars (1912-1913). The main reason of this instability was the slow, agonizing dissolution of the Othman Empire, which was no more politically, scientifically and militarily able to compete with European powers and to contain the aspirations to self-determination and independence of eastern European and Christian nationalities and ethnicities, anxious to break the chains of the four centuries long “second serfdom”. The breakdown of the Empire, caused the breakdown of the concept of “millet” and the rise of nationalisms.

The so-called “sick man of Europe” started to be repressive as it never used to be before: during the Bulgarian’s “April uprising” (1876), around 12.000 people¹⁹ were killed by the Othman army and the British statesman W.E. Gladstone, helped by the press, spread through Europe the image of the “Christians pain” during the so-called “Bulgarian horrors”²⁰. In Austria-Hungary, the inertia of the old, tired Emperor, who saw during his life everybody dying around him (his daughter Sofia dead at the age of two (1857), his son Rudolf for a never well explained love murder-suicide (1889), his brother, elected emperor and then killed in Mexico (1867), his wife killed by an Italian anarchist in Geneva (1898), and finally his nephew (1914)), respected but challenged even in his own family circle, damaged seriously during the pre-war years the reform-development so bravely started in 1867, but a large majorities of people and of political parties (Christian social democratic parties and social democrats on all) were still deep believers in the concept of a large Danubian State.

18 The Franco-Prussian War ended in six weeks, the Austro-Prussian War in five.

19 Robert Seton-Watson, “Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics”. (Macmillan, 1935, 58).

20 W.E. Gladstone “The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East”, (1876).

No foreigner observers, not even liberal French intellectuals (Louis Leger, Ernest Denis) considered it possible or to be hoped the case of the disappearance of the Empire, and also a fierce political opponent like Thomas Masaryk declared in his last speech to the Reichsrat in 1913:

“Precisely because I was never driven by dreams about the fall of Austria, because I know that, right or wrong, this Austria shall continue, I feel like it is my duty to do something. Our projects about public law or administrative reforms should not tend to make the other weaker, but to strengthen all of us. “

June 28, 1914

Austria-Hungary commit suicide by fear of dying
Ferenc Fejto

When Gavrilo Princip a 19 years old student, member of the secret association “Mlada Bosna” an ultranationalist group that sought unification of all “Yugoslavs” (Slavs of the south) killed Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, heir to throne of Austria-Hungary, no one expected what later happened. The young killer was considered to be a pawn of the secret semi-governmental association “Black Hand” which was part of the “Greater Serbia movement”. Immediately Austria Hungary sent a prohibitive and preposterous ultimatum. Serbia unexpectedly accepted most part of the points, but could not accept the formal submission to the Empire. Many believed the next one would have been an easy, quick war and the Austro-Hungarian Chief of Staff had been planning for years a quick and “surprising” war against Serbia. Other such as the Hungarian Prime Minister Tisza and the great satirist Karl Kraus²¹ denounced war as madness. On 28th July with the manifest “to my peoples” (it was a common initial address for war declarations, except that Franz Joseph used the plural), Austria-Hungary officially declares war to Serbia: the suicide began. Austria-Hungary, feared to become the new “Sick man of Europe”, the new target of nationalisms. Russia in bounding a military treaty with

21 K. Kraus, “The last days of humanity” (started in 1915, published in 1919).

Serbia two days before the official beginning of the war was victim of this same panic. They were both one defeat away from being marginalized and their common nature was therefore their course.

In his marvelous “Rischio 1914”²² the Italian historian Gian Enrico Rusconi, not only describes pretty well the long-term collective psychologies that gave birth to the Germany’s Schlieffen plan, but also gives a realistic prospective of the situation of risk present at the time, started with the coercive policy made by Austria. He considers the ultimatum and then the declaration of war to Serbia, even if disguised as a preventive anti-terroristic action, not as an attempt to destroy Serbia, but a move to hit diplomatically and politically Russia, the “protector of Slavic nationalism”. The development of the war is not the subject of this short essay, but as far as concerned our topic, is interesting to analyze that despite its losses (one million dead), the Austrian army remained united and loyal until the end of the war, with just one exception, a unit in Prague: the 29th Infantry Regiment, which deserted in April 1915.

The army itself was the result of ethnic diversities: out of every 1000 soldiers mobilized there were:

- 267 Germans
- 233 Hungarians
- 134 Czechs
- 85 Poles
- 81 Ruthenians (Ukrainians)
- 67 Serbs or Croats
- 64 Romanians
- 38 Slovaks
- 26 Slovenes
- 14 Italians.²³

22 G. E. Rusconi, “Rischio 1914”, (ed. Il Mulino, 1987).

23 G. Rothenburg “The Army of Francis Joseph” (Purdue University Press, 1976, 128).

The dissolution

With the Corfu Declaration of July 1917 and the constitution of Yugoslavia, started the process that in less than two years, will lead to the completely disintegration of Austria-Hungary. Since the summer of 1918, nationalist movements, with their leaders emigrated abroad (is on all the case of Slovaks and Czechs), began to develop radical intentions. Clemenceau and Lloyd George made pressures to create new Nations-States to replace the multi-national Empire, Wilson even if not immediately, will follow this point: in one of his fourteen points he granted to all nationalities the right and the “opportunity to autonomous development”²⁴.

The dissolution went very fast. Everything ended in October:

4th : The Reichsrat granted the right for self-determination of all minorities

17th : Emperor Karl succeeding Franz Joseph, tried to save the empire proposing a federation of nation-states. Is a late, unsuccessful attempt?

21st : Self-determination of the Germans of Austria.

25th : Hungarian National Committee declared independence.

27th : Romanians demanded the annexation of Transylvania.

28th : Riots in Prague.

29th: Croatian diet asked independence.

30th : Slovak National Committee proposed a union with Czechs

31st : Ukrainians in Galicia demanded self-determination.

Personal conclusions

Analyzing nationalism is fundamental to understand contemporary history, it began as a “progressive ideal”, connecting the cultural “intelligentsia” with the common people and therefore completely revolutionizing the relations between the ruling power and its subjects. I think it would be useful to open a new way to consider the last century and, knowing that there are no necessities and not defined destinies in what is and has

24 W. Wilson, the 10th point: “The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development”.

been, to ask ourselves if it was really necessary to completely remove (after the end of World War I) from the “European stage” a federal State, with solid and deep roots in the History of our continent, or if it was maybe a mistake the attempt, made also thank to a myopic perspective of the winners and of some intellectuals and politicians, (many of them then founding fathers of their countries) fascinated by external models of State-Nation such as the French one (is the case for example of Masaryk and Benes, both once students in Paris), to replace a multi-cultural and multi-national State with many little and “miserable”²⁵ states, that in that situation could never have an easy life. To establish a France-modelled or a Germany-modelled state, they were forced to do that at the expense of the others.

From my point of view, I see this choice somehow also as the suicide of Europe as it used to be once, not only because the first world war defined or at least accelerated the decline of Europe as the political centre of the world, but also because, in my opinion, the K.K. used to be some kind of an (im)perfect synthesis of Europe itself. Of both Europes I would say: the nationality is an important but fluid concept. Not to forget the fact that after the war, the humiliation reserved to the vanquished led also the German part of what used to be the Great Empire to ask for a never allowed “Grossedeutsche” unification with Germany, and paradoxically gave Germany an extremely convenient geopolitical situation, having eastward nothing but weak states.

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On the Border Between East and West:

Turkey from the 19th Century to the Foundation of the Republic

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Located at the crossroad between Eastern and Western interests, the political and cultural identity of modern Turkey emerged under the influence of domestic and external forces that existed in and around the country throughout the centuries. Established on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire modern Turkey knew both periods of conflict and cooperation with other political entities - such as Europe and the Middle East – which led to the development of the modern Turkish state and influenced its move toward modernization. The establishment of modern Turkey based on Western political models was a watershed in Turkey's history as an Islamic empire. The early republican elite distanced themselves from the cultural and ideological heritage of the Ottoman Empire and laid the foundational elements of modernization and westernization. Military defeats, loss of territory and a weakening influence on international politics during 17th and 18th century were all significant reasons for instigating reforms.

The first wave of reforms started under the Reign of Selim III (1789 – 1807), who introduced the «New Order» in an attempt to strengthen the central state against internal and external threats. He invited French experts and teachers to train new military units and with them came the flow of Western ideas. Mahmut II set the direction of later reforms in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey and succeeded in reducing the power of the traditional learned elite known as *Ulema*. He also introduced secular education. Abdulmejid introduced a new era of reforms known as Tanzimat. The Rose Garden edict from 1839 transformed many common cultural practices by requiring reforms in the military, central bureaucracy, judicial procedures and introduced secular laws to Turkish society.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first president of modern Turkey, introduced sweeping changes in Turkish society. He tried to remove society from an Islamic framework and introduce the society to a sense of belonging to a newly defied «Turkish nation». To

achieve that, westernization was needed. This made Turkey a unique mixture of East and West.

The Eastern (and Western) Question

The Eastern Question refers to a centuries long process of confrontations between East and the West, Asia and Europe, Christianity and Islam. The Eastern Question is a problem of the Ottoman Empire that started degrading and slowly lost its glow and strength. The term was first used with reference to Poland, but after that state ceased to exist as an independent country and was partitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia in the late 18th century, great powers started using it to describe a problem with the Ottoman Empire.¹

The Eastern Question consists of four major characteristics. First, the liberation of territories occupied by the Ottomans; second, Ottoman's retreat to Asia Minor; third, the struggle for influence in weakened Empire; and fourth, the division of liberated territory between the great European powers and countries which were occupied by the Ottomans.² The division between two dimensions can be made as well. First would be the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the control and administration of its core, especially the Straits – Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and the historic capital city of Istanbul. The second dimension refers to the situation of the large territories and peoples, particularly those in the Balkans, ruled by the Ottomans.³

It is very hard to determine the beginning of Eastern Question, but historians mostly agree that it finished in 1923. If we take a broad view, we can say that it began when Ottomans entered Europe in 1352. But the usage of a narrower view is more common, but in that case there are still many differences in opinion. Some historians position its beginning as early as 1571 and the defeat of Ottoman's navy near Lepant, others are

1 A. Nuri Yurdusev, «From the Eastern Question to the Western Question: Rethinking the Contribution of Toynbee», *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 3 (2005), 323-324.

2 Dragutin Pavličević, «Hrvati i istočno pitanje: između ostataka ostataka i oživljene Hrvatske», Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, 2007., 15-16.

3 Yurdusev, «From the Eastern Question to the Western Question: Rethinking the Contribution of Toynbee», 324.

putting it in year 1606 when in the Treaty of Sitvatorok, the Sublime Porte for the first time was to negotiate, rather than dictate, the terms of agreement. Another view puts its beginning in year 1699, when the Ottomans signed the Treaty of Karlowitz as a defeated power obliged to concede territory, after that treaty terminated sixteen years of hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League Powers alliance which consisted of Russia, the Habsburg monarchy, the Kingdom of Poland and Venice. Despite all these different dates, the year that is most often taken as a year of beginning of the Eastern Question is the year 1774 when the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca was signed. This treaty terminated the six-year Russo-Turkish war (1668 – 1774) and showed the Ottoman weakness. Russia achieved significant gains: unrestricted navigation for its commercial vessels including free passage through the Straits, a right to protect and represent the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, extensive capitulatory privileges. The Russian gains caused concern among the other great powers that had to intervene. Because of that I agree with the opinion that the Eastern Question started after 1774. It became a diplomatic chess game of the European great powers in which there were constant formation and shifting of alliances until the end of the First World War. The Eastern Question ended with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and its abolishment in 1923.⁴ Due to the Eastern Question, western powers started influencing the Ottoman Empire and the process of westernisation slowly started.

Apart from the Eastern Question, there is also a less mentioned Western Question, known as the problem of modernization or westernization of the non-European or non-Western states. It was basically perceived as a problem what to do in response to the rising power of Europe or the West. It can be said that what the Eastern Question was to Europeans; was the Western Question for the non-Europeans. Both the nationalist solution propounded by the great powers and adopted by the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire, and the reformist solution argued by the Sublime Porte and its subsequent adoption of the nationalist solution by Turkey opted for modernization or

4 Pavličević, «Hrvati i istočno pitanje: između ostataka ostataka i oživljene Hrvatske» 26; Yurdusev, «From the Eastern Question to the Western Question: Rethinking th Contribution of Toynbee», 325.

westernization.

The Modern West comprises from rationality and rationalism, nationality and nationalism and industry and industrialism. Rationalism argues that only human reasoning and rational methods can constitute legitimate and reliable sources of knowledge. It involves a logo-centric rather than God-centric conception of man, society and the universe. As such it was the opposite of the Ottoman Empire ideology of that time, where Islam was in the middle of everything.

The Western concept of nationalism embodies the principle that the nation is the primordial community of humans and that each nation should be free and have its own polity. Ottoman Empire consisted of many nations so this idea of one nation in a country was very hard to be accomplished.

Industrialism involves a mode of production in which the end product comes as a result of the excessive use of machines and the labor of more than one person or one working unit. Industrialization leads to an economic revolution and results in the subordination of agriculture to industry and urbanization. Ottoman Empire was mostly agricultural and rural country.⁵

If these three principles of the West are taken into consideration together with the status of the Ottoman Empire of that time, it can be seen that the West and the Ottoman Empire were completely different. A lot of reforms were needed for the Ottoman Empire even for a slight movement towards the West. By the end of 18th century reforms started and the Ottoman Empire became a place of confrontation between modern western ideas and traditional values of Ottoman society.

Westernization was seen as a necessity imposed by the Eastern Question and was needed in order to assure the survival of the country. Yet, Ottomans never went much beyond the minimum degree of westernization necessary to save their society from being overwhelmed by Europe. Toynbee, the famous British historian, saw two paths for the solution of the Western Question - zealotism and herodianism.

5 Yurdusev, «From the Eastern Question to the Western Question: Rethinking the Contribution of Toynbee», 326.

Zealotism was the strategy of archaism. When faced with an assaulting civilization, a zealot consolidates his own traditional position and takes refuge in his own values. Herodianism, in contrast, was the strategy of cosmopolitanism and reformism. In the confrontation with a superior civilization, a herodian discards his traditions and techniques and adopts and defends himself by learning the secret techniques of his opponent.

The Turkish reformers followed the strategy of herodianism, which culminated in the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the Republic of Turkey. The earlier Ottoman reformers had taken half-measures of westernization and that wasn't enough for stabilizing the Empire. Atatürk realized that problem so he embarked on a wholesale westernization program and in that way solved Turkey's Western Question to a great extent. He was ruthless toward Turkey's zealots who opposed his westernization.⁶

The Ottoman Empire was approaching West since the end of 18th century. Two sultans, Selim III and Mahmut II made first major reforms in a long process of westernization, which continued through Tanzimat era and Young Turks movement and had its peak after Kemal Atatürk founded Republic of Turkey.

Westernization Process in Ottoman Empire

From Selim III until the end of Reign of Mahmut II

The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic state in which the head of the state served as a caliph who held both temporal and spiritual authority. The traditional political culture of the empire, as well as its administrative machinery, continued almost without changes as long as the state preserved its military and economic power. In the 16th and early 17th century, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of military and economic decline. New ideas emerged regarding the necessity of reforms in political, economic, educational and military fields. Consequently, Ottoman leaders found it necessary to introduce reforms into the empire's political, economic, educational and military structures. The resulting

6 Yurdusev, «From the Eastern Question to the Western Question: Rethinking the Contribution of Toynbee», 326-327.

modernization and secularization of the Ottoman Empire occurred in several phases. The earliest efforts at modernization and the incorporation of Western influences can be traced to the impact of French Revolution in 1789 by the late 18th and early 19th century, the Ottoman Empire started losing control over the Empire's periphery. As the state lost wars tax revenue declined which made state to fall into a fiscal crisis. Military defeats, loss of territory and a weakening influence on international politics were all significant reasons for instigating reforms.⁷

Selim III (1789-1807), a young, liberal sultan, started with the first wave of reform. He introduced the *Nizam-i Cedid* (New Order) in an attempt to strengthen the central state against internal and external threats. French experts and teachers were invited to Empire to train military forces. With them coming to Ottoman Empire started the flow of Western ideas, which continued through decision to open permanent embassies in London, Berlin, Vienna and Paris.⁸

Although Ottomans first looked towards the West for guidance in military technology - which they believed was the force behind Western strength - the West soon became a role model for different fields of society. After the initial encounter between the Ottoman Empire and modern Western science in the military field, the Ottoman state pursued the following trajectory: first, it launched new educational institutions, the Ottoman engineering schools, which offered a scientific technical education and were founded in the Ottoman capital at the end of the eighteenth century; second, it hired foreign experts in the form of teachers, military experts, and technicians, who came primarily from France; and, third, it promoted a linguistic shift from Eastern languages such as Arabic and Persian to European languages, mainly French during this period, in order to facilitate the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge. All the attempts led to the formation of a new Ottoman intelligence, a scientific-technical elite, who, having completed their training, assisted the Ottoman sultan in his military reform project.

⁷ Talip Kucukcan, «State, Islam, and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey: Reconfiguration of Religion in the Public sphere», Brigham Young University Law Review, 2 (2003), 477.

⁸ Josef Matuz, «Osmansko Carstvo», Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1992., 130-131; Kucukcan, «State, Islam, and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey: Reconfiguration of Religion in the Public sphere», 477-478

The new Ottoman educational institutions, first the *Hendesehane* and later the *Muhendishane*, modelled after the French system in the eighteenth century, introduced, for the first time, modern Western science into the Ottoman Empire. Although this first attempt at a modern Ottoman education was of a purely military nature, it was nevertheless instrumental in the shaping of a new category of intellectual: the Ottoman engineer. If science for the Ottoman engineer represented a privileged and powerful kind of knowledge that one could possess, it also became a point of demarcation between being 'modern' and being 'backward'. The world of the Ottoman engineer was a world imbued with a scientific attitude manifested by a genuine enthusiasm for the use of science along with an absolute belief in its powers as a modernizing force. Thanks to science, the engineer believed, the Ottoman Empire would be able to join the efforts of non-Western states to access the military strength that science had already given the West.⁹

Selim III was killed in 1807 so reforms waited until the reign of Mahmut II (1807 -1839). Mahmut II set the direction of later reforms in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey and succeeded in reducing the power of the traditional learned elite known as the *Ulema*. He also introduced secular education by establishing new schools such as the Army Medical School (1827), where medicine, biology and physics induced rationalist and positivist thinking among students. The School of Military Music was opened in 1831, the Military Academy with foreign instructors in 1834. Mahmut II, as part of his reform, established new schools for ten to fifteen-year-old boys. Government departments were called ministries since 1836, as in European countries. In the cities a European style of clothing was introduced, wearing the *turban* was forbidden and replaced by the *fes*. During his reign, the first modern newspapers in Ottoman Empire were published. Their name was *Takvim-i vekayi* (Calender of Happenings) and they were official government newspapers with only basic informations. Mahmut II can be called an enlightened ruler.¹⁰

9 Berrak Burcak, «Modernization, Science and Engineering in the Early Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire», *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1 (2008), 70.

10 Vasilj Popović, «Istočno pitanje», Sarajevo: Nastavna biblioteka, 1965., 104; Kucukan, «State, Islam, and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey: Reconfiguration of Religion in the

From Tanzimat period to Republic

Mahmut's successor, sultan Abdulmejid introduced a new era of reform known as the Tanzimat. Founder of these reforms was Mustafa Reshid Pasha, the minister of Foreign Affairs who spent a lot of time as an emissary in London and Paris.¹¹ The *Gulhane Hatt-i Serifi* (Edict of the Rose Garden), declared in 1839 was central to Abdulmejid's reforms which were even more strengthen with Hatt-i Humayun (Emperor's Letter) in 1856. The edict transformed many common cultural practices by requiring reforms in the military, central bureaucracy, judicial procedures and by introducing secular education and secular laws to Turkish society. Almost all modernizing reforms had some bearing on the relationship between state and religion, as they influenced the Islamic character of the state structure, the legal system, the educational establishments and the political culture in Ottoman Turkey.

When in the 19th century the Ottoman reformers acquainted with the West realized the relation between Western political strength and organization on the basis of nationstates, and nationalism and separatism in the Balkan provinces of the empire, they sought to counter nationalism with an equally attractive ideology. This was the concept of Ottomanism, or identification with the empire on the part of all its subjects. The appeal of Ottomanism was to rest on reforms granting full *de jure* and *de facto* equality to the non-Muslim subjects of the empire, and on greatly improved public administration in the provinces. Basic to Ottomanism as a counter to Balkan nationalism was the abolition of legal discrimination against non-Muslims. Specific reforms that were outlined included secularization of laws other than those related to personal status, secularization of education, opening government employment and military service to non-Muslims, and revisions in the tax structure. On the formal level, there was notable progress along many of these lines during the *Tanzimat* period. In the legal field, accomplishments included promulgation of secular commercial, penal, and land codes, establishment of mixed tribunals in these fields, an entirely new civil code (the *Mejelle*) in 1869, and the secularization of the judiciary under a Ministry of Justice supported by training

Public sphere», 478; Matuz, «Osmansko Carstvo», 138

11 Matuz, «Osmansko Carstvo», 138

institutions for judges and lawyers. In education, facilities were significantly expanded, and restrictions against non-Muslims in all schools were abolished. In taxation, in 1855 the government removed the two most discriminatory levies, the poll tax, which had been demanded from the protected non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim state since the beginnings of Islamic government, and the military exemption tax, which non-Muslims were required to pay in lieu of serving in the armed forces, from which they were barred in any case. In government employment, no significant advances were made.¹²

The Ottoman legal system was based on the Sharia, the Islamic legal code. As an important part of modernization and westernization process, the state introduced secular laws, although the fundamentals of the Sharia were protected and codified. As part of the reforms, the state adopted french-modeled Commercial Code in 1850 and Maritime Commercial Code. A new secular court called *Nizamiye* was cretaed in 1869. *Vilayet* law was closely modeled after the French *Prefet* system.¹³ In the Tanzimat period, the power of bureaucracy increased. Bureaucrats tended to be reformers, therefore, because reform furthered centralization, which increased the strenght of the bureaucracy. Bureaucrats were most thoroughly exposed to contacts with Europe so they became a source of reform ideas. Despite this increased importance of bureaucracy, bureaucratic reforms were unsuccessful. Job security led to inertia rather than activity, professionalization and specialization produced fragmentation of functions and rationalization of authority reduced rather than increasrd willingness to take responsibility for action. A positive feature was the establishment of new Western and modern schools for bureaucrats. A Translation Office provided its employees with special training in French, history, arithmetic, as well as systematic and concentrated contact with the West.¹⁴

By the end of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, commercial trade with Middle and Eastern Europe in Turkey was more important than

12 Walter F. Weiker, «The Ottoman Bureaucracy: Modernization and Reform», *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 3 (1968), 456-460.

13 Kucukcan, «State, Islam, and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey: Reconfiguration of Religion in the Public sphere», 479

14 Weiker, «The Ottoman Bureaucracy: Modernization and Reform», 461-463

with Western Europe. The capacity of the overseas and foreign trade of Turkey was no more than one to two percent of the total production of the Turkish Empire. The tableau was in a rapid change during the hundredyear period between the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe and the First World War. Commerce between Western Europe and Turkey grew stronger through commercial treaty conventions. The Ottoman economy was exporting raw materials, foodstuffs, and alimentary products; while importing manufactured goods and certain other alimentary products. One of the characteristics of the Ottoman exportation was the variety of goods; none of the goods exported were more than twelve percent of the total, so no product was superior to another. More than the half of the imported goods were manufactured. Some examples of manufactured Ottoman goods worth noting were handwoven rugs, carpets, and some small furniture items.

Britain had the privilege of exporting her products into the Ottoman market with very low tariffs after the “Balta Limani Commercial Treaty” was signed in 1838. Abdulmejid was known for his close relations with Queen Victoria. The Ottoman market as a foreign, liberal trade arena started to develop faster after the Crimean War, and the local market was bombarded with English cotton. As it is today, one of the main Turkish industries was textile. The local weavers started using low-cost English fibers and yarns, resulting in a decrease in the spinning industry in provincial Anatolia. However, the change in the origin of cotton fibers did not affect the existing weaving industry. English designs were not attractive to local people, who went on consuming domestic fabrics with their own local taste. The number of the looms increased rather than decreased in the wake of this liberal foreign trade. This arguably was due to the traditional consumption habits, allocating certain amounts of the market to local manufacturers with the domestic market in mind.

The Ottoman Empire was represented in World Exhibition of 1851. Abdulmejid, himself, was a key actor in the Turkish participation in the Great Exhibition. During his reign, westernization accelerated. He was the first prince to be educated under Western

norms. It is known that he subscribed to many European periodicals and newspapers, including the French *Débas* and *Illustrations*. The 1839 and the 1856 reformations of Abd-ul-Mejid echoed both throughout Turkey and abroad. The resulting changes transformed the face of Istanbul into a more cosmopolitan city, and attracted the interest of the European countries to the changing spatial meaning of Istanbul. That was an old idea of Mehmet II. The Sultan's attitude towards women and their position in society was also modernist compared to that of previous sultans. Ottoman women, especially in Istanbul, started to go out alone and mingle with the rest of the society, concomitant with minorities mingling with the Turkish population. Non-Muslim Ottomans and foreigners benefited from the reformations, which created equality regulations on possession laws. They were the leading groups in the westernization of everyday life, since they were involved in domestic and international trade. The change in everyday routines, a tendency toward luxury, and a demand for new artistic expression led to changes in furniture, music, fine arts, and decoration, all in the Western sense. Abdulmejid's personality, his educational background, and the desire for modernization he inherited from his father had a strong supportive function in all these changes. He totally changed the everyday life in the palace, although he showed his respect for his ancestors in official ceremonies by observing traditional protocols. The changing consumption habits of foreigners and non-Muslim minorities of Istanbul also were a strong catalyst in the new local consumerism spreading through even middle-class Ottoman families. Another important factor in changing everyday routines was the luxurious and consumerist lives of families who left Egypt because of the opposition to reforms and modernization there. Abdulmejid advanced the progress of industrialization with two important factories inaugurated during his reign. These were the Imperial Beykoz Porcelain and Glass Factory (*Beykoz Fabrika-i Hümayun*) and the Imperial Hereke Rug Factory (*Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun*).¹⁵

The New Ottoman Constitution from 1876 was made by Midhat Pasha. That Constitution confirmed reforms from Tanzimat period, proclaimed Islam as state religion, but gave

15 Güname Turan, «Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851», *Design Issues*, 1 (2009), 64-66.

religious freedom to non-Muslim people, who now had the same rights as Muslims. The Parliament should have consisted from Senate and Lower Chamber. The people for the Senate would be chosen by the Sultan, while people for the Lower Chamber would be elected on elections. Sultan only had the right to propose legislative initiatives. The constitution didn't live for long, Sultan Abdulhamid suspended the charter which wasn't restored until the Young Turks revolt of 1908.¹⁶ Young Turks were strongly for the reform of Ottoman Empire, but also they were strongly insistent that the empire must continue to rest on Islam. They insisted that Islam contains all the necessary bases not only for democracy, but also for justice, civilization and progress. They also thought Sultan should remain the leader of the governmental system, but with his powers reduced. They were very nationalists and strongly against other people in the Ottoman Empire. In the end they didn't manage to solve empire's problems¹⁷

Westernization Process in Turkish Republic and Kemal Ataturk

World War I marked the end of Ottoman Empire, the Lausanne Treaty recognised the establishment of Turkey. The Turkish Republic was proclaimed on 13th of October 1923 with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as the first president. In the Republican period Turkey approached European values, which is not strange at all if the history of Turkey is closely considered. Turkey is a successor of the Byzantine and East Roman Empire in the life of Europe. In the past 2500 years, two thirds of that period Turkey was under the influence of Europeans and it can be said that culturally was part of Europe.¹⁸

The establishment of a modern nation-state in Turkey crystallized the ideological orientation of the republican elite aimed at reshaping the state and its institutions on the basis of secular model inspired by the West. The political, social and religious development in modern Turkey was influenced by the ideals of modernism and secularism. The principle of democracy was secondary to the principle of secularism. Ataturk was deeply interested in the history of French Revolution, taking lessons

16 Matuz, «Osmansko Carstvo», 145-147

17 Weiker, «The Ottoman Bureaucracy: Modernization and Reform», 468-469

18 Leonard A. Stone, «Late Ottoman and Modern Turkish Perceptions of Europe: Continuity and Change», Turkish Studies, 2 (2002), 187.

from it to guide his own work.¹⁹ His main aim was to change the basic structure of Turkish society. He tried to remove it from an Islamic framework and introduced to the society a sense of belonging to a newly defined Turkish nation. To achieve that goal he launched a movement of cultural westernization to provide the Turkish nation with a new worldview that would replace its religious worldview and culture. Atatürk viewed the separation of religion and politics as a prerequisite to opening the doors to Western values. Major campaign against Islamic institutional and cultural basis of society was launched. Program of secularization comprised from three phases: symbolic secularization, institutional secularization and functional secularization.

The most significant secularization reform in the sphere of symbolic secularization was the changing of the alphabet from Arabic to Latin script in 1928. Symbolic secularization also included the acceptance of the Western hat and Western style of clothing, the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, introduction of Western music in the schools and change of weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday. Atatürk found those reforms part of a process in which Turkey was entering into the Western civilization, as it can be seen in his speech about Western clothing style in 1925.:

*“Our most valuable nation is deserving of civilized and international attire. That is how we shall dress. On our feet, shoes or ankle boots; on our legs, trousers, then waistcoats, shirts, ties and jackets; and in order to complete the outfit, a sheltering headgear. And this I want to express most clearly: the name of this headgear is ‘hat’.”*²⁰

The first step of institutional secularization was abolishing the caliphate in 1924; in the same year the state also abolished the office of *Seyhülislam* and replaced it with the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations. State also transformed *Ummet* (Community of Believers) into a secular national entity. Functional secularization involved two stages: legal and educational. Legal secularization was designed to firmly

19 Toni Alaranta, «Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Six-Day Speech of 1927: Defining the Official Historical View of the Foundation of the Turkish Republic», *Turkish Studies*, 1 (2008), 123.

20 Camilla T. Nereid, «Kemalism on the Catwalk: The Turkish Hat Law of 1925», *Journal of Social History*, 3 (2011), 713.

establish modernization reform in Turkish society. Secularization of the court system through the adoption of Western codes was the first step because the Sharia Law was regarded as an obstacle to the westernization program. The educational stage of functional secularization made educational establishment being under the strict control of the state.

In the context of its modernization project, the new republic emphasized the visibility of women in the public sphere, which is forbidden by Islam. Before the Republic, the role of women was to be mothers who will raise their children in the spirit of Ottomanism.²¹ The Kemalist early republic attempted to construct and popularize an ideal type of free woman by defining the limits of her autonomy and thus objectifying her. This ideal type represents a woman who is emancipated but not liberated. While women were emancipated from the private sphere and granted visibility in public, they were not granted autonomy, or called upon as genuine subjects. Instead, religious authority was merely substituted by state authority as the main determinant of the relation between women and society. However, the republic's intention to improve the social conditions of women should not be ignored. By implementing a number of reforms and by changing civil law the Kemalist regime attempted to realize some advances in the educational and professional life of women. It promoted legal equality between women and men at a relatively early date. However, the visibility granted to women was limited to a space whose borders had already been precisely defined by the state. Additionally the Kemalist reforms were not as radical as they seem at first glance. In the Kemalist modernization project women were required to play an eclectic role by being modern but also by simultaneously reflecting the traditional virtues of remaining asexual and chaste beings in public.²²

Despite the secularization efforts, the Islam has remained one of the major identity references in Turkey, and Islamic values are deeply rooted in the Turkish society.²³ But

21 Pelin Basci, «Love, Marriage, and Motherhood: Changing Expectations of Women in Late Ottoman Istanbul», *Turkish Studies*, 3 (2003), 166-167

22 Hilal Onur Ince, Aysun Yarali and Dogancan Ozel, «Customary Killings in Turkey and Turkish Modernization», *Middle Eastern Studies*, 4 (2009), 540-541

23 Kucukcan, «State, Islam, and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey: Reconfiguration

the Turkish Republic was westernized thanks to Kemal Pasha Atatürk who, few days before his death, said: *«One day my body will turn to ashes, but the Republic – product of my body, will live forever»*.²⁴

It can be said that the Turkish geographical position had a great influence on Turkish history. Turkey's territory is both in Asia and in Europe, in the East and in the West. In the first centuries of Ottoman Empire, it influenced European territories, which were occupied, so it can be said that part of Europe was easternized. When Ottoman Empire lost its strength, reforms were needed. As Western civilization became a lot stronger, processes have reversed and naturally the West influenced Ottoman Empire and a slow process of westernization started. It was a collision of two different worlds, but a collision that didn't manage to solve the political, social and economic problems of a declining empire. A stronger wave of westernization started after the foundation of Republic in 1923. This time, the western influence was strong enough to change Turkish society. Turkey became the first secular Muslim country, imposed western legislation, but still managed to preserve their Islamic culture. That makes Turkey, not eastern and not western, but an east-western or west-eastern country.

In my opinion, however, Turkey still belongs more to Europe, since the country played an important role in European relations from the 15th to 20th century, and also had a European Greek and Roman tradition before that. I think religion shouldn't be a decisive factor when deciding about Turkey's belonging to Asia or Europe, East or West, but that history and tradition should be taken into account.

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The issue of the English Language and American Culture During the Revolutionary Period and the Early American Republic

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American Revolutionary War provoked a kind of “cultural reformation” on the soil of ex-British colonies. The need for the invention of autonomous and original identity was urgent. According to one of the leading figures of this nationalist cultural movement, lexicographer Noah Webster (1758-1843), politically independent America could not be subservient to another country in a matter of such central importance as language. For the sake of cultural homogeneity, Webster proposed several language reforms directed towards standardization of spelling, and the American language in general. A strong linguistic system was regarded almost as important as a well-defined government, it was believed that because both could secure national uniformity and stability. In this context, immigrants, whose numbers were constantly increasing, presented a great challenge to the Founding Fathers who held diverse attitudes towards assimilation and tolerance of different cultures and their languages.

This paper has three basic aims: 1) to analyze the socio-political significance of attempts to execute linguistic reforms in the United States of America, predominantly those created and suggested by Noah Webster; 2) to define American society's and its political elites' stand on ethnic groups who spoke languages different from English, with a special emphasis on the German community, 3); to point-out several important traits of early American cultural aspirations. The approximate timeframe in the scope of this paper is between 1770s and 1830s.

The pre-war period and the English language

The English language was first taken across the Atlantic to Newfoundland by John Cabot in 1497 in the search for the north-west passage to China. The early colonists were in general people who were forced to emigrate by economic necessity (Knowles 1997: 133-134). As a result of their geographical separation, the language of the English-speaking migrants began to differ from that of their previous neighbors in Britain. One of the first

recorded innovations in American English dates from 1663 and it is the use of the word *ordinary* in the sense of *tavern* rather than *boarding house*, as in England (Mugglestone 2006: 8). The first Americanism to be condemned by British prescriptivists was the use of *bluff* in the sense of *headland*, first recorded in 1735 (Knowles 1997: 133-134).

The first colonists in New England came from many parts of Britain, but predominantly from the East Midlands and the resulting dialect mixture produced a relatively homogeneous variety. This remained a characteristic of American speech, which has had little dialect variation, geographical or social. Using the same kind of thinking as was prevalent in England, this could be construed as evidence that American English was a good kind of English. The first claim for the *purity* of American English dates from 1724, and soon after their independence Americans were claiming that their English was superior to that of England (Knowles 1997: 133-134).

The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 produced a profound change in the attitudes of the American settlers towards England. Previously they had been accustomed to observe and follow the dictates of England and this had naturally imbued the settlers with the idea that the language which was fashionable in London was the language appropriate for America. Many people, particularly the ones in positions of power and influence, travelled from one side of the Atlantic to the other and thus helped to maintain the sense that all that was sophisticated emanated from London. With independence arose the view that the language found in America was different from that in Britain, and so different use and rules should be obtained (Blake 1996: 277-279).

The nationalist and cultural significance of the revolution

Americanisation and the forging of a *true* American identity demanded strict adherence to the values of the cultural majority in such key areas as religion, manners, and language (Campbell, Alasdair 2010: 53). Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804), often seen as an American nationalist, advocated promotion of conservative nationhood.¹ It seems that

1 Noah Webster saw Hamilton as “the evil genius of this country”. Source: 17. Muccigrosso, Robert, “Basic History of American Conservatism” (Malabar: Krieger Publishing

only in America there have been attempts to elevate the status of the colonial variety to that of a language separate from the English of England. Not surprisingly it was during the early years of independence that the issue was raised (Leith 1983: 196-197). Nationalist feelings during this period were often expressed through partisan statements about language. A great deal of the acrimony came from the English side of the Atlantic. All the previously rather commendatory remarks about the correctness and uniformity of American English were replaced by hostility to American addiction to “innovation” and “new-fangled words”. A sole neologism was enough for one observer in 1803 to condemn American English as “wholly unintelligible”. Not only did some Americans use new words, like *crass*, they also made free with morphemes like *-ise*, and wrote *utilize* (Leith 1983: 196-197).

In his classic text *Democracy in America* (1835), Chapter XVI: The Effect of Democracy on Language, the French political thinker and historian Alexis de Tocqueville stated that “language is perhaps the strongest and most enduring link which unites men.” (Hess 2010: 33). He believed that the English language spoken in the U.S. was a good example of innovative linguistic tendencies present mainly, or exclusively, in democratic societies. “Democratic nations love change for its own sake; and this is seen in their language as much as in their politics.”, he wrote. Tocqueville also noted that Americans, unlike European nations, were not aware of the heritage of so-called “dead languages”, including some aristocratic aspects of a spoken and written word, emphasizing the principal of social equality (see the Marxist Internet Archive).

No doubt independence and the Revolutionary War led to a reorientation of the identity alignments of American colonists. Historians have labeled the following decades the “National” (or “Early Republic”) period, with Americans emphasizing their cultural independence and innovativeness and discontinuity with their English heritage; they felt American now, no longer British. The Declaration of Independence and the rebellion against the mother country caused a great surge of linguistic and cultural patriotism. There was a widespread tendency to reject English precedent and authority altogether, in language no less than in government. The close nexus between political events and Company, 2001), 9.

linguistic developments (via identity rewritings), and the causal role of the former for the latter, are undisputed (Schneider 2007: 275).

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century Americans began to feel that their mother tongue was something near and intimate, the speech which gave them unity upon their American soil. A separate language was meant to reflect and embody the ideals of the young nation, from democratic equality to the “fresh” and honest qualities of American culture (Schneider 2007: 276).

Americans, in the years following the Revolution, set about reforming their culture, believing that tyranny was founded on ignorance. The consequence of this thinking was a torrent of speeches and writings on the importance of education that has rarely been matched in American history. Two thirds of all the American spelling books published in the eighteenth century were issued in the final seventeen years of the century between 1783 and 1800. By the early nineteenth century Noah Webster’s comprehensive speller, first published in 1783, had sold 3 million copies (Wood 2003: 123-124).

The linguistic reforms of Noah Webster²

The linguist Noah Webster was the earliest American author to make a living from his own publications (see Noah Webster (1758–1843) - Webster’s Innovations, Perfecting the Spelling Book for Reading Instruction, Other Works). His intellectual credo was

2 Noah Webster’s reputation as a lexicographer is so firmly established that it may frequently be overlooked that he did notable work in other fields. His mind was one to which all knowledge was of importance and concern, whether philology or education, political economy or religion. It is probably not generally known that at one time he was interested in archaeology; his comments on discoveries on the Muskingum River in Ohio partake something of that quality which marks many of his ideas on other subjects-their being ahead of their time. Whatever is to be believed about man’s emigration to America, Webster’s suggestions have a modern ring. Source: Smith, Hubert, “Noah Webster, the Archaeologist”, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 33, No. 4 (1931), 620-624.

that the American variety was different from the British variety and had its own genius.³ At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries he produced several works, of which the two most influential were *The American Spelling Book* (1783) and *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828). The titles are significant because they include “American” and indicate that this is a different variety from British English (Blake 1996: 277-279). Webster’s works were greatly concerned with authority, and he saw language as a mean of social change (Rollins 1976: 415-430), for him a national language was “a national tie” (Leith 1983: 196-197).

The Revolution itself had destroyed the old habits, establishing both a vacuum and the opportunity to fill it. As Webster put it, “The restraints imposed by respect and habits of obedience were broken, and the licentious passions of men set afloat.” The only viable course to take, he concluded, was to continue the process of separation from Europe begun in the political revolution, to build up new restraints, new habits of obedience, and independent of the corruption threatened by European manners threatened. What the nation now needed, he decided, was the development of a culture appropriate to the requirements of stability under a republican form of government. America’s political institutions were just the framework of the new nation. A national culture would supply, in Webster’s mixed metaphor, both the “superstructure” and the foundation (Bynack 1984: 102).

The work that directly influenced Webster was Johann David Michaelis’s *Dissertation on the Influence of Opinions on Language and of Language on Opinions*. Michaelis’ nationalistic emphasis had attracted Webster’s interest. “Languages,” Michaelis wrote, “are an accumulation of the wisdom and genius of nations, and to which every one has contributed something.” A national language cut across social, political, and economic lines. As the united voice of a people, “to which every one has contributed something,” it

3 In the years and decades after the Revolution in America linguistic independence was very much a matter of public, educated discourse. For example, in 1784 Witherspoon, then President of Princeton, proclaimed: “being entirely separated from Britain, we shall find some center or standard of our own, and not be subject to that island.” Source: Schneider, “Postcolonial English”, 276.

united the people, transcending social, political, and economic antagonisms. Moreover, as the second part of his title implied, Michaelis suggested that a nation's language could influence the thought, and by implication, the behavior of its citizens (Bynack 1984: 103-105).

Webster's *American Spelling Book* or "Blue-Backed Speller" (1783) was amazingly successful. With total sales of perhaps 100,000 copies, it taught literacy to generations of early Americans and provided a standard for American spelling. As a patriot, Webster for some time praised the language used by an American yeoman and scorned what he thought were the affected uses of the English royal court and society. His highly didactic reader for schools, first published in 1785, preferred selections by American authors or about American themes. He is best remembered as a lexicographer, and devoted much of his life work was devoted to recording in dictionaries the English language used in America, from his 1806 *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* to his two-volume 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language*. Webster's dictionaries became the most influential works on the English language in America, and they gave rise to the longest continuous lexicographical tradition in the English-speaking world: the Merriam-Webster dictionaries. Webster's name became a synonym for dictionaries, appropriated by others for its talismanic merchandizing value (Algeo 2001: 34-35).

His political writings are rather inconsistent. From 1782 to 1797 Webster devoted himself to the cause of national unity, though he never fully embraced the concept of egalitarian democracy what attracted French intellectuals. As his essay "Revolution in France" shows, by 1794 Webster was "appalled" at the events taking place in France and by the "idle theories of upstart philosophers" (Southard 1979: 15). Revolutionary conflicts in France, as he dryly put it in 1796, together with what seemed to be a tendency towards popular tyranny in the United States, "somewhat abated my enthusiasm" for democracy (Bynack 1984: 102). Nevertheless, he remained a devoted Federalist who believed in the constitution and law as the safeguards of freedom, and not in the popular democracy practiced by the American yeomanry whom he once had so glowingly praised, but whom

he had come to view as ignorant, gullible people putting into office corrupt and immoral men. By 1798 Webster essentially withdrew from public political affairs by moving from New York to New Haven, where he devoted himself to scholarship (Southard 1979: 15). Debate over his often-mentioned linguistic radicalism is still present (Cmiel 1990: 287).

Overview of certain spelling reforms proposed by Noah Webster¹

- dropping the final <k> in words like *musick*
- reversing <re> to <er> in words like *centre*
- omitting <u> in the ending –our in words like *honour*
- simplifying the double <ll> in words like *traveller*
- adopting <ck> instead of <que> in words like *cheque*
- omitting final <e> in words like *machine*
- *defense* should be written with *s* because its derivative *defensive* contains *s* as well.
- For the sake of clarity and consistency Webster also advocated keeping *ll* in words such as *willful*, *skillful*, and *dullness*, since words like *will*, *skill*, and *dull* have double *l*.

For most of the nineteenth century the English could pretend to ignore the example of American linguistic practice, partly because America had not yet achieved the status of a superpower and partly because English writers could pour scorn on the corrupt usage emanating from the other side of the Atlantic. Writers like Henry Alford (1810-1871) were quite happy to express contempt for American English as much as for regional varieties of British English. The corruption of language at the hands of the Americans was an indication of their corrupt morals. He commented on “the process of deterioration which our Queen’s English has undergone at the hands of the Americans. Look at those phrases which so amuse us in their speech and books; at their reckless exaggeration, and contempt for congruity; and then compare the character and history of the nation – its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man; its open disregard of conventional right where aggrandizement is to be obtained” (Blake 1996: 277-279).

In comparison to Noah Webster, the life of Lindley Murray (1745-1826) is a good example of opposite migration, physical and intellectual. This ex-American lawyer and loyalist moved to Yorkshire after the Revolutionary War and wrote an authoritative textbook of English grammar. Murray's *Grammar* went through at least fifty editions; it sold millions of copies in both England and America. Murray advocated linguistic prescriptivism and authority (McLaughlin 1970: 84), and he believed that the U.S. and Great Britain both would benefit from a common standard of grammatical purity (Frank 1827: 263-264).

Today, differences between the American and British varieties of English are to be found in pronunciation, spelling, syntax, and vocabulary, and some words have had a different semantic development in the two countries (Brook 1958: 202).

The founding fathers' stand on immigration and foreign languages

The social historian, Oscar Handlin declared in one of the most well-known works on American immigration, *The Uprooted* (1951): "Once I thought to write a history of immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history." America was the place where migrants would cast off the burdens of their inherited pasts and create themselves anew in the liberating conditions of American life (Campbell 2010: 45).

The two most important sources of white immigration to British America in the eighteenth century were Germany and Ireland. In both countries the population was initially driven from Europe rather than attracted to America, their uprooting being the familiar product of the search for economic opportunity and a desire for greater religious freedom. The first Germans to come to America arrived with Francis Pastorius in 1683 at the invitation of William Penn. Their numbers were small, German emigration became substantial only after 1690. By 1760 one-third of Pennsylvania's population was German by origin. In preceding years, in the 1740s, there was even a discussion of barring from office anyone who did not speak English. Benjamin Franklin, being greatly concerned with issues such as population growth and immigration, objected on

this “swarm into our settlements, and by herding together (Germans) establish their language and manners, to the exclusion of ours.” He was referring not only to the continued use of the German language but also to the fact that Germans socialized in their own taverns, drinking coffee rather than tea, worshipped in their own churches, and failed to become politically involved.⁴ However, this freedom to live as they pleased, which had been denied to them so often in Europe, was the reason why Germans were so appreciative of “the famous English Liberty” (Middleton 1996: 393-394).

Before the Revolution took place, Franklin considered himself an Englishman, though not living in England itself,⁵ and he was rather skeptical about Germans settling in Pennsylvania. “This will in a few years become a German colony: instead of their learning our language, we must learn theirs, or live as in a foreign country”, said Franklin in the summer of 1749 (Morgan 2002: 72-73). Franklin did not stop yearning for an American continent peopled by the British until 1775, but he was always a realist. The Germans were in Pennsylvania to stay, and it would be best to pursue measures that would keep them happy with the existing government and make them as English as possible. He corresponded with his friend Collinson about it, urging that “Methods of great tenderness should be used.” Collinson suggested, among other things, intermarriage, but Franklin doubted that Englishmen would find German women attractive and vice versa. The most important problem was language, as it so often is in ethnic divisions, and Franklin became a trustee for a charitable society to pay

4 When the battle over the significance of language was carried into the courtroom, both defenders of German and promoters of English based their demands on constitutional rights and identified themselves as the true guardians of republican liberties and portrayed the others, implicitly or explicitly, as un-American. Source: Baer-Wallis, Friederike, “They Speak Irish but Should Speak German: Language and Citizenship in Philadelphia’s German Community, c. 1800 to 1820”, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 128, No. 1 (2004), 10-11.

5 Benjamin Franklin hoped that the English of southern England would remain a standard in the U.S. Also, in his writings, Franklin paid great attention to an English type of education. Sources: Algeo, *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume VI*, 480; Jared Sparks, editor, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin, Volume II* (Boston: Tappan & Whittemore, 1839).

schools to teach English in the German settlements. There was a good deal of resistance and resentment by Germans who felt both patronized and threatened by this attempt to Anglicize them. Franklin had to admit that “their fondness for their own Language and Manners is natural: it is not a Crime” (Morgan 2002: 78).

After the outbreak of the revolution, the German-speaking population increased with the arrival of a large expeditionary force fighting under British colors but using the German language.⁶ That these mercenaries spoke and kept their records in German is documented by thousands of manuscripts and maps in archives and libraries in the U.S. (Arndt 1976: 137). Most of the German elements in American English, such as *lager*, *kindergarten*, *wiener*, *pumpernickel*, *delicatessen*, and *frankfurter*, date from after the Revolution, although *sauerkraut*, *noodle*, and *pretzel* are probably older. The July 9th 1776 issue of the *Staatsbote* published the first German translation of the Declaration of Independence (Algeo 2001: 134, 174).

The quest for a national culture gave rise to legends that serious consideration had even been devoted to replacing English with another language. Greek and Hebrew were named in vague accounts which were soon discredited, but legends concerning the use of German instead of English have been both detailed and persistent (Feer 1952: 394). One myth has it that only one vote kept German from being the national language in the late-eighteenth-century legislature. The accurate history of this incident, known as the “Muhlenberg legend”, is that in 1794 a group of Virginia Germans requested that some laws of the United States be issued in both German and English (Schmid 2001: 16-18). Germans stated the inconveniences to which they were subjected, “from an entire ignorance of the English language, and praying that a certain proportion of the laws of the United States may be printed in the German language” (Arndt 1976: 140). A congressional committee favored the proposal, but when it came to a House vote, it

6 By 1790, concentrated in the southeastern counties in Pennsylvania, an estimated 150,000 people, or about one third of the state’s total population, spoke German. Source: Moelleken, Wolfgang W., “Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Pennsylvania German: A Comparative Investigation”, *Monatshefte* 75, No. 2 (1983), 172.

was rejected 42 to 41. Frederick August Muhlenberg may have cast the deciding vote, although congressional records failed to record this. Similar legends exist about the Dutch and French languages (Schmid 2001: 16-18).

There were reactions against colonial languages other than German, before and after the American Revolutionary War. For example, in South Carolina when the admission of new counties with predominantly French populations changed the representational proportion in the Assembly, some Englishmen asked whether “the Frenchmen who cannot speak our language should make our laws?”. In New York the persistence of Dutch and French as languages of trade and commerce and of Dutch in churches and schools, prompted Anglican missionaries to appeal to the Bishop of London to forbid the use of either Dutch or French in churches and classrooms (Algeo 2001: 177).

The Founding Fathers held diverse attitudes towards the issue of language. Most of them probably considered language as an individual matter in the new Republic, as long as the newcomers did not want to retain the use of their language for a prolonged period of time. The Continental Congress accommodated politically significant groups of non-English-speaking immigrants in an attempt to gain their support and to promote loyalty towards the cause of Independence. The Articles of Confederation were printed in German, and at different times federal documents appeared in French, German, Dutch, and Swedish. The new federal Constitution was completely silent about a national or official language. In fact, the matter was never debated in the Continental Congress (Schmid 2001: 16-18).

It is significant that the authors of the Federalist papers—John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton—did not even mention what would now be called ethnic and linguistic diversity. Even though the first census in the United States showed that the English and their descendants constituted slightly less than half of the population, Madison said nothing about ethnicity or cultural pluralism in his two essays on diversity. The clearest evidence that the authors of the Federalist papers assumed that all immigrants would assimilate to the English language and the American way of life appears in the Second Federalist Paper. John Jay wrote, “Providence has been pleased

to give this one connected country to one united people—a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government. . . .” (Schmid 2001: 16-18).

Benjamin Rush, a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the most vigorous proponent of the maintenance of languages other than English. A strong supporter of a German college in Pennsylvania,⁷ he resisted the argument “of some narrow-minded people” who argued that if the Germans had a college of their own it would be a way of maintaining their language in the country. He believed that by “teaching and learning in their own language” the Germans would acquire a more rapid knowledge of the English language. Rush believed that a German college would remove these prejudices and open the eyes of the Germans to the importance of the English language (Schmid 2001: 16-18).

John Adams believed that American-English would become the standard form of the English language.⁸ In 1783 Ezra Stiles, an American academic and educator, claimed, in *The United States elevated to Honor and Glory*, that “the English language will grow up with the present American population into great purity and elegance, unmutated by foreign dialects...” (Donoghue 1988: 5).

Some influential individuals, including Adams, wanted to establish an Academy to regulate their new linguistic variety.⁹ An American Academy would be one in the eye for the English, who had demonstrated their inferiority by failing to set up one of their own. The American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres was accordingly

7 Part of Rush’s support of a German college was no doubt opportunistic. He was eager to win German support for the Republican Party in Pennsylvania. Source: Schmid “The Politics of Language”, 16-18.

8 In the phrase of John Quincy Adams, the founders needed and wanted immigrants to conquer the continent, but they wanted them “to cast off the European skin”. Source: Schmid “The Politics of Language”, 16.

9 According to Adams, this would be a “public institution for refining, correcting, improving and ascertaining the English language.” Source: Schmid, “The Politics of Language”, p. 16-18.

established in 1821.¹⁰ But there was a great deal of argument about what it should do. Some members championed the cause of linguistic separatism; others were more conscious of England's literary tradition, and felt that America's best interests would be served by keeping cultural links open. Gradually, interest in the Academy waned. Some had seen the dangers of elitism, and in 1828 Webster himself argued that dictionaries and grammars should guide Americans on matters of usage, rather than the usages of a particular clique, or the recommendations of an Academy. To a larger extent his wish was granted (Leith 1983: 196-197).

Thomas Jefferson encouraged people to learn French and Spanish—French because of its obvious importance in diplomatic affairs and scientific publications, and Spanish because “our connection with Spain is already important, and will become daily more so. Besides this, the ancient part of American history is written chiefly in Spanish” (Schmid 2001: 16-18). Jefferson also wrote that he is “no friend to what is called *Purism*”, since he considers “the one as destroying the nerve and beauty of language.” Jefferson advocated perpetual changes and innovation: “Certainly so great growing a population, spread over such an extent of country, with such a variety of climates, of productions, of arts, must enlarge, their language, to make it answer its purpose of expressing all ideals, the new as well as the old.” He saw a great number of language varieties as a national enrichment rather than deterioration of cultural and political unity (Washington 1859: 184-185).

10 John Adams's 1780 proposal for an American academy to improve and fix the English language is only one item in a movement trace from 1721 to 1925 by Allen Walker Read. This movement was motivated more by the European neoclassical desire to ascertain and refine all language than by any desire to distinguish American from British English. The literati in Boston and Philadelphia were as aware as Swift and Johnson of the variations in eighteenth-century English and of the British failure to establish an academy on the French model to standardize the language. They felt, quite simply, that America could succeed where the mother country had failed, by creating an academy to choose among variations and enforce uniformity in English worldwide. Source: Algeo, *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume VI*, 61-62.

American political independence could hardly be won without elements of cultural unity that would shape the identity of a new nation. Linguistic reforms proposed by Noah Webster had an intention to make a socio-political impact on the American society and served as an ideological basis for the emergence of a new state; during the Early Republic his ideas were intellectually relevant, and in the context of eager opposition to the British cultural dominance, introduction of an American language variety had its significance. However, in the long run, Webster's spelling reforms became just another peculiarity of a new nation that faced much greater challenges, such as abolition of slavery, graduate industrialisation, abandoning the isolationist politics, etc.

The Founding Fathers, i.e. political elites, did not have a harmonized stand on the issue of immigration and foreign languages; their views ranged from contempt for foreigners at some point (Franklin), to advocating institutionalized uniformity (Adams) or defending rights of multilingual communities (Jefferson). In spite of all efforts to promote one language after the Revolution, American society was rather bilingual in some aspects, most notably in Pennsylvania, and certain important documents, such as the Federal Constitution, for instance, were printed in both English and German (Hazard 1829: 264). One should bear in mind the fact that concessions such as these often contained traces of political opportunism. Those who had wealth controlled the newspapers, the church, the educational system, and tried to secure their privileged political positions.¹¹ Frederick August Muhlenberg's decision in 1794 not to cast a deciding vote in favor of publication of bilingual political documents is a good example of this; Muhlenberg was above all else a politician who was primarily interested in maintaining his popularity and power with the members of the House of Representatives. One can assume that Muhlenberg rejected any action that could make him look pro-German, since that would severely affect his popularity, although his parents were immigrants from Germany (Arndt 1976: 140).

11 See the following sources: Miller, John C., "Origins of the American Revolution" (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 140; Zinn, Howard, "A People's History of the United States" (New York: The New Press, 2003), 73.

It has to be emphasized that institutional support generally makes the difference between success and failure in maintaining a minority group language (Holmes 2008: 65). Since there has been little political support for languages other than English, a serious possibility of a nationwide bilingualism has never existed. In the course of the 19th, and especially in the 20th century, the United States of America developed a specific and intriguing culture, but hardly thanks to Webster's spelling reforms or attempts to standardize the language. Those who have constantly been seen as a cultural threat, immigrants, made an enormous contribution to the development of an original national identity of America. However, standardized English language is still a hot spot question among linguists (Burchfield 1994: 16). Today, there is no law that makes English an *official language* in the U.S. However, English is a *national language* because 82% of the population claims it as a mother tongue.¹² It is also important to mention that there have been several recent (unsuccessful) attempts to pass official English legislation.

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¹² For more detailed insight see this table with statistical data about the language use in the U.S.: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/briefs/phc-t20/tables/tab01.pdf>

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European Integration Through Regionalization - The Case of Tyrol

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1. Subject-matter

A key phrase cropping up repeatedly in the field of politics, the media, society and science is the one of “European Integration.” What is meant by this is, to put it simply, the process of bringing together the area of the European Union to a “unified whole”, and the various ways and means to achieve this (still) utopian condition. These ways and means are regarded from different perspectives and constitute the subject of much controversial discussion in science. For the various participants involved it is a highly complex process. One aspect of this discourse is the political slogan of a “Europe of Regions”. This demand, among others put forth by the EU, has existed for over 20 years, and has already led to concrete moves, for example the foundation of the Committee of the Regions in 1992. According to this, the European regions should be allocated more rights, but also more duties, a notion which should also profit the concept of “European Integration.” The border-crossings, regional cooperations, known under the term “euroregions” have become the political expression of this process. The increase in regionalization is, however, not only demanded by (certain) political sides but also by European society which currently finds itself in a regional boom.

The discussion of regionalism has become a current an issue as never before. The preoccupation with this topic has even reached a new height. The process is definitely postulated and fostered by the EU. The national states, on the other hand, partly regard this new development skeptically. The present article will now cite some aspects, exploring the question of why the issue of European Integration has to be dealt with in the immediate context of the phenomenon of regionalization and in how far regional historical awareness is related to it. On account of the preset scope of the article, only some facets of this complex study area can be explored and discussed. Scientific research on the topic of regionalism has become so extensive that it's hardly possible to keep a good overview since most of it is rather more confusing than insightful and clear. The

Austrian-Italian case study of the euro-region Tyrol- Southern Tyrol-Trentino, will serve to present the construction of the “euro-region” and point out some areas of tension in European regional development against the background of historicity.

2. The construction of regions:

Before exploring the issue of regionalism at European level, it is necessary to define the term “region” first. This search for a definition, however, already causes some problems, like the question when the term actually applies. Does the term “region” equally apply to the French department as well as to the Italian province? Can a German “Bundesland” be compared to a Swiss “Kanton”? What about the Austrian “Ötztal” or the Scandinavian “Öresund region”, can both be denoted as regions? In this respect, we can give the simple yet still reasonable answer: Everything can be considered a region; it just depends on which criteria are used to define a regional area, whether one uses political or geographical, linguistic or historical criteria.¹ In addition to that, there is the realization that a region is not primarily formed by criteria determined by the state, but should rather be seen as a result of social processes. Still, it is the political elite that ultimately possesses the power of defining a region. The important thing is: today there are no limits anymore with regard to the extensive variety of regionalism. In order to make the subject-matter scientifically at least more tangible, it is vital to strive for theoretical approaches. For the current issue at hand, the concept of “spatial turn” seems most suitable. “Spatial turn” is a term from human and social sciences, denoting the space paradigm that has increasingly been advanced within the last couple of years. The origins of this renaissance¹ of spatial thinking can be traced back to the developments and reorientation of the various scientific disciplines after World War II.² These new developments were subsumed under the umbrella term “cultural turns” and celebrated a scientific triumph with their concept of “linguistic turn.”

1 Cf. Achleitner, Friedrich (ed.). *Region, ein Konstrukt? Regionalismus, eine Pleite?* Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel 1997. 102

2 Cf. Kittsteiner, Heinz Dieter. *Was sind Kulturwissenschaften? 13 Antworten.* In: *Was sind Kulturwissenschaften? 13 Antworten.* Kittsteiner, Heinz Dieter (ed.). Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 2004. 16

Edward Soja, who contributed significantly to coining the term “spatial turn” understands it like this:

“Contemporary critical studies have experienced a significant spatial turn. In what may be seen as one of the most important intellectual and political developments in the late twentieth century; scholars have begun to interpret space and spatiality of human life with the same critical insight and emphasis that has traditionally been given to time and history on the one hand, and to social relations and society on the other.”³

If the essence of this “turn” is now transferred and applied to the regional space, it can be remarked that political spaces don’t exist per se but actually underlie political and social construction processes. The question is then: how is such a space constructed? In this respect, aspects as well as elements of identity and history have to be considered. A great number of people in European regions are longing for a retreat into their own “political four walls.” Reasonable and manageable size, a fostering of customs and traditions, identity management and spatial retreat have developed into the political guidelines of regionalism. Especially the almost maniacal search for an autochthonous regional identity can often be observed. The problem concerning the concept of regional identity is principally the same as the one concerning regions, which has already been tackled: a precise definition of what is concretely meant by the term “regional identity” seems to be impossible.

“Regional identity” can express consubstantiality of a region but it can equally mean the “character” of a region. Moreover, the term is also often used to refer to an incarnation of typical qualities of the people who live in a certain region⁴ - to be precise: the relation

3 Quote after: Döring, Jörg, Thielemann, Tristan. Einleitung: Was lesen wir im Raume? Der Spatial Turn und das geheime Wissen der Geographen. In: Spatial turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften. Döring, Jörg, Thielemann, Tristan (ed.). Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld 2008. 9

4 Cf: Rohrbach, Christian. Regionale Identität im Global Village. Chance oder Handicap für die Regionalentwicklung? Wolf, Klaus (ed.). Institut für Kulturgeographie, Stadt und Regionalforschung der Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main, Materialien 26. Frankfurt am Main 1999. 11-14

between space and society. In order to account for the construction and formation of such an identity, one keeps referring back to the history of a region.

The construction and formation of such an identity have repeatedly entailed a reference to the history of a region and with the help of historical aspects, which often turn out as myths; we attempt to construct an original, autonomous identity and implant it spatially. The historical awareness of a region is assigned great importance as it contains and relates to essential political identification processes. Especially in times of crisis, the historical interest is always particularly high; the past is glorified and idealized from a present perspective and a back referencing to historical traditions, which can even be seen as some kind of escape, dramatically increases:⁵

These theoretical approaches shall now be considered with regard to the interplay of “European integration” and European regionalism.

3. European integration and regionalization:

The regions of Europe are more and more intent on establishing themselves as a third political level in addition to the European Union and the national states. In this context, the already mentioned slogan “Europe of regions” is not a new invention here, but has actually already been devised by various theoreticians from different, partly ideologically motivated,² perspectives. These ideas, even though under different motives, started to be developed increasingly in the 1980s, also because the national states had increasingly passed on competences to the EU then, causing a greater demand for a retreat into regional spheres on the side of the population.⁶ The main aim of European Regionalism could and can be defined as an attempt to integrate regions better in courses of procedures and decision-making processes as well as enabling them a democratic contribution and a chance for the formation of an identity. With regard to these regional claims, however, one has to make sure that they result in positive and constructive synergies for European

5 Cf. Elkar, Rainer S. Regionalbewusstsein – Identität – Geschichtsbewusstsein. Einige kritische Bemerkungen

aus regionalistischer Veranlassung. In: Europas unruhige Regionen. Geschichtsbewusstsein und europäischer Regionalismus. Elkar, Rainer S. (ed.). Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1981. 69-70

6 Cf. Günther, Ammon (ed.). Das Europa der Regionen. Eberhard Verlag, München 1994. 91-92

merging and integration, rather than in a retreat into provincial, ethnic melting pots.⁷ Central building blocks for this European consolidation are the so-called “regions of Europe”/ Euro-regions.

The EU supports and benefits from this political process as these forms of political spaces, on the one hand, entail advantages concerning European integration, especially in the long run and across borders, and as they, on the other hand, also act as a counterbalance to the national states.⁸ Europe regions can be defined in the following way:

“A geographical and social frame in a European borderland, belonging to one or more states, where regional and local administrative bodies- also through common organs and through the inclusion of social organizations- proceed cooperatively (...) in order to deal with common problems and foster the development of their communities, hence, creating a united Europe.”⁹

Today, there are many “Europe regions” which are all differently shaped, have their own functional ways and their own specific objectives. It is, however, always historical, economical, geographical and cultural similarities that are considered as the principal motivation and basic idea for cross-border collaboration. A (supposedly) common history is reckoned to be the driving force for boosting and initiating this collaboration, it loses, however, significance once the project has been started and advanced. An exception in this respect can be found in the “euro-region” of Tyrol- Southern Tyrol-Trentino- where the collective memory and the (supposedly) identical history of this particular space plays a crucial role in cross-border collaboration. It is reasonable at this point now to

7 Cf. Bullmann, Udo. Regionen im Integrationsprozess der Europäischen Union. In: Die Politik der dritten Ebene. Regionen in Europa der Union. Bullmann, Udo (ed.). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden – Baden 1994. 17-18

8 Cf. Morino, Barbara. Die Euregionen. PRO EUROPA VIADRINA und EUREGIO EGRENSIS im Vergleich.

Thesis at the faculty of humanitarian sciences at the university of Salzburg, Salzburg 2002. 56

9 Quoted after: Stadelmann, Christoph. Die neuere Entwicklung der Europaregion Tirol – Südtirol – Trentino.

Thesis at the faculty of law at the university of Innsbruck, Innsbruck. 2001. 1

provide a brief outline of the main historical facts and events of this area.

4. The history of Tyrol

The historical Tyrol spread out over today's autonomous Italian region Trentino-Southern Tyrol, as well as over two Austrian states: Vorarlberg and Tyrol. The historical Tyrol or "Old Tyrol" can be considered as a product of the 13th century, at a time when the Carinthian born lineage "from Tyrol" with Count Meinhard II (1238-1295) was able to assemble a great number of small territories under their name (Vorarlberg was not part of it yet then) and can therefore be seen as the real "creator" of Tyrol, also giving the country its name. In the 14th century, the dynasty of the Meinhardinger became extinct and a descendant of Meinhard, Margarete from Tyrol, committed the country to the care of the Austrian Habsburgs under Rudolf IV (1339-1365) in 1363. Tyrol thus became a crown land of the Austrian empire, but it has to be mentioned that the Habsburger came to develop a "Tyrolean Line" who then resided as local rulers in the new capital Innsbruck. The country was allotted some forms of self-regulation and autonomy and was not conferred to imperial rule until 1665. Since the 18th century, Tyrol had repeatedly become the scene of militant conflicts, the Bavarians being particularly eager to conquer the country and integrate it into their own. In 1805, Austria had to yield Tyrol to France or rather their ally Bavaria, who wanted to modernize the country. These reforms were met with opposition and the Tyrolean people rose under the well-reputed landlord and shooter commander Andreas Hofer (1767-1810) and managed to keep the Bavarian troops covered for a while. Andreas Hofer was elevated to Tyrol's hero (even though this only happened decades later) and is still known as some kind of "proto-Tyrolean" or the human embodiment of the myth of Tyrol. Despite the uprising, the country remained Bavarian and was not handed back to Austria until 1814/15, the years of the "Wiener Kongress." In the 19th century, Tyrol faced the same social developments as the rest of Europe; liberalism and the enlightenment reached the Alpine Tyrol, but didn't really take root there. However, one key element of the 19th century did bring forth wide implications for multinational Tyrol, namely nationalism. The emergence of nationalism provoked some harsh disagreements between the German speaking

Tyrolean in the North and the Italian speaking Tyrolean in the South, the so-called “Welsch-Tyrolean” (today’s Trentino). The latter orientated themselves mainly towards the Italian cultural sphere and demanded autonomy for themselves in 1848 in the course of the National Assembly of Frankfurt as well as in the course of the Wiener Reichstag, which was, however, rejected. After the horrors of World War I (1914-1918), Italian Tyrol and the southern part of German Tyrol (today’s Southern Tyrol) were handed over to Italy, due to the secret contract of London from 1915 and the coalition change of the Italian kingdom. Northern and Eastern Tyrol as well as Vorarlberg remained in the new republic of Austria. This new development surely was a great shock for the population of Southern Tyrol: suddenly, they were part of Italy. The name “Southern Tyrol” was prohibited; all German names for cities, villages, rivers, mountains and families were Italianized. After Benito Mussolini had gained power, an extensive “Italianization-program” was introduced with the aim of completely transforming traditional culture and lifestyles. In 1939, a resettlement agreement for the population of Southern Tyrol was made between Mussolini and Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), known under the term “option.” This programme was devised in a way that the population of Southern Tyrol could opt for either Hitler Germany, which meant leaving the country, or Italy, which meant staying in their home country. The agreement caused dramatic social barriers between those Southern Tyrolians wanting to stay and those wanting to leave and opt for Nazi Germany. After the end of the Second World War (1939-1945), Southern Tyrol and Trentino remained with the state of Italy. After a long and painful phase of partly violent conflicts with Italy, Southern Tyrol finally obtained autonomy in 1972 and now constitutes a sort of small regional state within the national state of Italy. The economical, social and political developments that have occurred since 1972 should be regarded as largely positive, as Southern Tyrol, thanks to its autonomy, now ranks as a European success case and is actually considered as a prime example of ethnic conflict resolutions. Since the 1990s, Southern Tyrol, Trentino and Tyrol have become united again within the euro-region Tyrol- Southern Tyrol- Trentino, a discussion of which shall follow soon.

Due to the special history of the area, a constant discussion of issues such as identity, language, culture and history prevails. Especially the Tyrolean history is repeatedly emphasized and politically exploited, resulting in the virtual impossibility of dealing critically with the country's history.

5. The Euroregion „Tyrol- Southern Tyrol- Trentino“

In the present article, the close connection between “European Integration” and the regionalization of the European Union as well as border cross- collaboration at Euroregion level being a core element for this process could be demonstrated. Furthermore, the vital significance of a region's history or its historic awareness with regard to the formation of regions has been pointed out. If one now looks at the euro region of Tyrol- Southern Tyrol- Trentino in greater detail, one cannot help noticing that it takes on a special role with regard to the other regions of Europe, due to its overtly strong emphasis of a (supposedly) common history. The ERT was founded in the 90s, with the actual idea originating much earlier. The political desire for such a form of cooperation has to be seen from a country-political perspective, on the one hand, and from a party-political perspective, on the other hand. At country-political level, the county Tyrol's main aim is to secure its independent position from Vienna in the course of a federalist discourse, Southern Tyrol walks new paths after the largely successful realization of its autonomy and Trentino strives to keep on legitimizing its autonomy through collaborations with the tyrolian partners.¹⁰ On the party political level, the green parties, for instance, attempt to collaborate over the Brenner with regard to certain issues, German rightist parties, however, consider the ERT as some kind of intermediate step towards a “return” of Southern Tyrol to Austria. Compared to other euro regions, there are definitely some (subtle) fundamentally-political argumentations at work with regard to the ERT. What can also be seen as a special characteristic of the ERT is its overtly strong emphasis on a (supposedly) common history, which predominantly functions as a means of self-legitimation as well as a means of producing a “comprehensive Tyrolean identity” through political exploitation, a firmly historio-political process.

10 Cf. Interview with Hans, Heiss (18.05.2009). 2

However the ERT represents an ambitious project which has made it its business to reinforce and foster cross-border collaboration in a gradually uniting Europe. Through the formation of the euro-region, the antagonistic history of the three areas is now moving over into a new phase, a phase of (at least partial) collaboration and cooperation with possibilities to resolve common concerns. Common projects and initiatives should positively affect all three areas, making it easier to get itself into a better negotiating position with regard to the national state. Moreover, a more efficient lobbying can be pursued on the level of the EU. An important exchange platform, as it were, can also be found in the regular meetings of the three “Landtage.”, which serves as a means of consulting each other and establishing better relations and networking. Despite the overtly strong emphasis on history and the consequential lack of exploiting pragmatic political possibilities and necessities concerning this special case study, it has to be said that euro-regional collaboration still represents one of the most crucial ways to promote and impel European integration.

These new developments will also be a crucial subject for European historiography in future. The construction of a common “European history” will only be possible by means of focusing on and writing the various regional histories first. Historiography will continue to stress the importance of the regions as building blocks of the EU and go into even greater detail about it. By shifting its focus away from the national states and their histories, historiography will devote increasing attention to the regions of Europe and European regional history.

Authorship and Cinéma Before and After May '68

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The tree tells why it bore no fruit
The poet tells why his lines went wrong
The general tells why the war was lost
Bad times, by Bertolt Brecht

In the August 1968 issue of *Cahiers du cinéma* Jacques Doniol Valeroze wrote: “the movement of May is irreversible”. Forty-three years later, many scholars from France and abroad have attempted to establish the role and place of cinema within the events of May '68. They have especially been interested in the way the industry had moved, if not changed, toward a passionate militant cinematography.

Starting with the “movement of march 22nd” - founded at the University of Nanterre in the spring of the same year – the French student movement was concerned with the opposition against the Vietnam war (following the example of their colleagues across the Atlantic), the bureaucratic and authoritarian structures of the university, a critique of the alienated and isolated character of student life, and a powerful and confused equation of social sexual repression. In sum, the critique of the university led to the critique of a whole mode of social organization that, in turn, led to the affirmation of spontaneous action and self-expression¹.

The original experiment to challenge the notion of authorship began with the attempt of the cinema militant to establish, a few years before May '68 and then in the late 1970's, a new kind of inquiry into the everyday life of the French people, and especially that of the workers. But this notion of the “author” has been absolutely crucial in structuring French cinema for over half a century. Antoine de Baecque, in *La cinéphilie, invention d'un*

¹ Sylvia Harvey, *May 68 and Film Culture*, BFI-British Film Institute, London, 1979, p.4.

regard, histoire d'une culture, 1944-1968, showed how it was developed within circles of Parisian moviegoers in the 1950s - film clubs, magazines, film library, and how, popularized by filmmakers from the New Wave, it has been used to build the image of the french "quality cinema"².

The unique character of the post-May '68 film

The notion of authorship has seen many fights, but the filmmakers of the May '68 generation decided to apply the last blow, teaming up as groups and promoting themselves as "societies of culture" instead of individual producers of film. Also by addressing the working public³, "les auteurs du cinema" decided to blend in, as thoroughly as they could, in order to get the closest images of the real factory life, as inspired by the Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin film of 1960, *Cronique of a summer*, in which the camera focuses on the life of an average worker, going by his daily routine. With the decision of undressing their authorship coat, the French "metteurs en scene" have become, "des travailleurs de l'image". They decided to act as a group to reflect on the consistence of a factory work environment, which does not reflect individuals, but the work force as a group.

Film as a cinematographic installation

For many years, after the end of the Second World War, the automobile industry in Western Europe saw a tremendous development that became the builder of the social status and personal mobility. Cinema witnessed how the car gathered more and more attention among the public and the authors decided to cover the new and vibrant industry, either trough comedy, like the great filmmaker Jacques Tati, who placed his central character, Monsieur Hulot, a brilliant inventor, in a new and original car, and followed him in him to car show in the 1971 film "Trafic", or the famous short film from 1976 of Claude Lelouch, "Rendez-vous", who started a real scandal in the press, when he decided one Sunday morning (after months of careful preparations) to mount a camera

2 Romain Lecler, "La mue des « gaspilleurs de pellicule ». Ou comment les cinéastes militants ont réhabilité la notion d'auteur (1968-1981)", *Raisons politiques*, 2010/3 n° 39, p. 29.

3 And by that, they thought of the actual people who where working in the factories.

on the hood of his car and drive very fast through Paris, in order to meet someone at the Sacre Coeur basilica, on top of the Montmartre district. Meanwhile, the workers' condition always represented incentives for strikes and struggles between the factory owners, "les patrons" and the average worker or the strong French unions. The post-may '68 period brought to the cinema makers's attention the conditions that determined almost 10 million workers to go on strike in the month of May.

In this article, we will try and show, in two distinct sections, the way industrial work was represented in documentary films, made by famous authors like Louis Malle, whose "Humain, trop humain" will constitute our case study, and also, the way industrial implication was promoted by "les intellectuels militants", scholars who got hired by the owners of the factories, "les patrons" not knowing that all along, they were working alongside the other employees just to gather information about the way the management was treating them and how bad were the work conditions, for this section, Robert Linhart book "L'Etabli" will serve our purpose.

Our subtitle, "cinematographic installation" refers to the way professional film makers (like Malle), understood the production process and especially the way they wanted to keep the workers soul in front of his industrial role. In the film of Malle, *Human, all too human*, several times, the camera focuses on the workers activity, as though, if it could, it would grasp the cognitive process of welding a door to the car body.

"Quand j'ai montré l'essentiel, je coupe. Je prends toujours les choses en mouvement."⁴

As a member of the "SLON" group, from 1967 to 1976, Chris Marker was one of the leading figures interested in addressing and helping the industrial workers to earn their rights by talking and taking the camera inside the work environment. The whole idea behind the "Company for the Launching of New Wors" (SLON translated in English) was to offer new ways of exercising one's desire to apply the ideas of the General States of Cinema, series of meetings about the state of the Cinema in May 1968, shortly

4 Louis Malle cited by Dominique Villain, *Le montage au cinema*, ed. Cahiers du Cinema, Paris, 1991, p. 116.

after the Cannes film Festival was cancelled due to the Paris uprisings. The idea behind SLON was that cinema should not be viewed purely in the terms of profit and capital; instead, young militant filmmakers ought to take a stand and get involved in the current state of affairs.

When one year earlier, in 1967, a strike broke out at Rhodiocenta textile plant, Chris Marker decided to pay the workers and owners a visit in order to get their approval to start filming in the compound. The unusual character of the strike consisted in the fact that the workers were not asking just for higher wages, they were troubled by the very lifestyle imposed on their city. By the end of 1967, Marker had already finished the montage and the film was prepared for promotion in March 1968 (one of the few films that had a strike as subject and was still shown at the national television, ORTF, very well known for the ruthless censure of the Information Ministry in the Pompidou administration), the name of the movie was “À bientôt, J’espère?-Be Seeing you”.

As Harvey argues, it is important to realize in this respect, that one of the effects of May was to open up the sphere of cultural production to a class analysis and to encourage raising the question: which classes were served by which forms of cultural production?⁵. In January 1969, the first issue of the new established film journal *Cinéthique*, had on its cover the same question: *Who creates and for Whom?* In this debate it was very important to set aside the two groups “les patrons”, the owners of *capital*, and, as Godard puts it “les patrons du sens”, the owners of *meaning*. Another well-known group, set up in the words in one of his founder, and Nouvelle Vague author cited above, Jean-Luc Godard, to “make politically a political cinema, to make concrete analysis of a concrete situation, to understand the laws of the objective world in order to actively transform that world...to know one’s place in the process of production in order then to change it”⁶. This is the cinematographic installation of our article, the way in which “le cinéaste” doesn’t have to guide the spectator like an actor, but to sit in the same place, to cite G. Leblanc, “le situer (The spectator) sur le meme plan que lui”. As the *Cinéthique* journal stated, the working man was not supposed to be ignored, the new cinema had

5 Harvey, *op. cit.* p. 28.

6 Apud Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

to grasp the real conditions in order not to lose the trough the imagination, in order to change those conditions, the filmmakers needed to tackle them directly.

“Le concept de représentation est assimilé à celui d’idéologie qui constitue chaque individu, interpelle en sujet dans un rapport imaginaire à ses conditions réelles d’existence”. G. Leblanc

For our case study, we are going to analyze such a cinematographic installation, *Human, all too human*, a film made by Louis Malle which was recently restored and presented in a DVD format. The title of the film sends one’s thought immediately to Friedrich Nietzsche’s work, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, subtitled “A book for the free spirits”, the book was originally published in 1878. One of the aphorisms, number 335 called *Fear of one’s neighbor*, has the following statement: We fear the hostile mood of our neighbor because we are afraid that this mood will help him discover our secrets. Louis Malle’s film was shot in 1972, at the Citroën’s factory of Rennes. So, the “*We*” part in this *show* is played by the world-famous French automobiles maker, and the “*neighbor*” is played by the work force.

When the movie was released, in 1974, very few people had the opportunity to actually see the film, but, for the most part, the public read a lot more, the reactions were very different and they will constitute the measure of change after May ‘68, alongside the book of Robert Linhart, published 4 years after the movie, saw its first public reception. Linhart’s book, called “*L’établi*”, a very difficult notion to translate, contributes to our study by offering a glance at another Citroën factory, from Porte de Choisy, in 1967, when a few “intellectuels militants” decided to take a job at the factory in order to account for the methods used by the Citroën’s “patrons” to supervise and control the work force. To try and explain the title of the book, “*l’établi*”, Linhart offers two explanations, the first has to do with the name given to this type of engaged intellectual who came to this decision, to “infiltrate the capitalist enemy lines” with the plan to expose the mistreatments and difficult conditions that the workers are enduring, and the second, *l’établi* is the name of the working table selfmade by the worker, or, a nickname given to an old worker that has the difficult job of trying to repair the broken doors that

came out from the press, in the end to be able to fix it to the car's finished body.

"L'établi", the intellectual, describes in the first chapter of the book, "the slow and continuous movement of the production line", afterwards, a few workers are being introduced, they begin to describe their activity, and their social background (one is French, and has a minor management job, and the other is Algerian, and is a welder). The narrator talks about the factory as a way of dying: "L'imperturbable glissement des voitures, la répétition de gestes identiques". The job is never finished, as soon as one car leaves the work place, another one replaces it.

The film starts with the peaceful sight of a herd of cattle, but a few moments along, the stillness of the picture is perturbed by the noise of a highway. As the camera moves towards the factory, we can see the parking lot filled with Citroën cars and then, out of nowhere, we are following a young woman, a worker dressed in a pink sweater who has the assignment to bring the sheets of steel to the processing tables. This is where the similarities between our film and the book stop. We will return to this parallel at the end of the film's study.

Films about working environments are very rare nowadays as they were when "humain, trop humain" was made⁷. Already famous, the author of this film, Louis Malle, was an openly engaged intellectual who decided to make a documentary about the real working conditions of the Citroën's workers. As a part of the "Cinema du réel", the film is an original presentation of the factory and its workers. In an interview given in the same year the movie was presented, 1974, for "Ecran" magazine, Louis Malle said the "the camera angle" was something he was very happy about with this film, the workers were presented very close to their real day-to-day routine at work. For the author, there are three types of films about industrial work, "les films techniques d'entreprise", so the in-house films made by the owners of the factory, "television portraits" of a certain worker following his personal and working life (like the *Cronique* of a summer did, the 1960 film of Jean Rouch), and the engaged films – *les films militants*. In the era of criticism

7 Nicolas Hatzfeld, Gwenaële Rot and Alain Michel, "Quand Louis Malle filmait le travail à la chaîne : Humain, trop humain, et les débats sur la représentation du travail", *Le Temps des médias* n°7, hiver 2006-07, p.218.

toward “the system”, “the capitalist establishment”, Louis Malle assumes his position “militant”, and applies it zealously.

“It is absurd to say that direct cinema can be objective”, says Louis Malle in a book about “cinema du réel”, “we need our vision to dictate the position of the camera, what we are going to film and what not”. Malle has no plan to run from the responsibility of the creation, we can find his thoughts in the way people are caught on tape, sound is played, and images are cut. This is a very different approach from the one shown by the post-68 authors, who decided to blend into an organization, instead of assuming the film as a personal undertaking. Being an author’s film, the artistic illustration of the film stands aside by some well thought and caught moments. The first is the “ballet” of workers that are doing the same movements at the same time, very well coordinated, like a well oiled machine in which every single component works together to make automobiles, a different kind of machines than the ones described earlier. Another technique used by Malle is the single shots with some very skilled workers that appear not at all bothered by the presence of the camera and who, with a precise mastery work their magic around the steel. The choreography seems perfect. For the 15 days of filming, in July 1972, the small crew used a small 16 mm *Éclair* camera, and a *Nagra* sound recorder, that became popular in the 1960’s. The purpose of these low quality devices was the intended discretion of the author, who wanted to “capture” the workers, in their natural rhythm. At the same time, the owners were pleased because their production line was not at all slowed down by the shooting.

The last major technique of the film is the use of sound. Because we are talking about a working factory, to harness and connect all the sound in order to get a pleasant music is very difficult, this is why the sound engineer Jean-Claude Laureax managed to get all the metallic, strong, vibrant noises and processed them until the film acquires a certain musicality (an industrial one, of course). The way sound was recorded also made possible the discovery of a rhythm that supported the montage and layout of the film. When talking about his work, Laureax said that he wanted to communicate the physical sentiment of fatigue and vexation, a very “un-human” aspect of the film. The montage

process and the sound were very important because they had to replace the total absence of any “off” commentary, a remarkable absence for a post-68 film, or the avant-garde aesthetics of an explicit and variform discourse. By choosing to let the images and sound do the talking for him and themselves, the author reflected his view of direct cinema: “direct cinema is the cinema of the moment, a work of constant improvisation, the choices are made by the camera, the setting exists only if it’s part of a planned sequence, but most of the times, we made all the settings at the time⁸. If Malle refuses to construct his film it is because he needs to respect the “necessity of the moment”. This fact establishes a connection between Malle and John Grierson, considered the “father of the documentary”. American filmmakers were talking at the same time about what he called “creative treated reality”, the fact that we can spot some young “workers” who are very close to the studio actors appearance, could be another way of constructing the film, using the same “documentary enhanced” choices.

When it came to the moment of talking about the way the film was received, we will find our way among the critics’s opinions, because, as we said earlier, the public appearance had only two venues of diffusion (projection), one being owned by the author himself. Iain Remond from *Telerama*, considers the film “exemplary”; Henry Chapier from *Quotidien de Paris* welcomed the absence of the demagogic discourse and praised the fact that the film is different, “is not either a documentary, a cinema-verité presentation, or an engaged film, it’s a film that invites to a civilized debate”⁹. The enthusiasm is shared by Vincent Canby from *The New York Times*, who at the New York projection of the film said that it was “provocative, vivid, complex and original”.

All very well, but to return to our “L’Établi”, the book signed by Robert Linhart about the way factories were treating their employees in the years before May 1968 and after, we are stunned to find out that even though during the strikes from may-june ’68, although several francs were added to the salary, soon after the strike was over, the staff was forced to work overtime to retrieve from the month long strike and to money was to be paid for this effort.

8 Ibidem, p.221.

9 Ibid., p.224

“On pense que le soi-disant dette de mai ‘68 (comme si les ouvriers pouvaient avoir des “dettes” vis-à-vis du patronat!) est éteinte. Illusion”¹⁰.

So were there no problems between the owners and factory workers in 1972, when Louis Malle was there? The same question is being raised by the communist journal “L’Humanité”: “Who are the workers? Where do they live?, What are their problems?”. The assault is bolstered by a new newspaper on the market at that time, *Libération*: “At what price had mister Malle convinced the owners of Citroën to let him film the workers condition? At the price of total suppression of the “mise-en-place” of the capitalist relation”¹¹. What the article’s author wanted to say is that no boss, small boss, superintendent or any kind of factory leader was presented in the film.

Can we know if the reality right after the end of the May ‘68 strike is still in place, merely four years later? No. “Once the camera entered the factory, the camera “looks” at what is visible, “the visible” constructed by the owners” says one of the union leader. “A factory without problems, is that the reason why no chief is being filmed? A factory-museum, visited by a camera-guide. Like in a museum, everything is well organized to prevent the visiteur from being shocked”¹².

The agreement mentioned by the journalists between the filmmaker and the French carmaker owners is very plausible, because of the difficulty of getting the “ok” from the patrons to enter the factory and see the workers. In his interviews, Malle said that he obtained the permission to film by his strong reputation of “réalisateur du cinéma” and a personal connection with one of the union leaders. How to reflect on Citroën ’s acceptance then? After the conflict of ‘68, the company was willing to earn a good image among the viewers (although they were so few), and the public in general, without being asked to raise any wages or cut hours from the work schedule.

The hostile critics of Malle, who considered that he should have presented the real condition of the worker, to gain from the inside filming proof of capitalist harshness is something that could not cure the sensibilities of the left and far-left groups from

10 Robert Linhart, *L’Etabli*, Editions du Minuit, Paris, 1978, p. 75.

11 Hatzfeld et al., *op. cit.*, p. 224.

12 Ibid. p. 225.

the French public spectrum. At the same time, for a cinematographic installation of an “engaged author” we are not really sure about what subject is Louis Malle truly “militant”, the workers condition or the amazement in front of a terrific example of “industrial concert”?

Seen today, the film and the reactions it provoked, lead us to rethink the role given to the workers and their condition in the 1970’s. Contributing thereby to a reevaluation of the aesthetic values and their connection with the political stands in the France post-Mai ‘68. Like the Dutch contemporary artists in the present, Louis Malle wanted to invite workers to become part of a cinematographic installation that was meant to engage and stimulate the public into a new debate about the condition of the worker in society, not just in the factory.

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