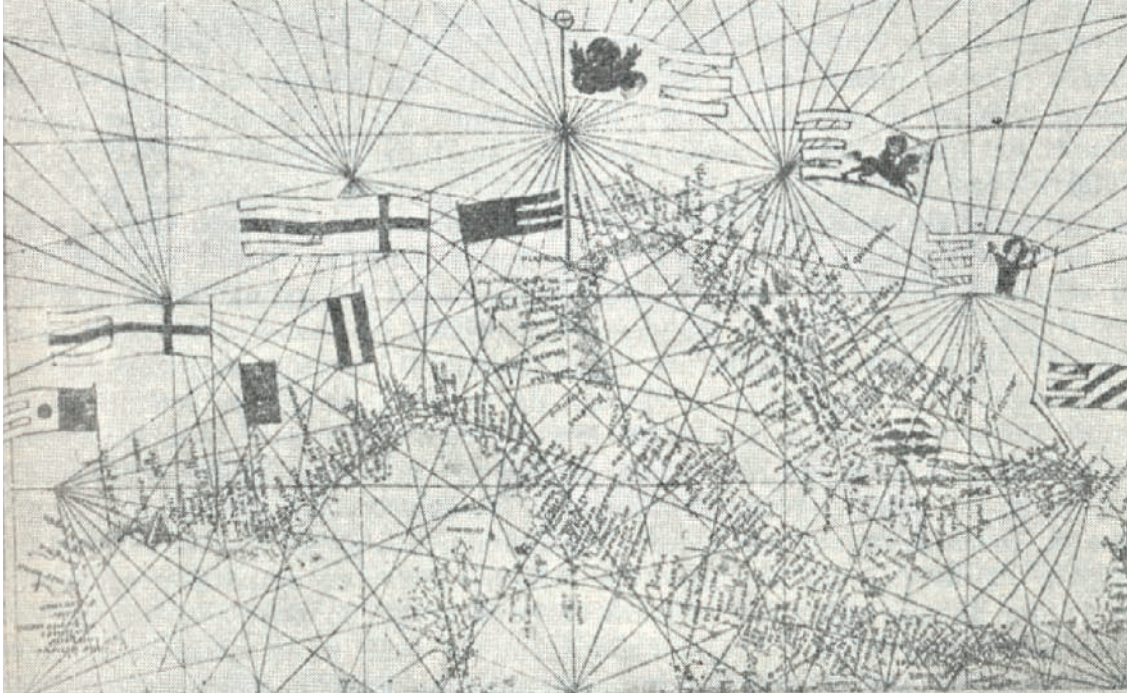




Cuius patrocini tota gaudet regio.

Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion

Programme & Abstracts



CENTRE FOR ADVANCED ACADEMIC STUDIES DUBROVNIK
UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB
Dubrovnik, 18-20 October 2012

Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio.
Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion

Programme & Abstracts

Conference organized by

Croatian Hagiography Society HAGIOTHECA and
CULTSYMBOLS Project of the ESF EuroCORECODE Programme
OTKA Saints Project, CEU, Budapest



Centre for Advanced Academic Studies Dubrovnik, University of Zagreb,
Dubrovnik, 18-20 October 2012

Programme

Thursday, 18 October 2012

8.00-9.30 (Conference desk)
Registration

9.30-10.00 (Conference hall)

Introductory remarks

Gábor Klaniczay (Central European University, Budapest – OTKA Saints Project)

10.00-11.00 (Conference hall)

Keynote lecture

Thomas Head (Hunter College and Graduate Center, City University of New York)
Saints' Relics and Community in the Earlier Middle Ages (400-1100)

COFFEE BREAK

11.30-13.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 1

Kathleen Ashley (University of Southern Maine, Portland)
Conques - Ideological Center of Sainte Foy's Territories

Anne Doustaly (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales - Groupe
d'Anthropologie historique de l'Occident médiéval)
Local Uses and Universal Identities: Cult and Iconography of Female Saints in Late
Medieval Provence

Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski (University of Pittsburgh)
Saint Pierre de Thomas (d. 1366) and Cyprus: Defining the Eastern Mediterranean
in the 14th Century

LUNCH BREAK

14.30-16.30 (Conference hall)

SESSION 2

Ana Munk (University of Zagreb)
Center, Parrocchia and Colony: Some Patterns of Relic Acquisition in Late Medieval
Venice

Clemena Antonova (Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna)

The Cult of St Catherine of Alexandria in the Thirteenth Century: Between Mount Sinai and Pisa

Irina Oryshkevich (Columbia University, New York)

St Lucy and a Tale of Two Cities

Eleonora Lombardo (Instituto de Estudos Medievais - Universidade Nova de Lisboa / Instituto de Filosofia – Universidade do Porto)

The Development of Devotion to Saint Anthony of Padua between Localism and Universalism

COFFEE BREAK

17.00-19.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 3

Christian Krötzel (University of Tampere)

Per totam provinciam. Saints, Propagation and Regional Identities.

Faye Taylor (Cumberland Lodge, Windsor)

Beyond the Patrimony: the Spatiality of Miracle-stories

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (University of Tampere)

Demoniacs and Devotees – Defining the Boundaries of Cultic Communities

Graham Jones (St John's College, Oxford)

Shepherd of His Flock, Guardian of the *polis*: the Geography of Regional Identity as Expressed in the Dedications of Churches

19.00 (Conference hall)

Book launch

Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints, ed. John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca-Humaniora, 2012)

Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth to Twelfth Centuries), ed. Gábor Klaniczay, transl. and annotated by Cristian Gașpar and Marina Miladinov, Central European Medieval Texts Series, Vol. 6 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2012)

Friday, 19 October

8.30-10.00 (Conference room no. 5)

SESSION 4A

Hana Breko Kustura (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for the History of Croatian Music)

Inter-regional and Local Saints' Cults: Examples of Significant Liturgical Chants from Medieval Region of Istria

Emanuela Elba (University of Bari)

The Saints Across the Sea, the Overseas Saints. The Cult and Images of St Michael and St Nicholas between Apulia and Dalmatia in the Middle Ages

Etleva Lala (University of Elbasan)

The Cult of St Nicholas in Albania

8.30-10.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 4B

Anu Mänd (Institute of History, University of Tallinn)

The Cult and Depiction of St Olav and St Canute in Medieval Livonia

Maria Craçiun (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj)

Elizabeth and the Saxons of Late Medieval Transylvania

Kathrin Wagner (Liverpool Hope University)

The High-Altarpieces in the Hanseatic City of Rostock in Northern Germany - a Hagiographic Approach to Create Collective Identities

COFFEE BREAK

10.30-12.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 5

Gerhard Jaritz (Institut für Realienkunde, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Krems / Central European University, Budapest)

Images of Saints – Images of Community

Ivan Gerát (Institute of Art History, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava)

Visual Cults of Saints between the Kingdoms of Hungary and Poland – the Case of Medieval Spiš (1412 – 1526)

Kateřina Horníčková (Institut für Realienkunde, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Krems)

Intercessores pro natio. Visual Constructions of Central European Christian Pantheons

12.00-13.00 (in front of conference room no. 5)

POSTER SESSION

Maja Cepetić (University of Rijeka)

The Cult of St Ladislav as the Idea of Medieval Regional Cohesion

Doina Elena Craçiun (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales - Groupe d'Anthropologie Historique de l'Occident Médiéval)

From "Adoption" to Appropriation: Three Hungarian Holy Kings in the Churches of the Nobility in Medieval Hungary (14th-15th centuries)

Joaquim Eusebio (University of Montréal)

Anthony of Padua or Anthony of Lisbon?

Ewelina Kaczor (Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce)

Principis Silesiae et Maioris Poloniae in 15th-century Sermons on St Hedwig of Silesia. State of Research and Primary Sources

Fernand Peloux (University of Toulouse II – le Mirail)

Hagiography and Territorial Cohesion in South Medieval France: the Case of the Diocese of Mende

Karolina Wiśniewska (Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies 'Artes Liberales', University of Warsaw)

Proliferation of St Ladislav Images in Matthias Corvinus' Visual Politics: The Case of the Augsburg Edition of Thurcozy's Chronicle

LUNCH BREAK

14.30-16.30 (Conference room no. 5)

SESSION 6A

Isolde Thyret (Kent State University)

One Town's Saint is Another's Worst Nightmare: Saints Cults and Regional Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Russia's Upper Volga Region

Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov (University of Manchester)

Serdica/Sofia – a Memoir of Saints: Negotiating Public Memories and Space through the Saints' Cults in the Medieval Bulgarian Culture

Diana Atanassova (University of Sofia)

Memory and Identity: Recycling of the Historical and Geographical Knowledge in the Passio of St Arethas in South Slavic Context

Lado Mirianashvili (Udabno Science Association, Tbilisi)

How Did a Eulogy Brought from Jerusalem in the 6th Century Assist in Promoting Lavra of St Davit to the Regional Caucasian Significance

14.30-16.30 (Conference hall)

SESSION 6B

Elizabeth Dawson (Humanities Institute of Ireland, University College Dublin)

The *Vita Patricii* by Tírechán and the Creation of St Patrick's National Status in Seventh-century Ireland

Christian Oertel (University of Jena)

St Eric of Sweden. A Saint between Regional and National Importance

Sebastián Salvadó (Institute for History and Classical Studies, Norwegian

University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)

The *Historiae* of Saints Oswald and Edmund: Forging the King's Image, Defending the Community's Identity

Juliana Dresvina (King's College, London)

St Margaret – a Saint for Medieval East Anglia?

COFFEE BREAK

17.00-19.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 7

Cristian Gașpar (Central European University, Budapest)

Reichsheiliger or Regional Patron? Imported Hagiography and Local Adaptation in the Cult of St Adalbert of Prague

Alexander O'Hara (Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna)

Saint Formation in a Marcher Society: The Cult of St Coloman and the Babenbergs

Stanislava Kuzmová (Central European University, Budapest)

Preachers and Regional Saints in Late Medieval Krakow

Marco Bogade (Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa, Oldenburg)

Dorothy of Montau († 1394). Remarks on the Cult of a Mystic and Teutonic Knights' Saint

Saturday, 20 October 2012

8.30-10.00 (Conference room no. 5)

SESSION 8A

Carmen Florea (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj)

Patrons in the Diocese: the Transylvanian Episcopate and the Channelling of Saints' Cults

Sara Ellis Nilsson (University of Gothenburg, Göteborg)

Holy Validation. Scandinavian Bishoprics and Their Saints

Martin W. Jürgensen (Centre for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals, University of Copenhagen)

Pitting Saints against Saints: The Battle for Status and Supremacy in Medieval Danish Dioceses

9.00-10.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 8B

Marina Miladinov (Theological Faculty "Matthias Flacius Illyricus", Zagreb)

Invocation of Saints and the Virgin as Protectors against the Turks: Its Partisans and Critics in the Age of Confessionalization

Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić (University of Split)

On the Veneration of the Virgin Mary's Icon from Sinj in the 18th Century and Its Transformation from the Regional Anti-Ottoman Symbol to the Symbol of National Identity

COFFEE BREAK

10.30-12.30 (Conference hall)

SESSION 9

Thomas Heffernan (University of Tennessee)

Volitional Suffering as the Mark of Regional Identity in the African Church from Tertullian through Augustine

Robert Wiśniewski (Institute of History, University of Warsaw)

Local and Overseas Saints in the Religious Identity of Late Antique Roman Africa

Marianne Sághy (Central European University, Budapest)

How to Be an Alien: From Foreigner to Patron Saint in Late Antiquity

Maya Maskariniec (University of California, Los Angeles)

Foreign Saints at Home in 8th- and 9th-century Rome

12.30-13.00 visit to the Franciscan convent at Danče

LUNCH BREAK

14.30-16.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 10

Nicolas Bock (Université de Lausanne)

Saints in the City. Angevin Religious Politics and Problems of Regional Identification

Dávid Falvay (ELTE University, Budapest)

Multiple Regional Identity of a Neapolitan Queen: Mary of Hungary's Readings and Saints

Sabina de Cavi (Getty Research Institute / University of Córdoba)

From Amalfi to Bari: Itinerary of Sanctity in Early Modern Southern Italy under the Early Spanish Habsburgs

COFFEE BREAK

16.30-18.00 (Conference hall)

SESSION 11

Juan Luis González García (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

The Cult of Spain's Regional Saints in Counter-Reformation Madrid

Zrinka Blažević (University of Zagreb)

Natales Divo Ladislavo restituti: "Nationalization" of the St Ladislav Cult in the 17th-century Croatia

Relja Seferović (Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dubrovnik)

Rational Clergy and Irrational Laity: an 18th-century Biography of St Blasius in Service of State Promotion

18.15-19.30 (Conference hall)

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Sunday, 21 October

EXCURSION

9.00-13.30 The Old City of Dubrovnik and the Benedictine monastery on the island of Lokrum

13.30-19.00 The town of Ston (lunch), *arboretum* in Trsteno

Abstracts

Serdica/Sofia – a Memoir of Saints: Negotiating Public Memories and Space through the Saints' Cults in the Medieval Bulgarian Culture

The paper examines the intersections between locality and diachronicity in a number of hagiographic texts (*vitae*, sermons, hymnography) written between the twelfth and the mid-sixteenth century in medieval Bulgarian and in Greek, and dedicated to three local saints, St John of Rila (the 10th century), St George the New (d.1515), and St Nicholas the New (d.1555). The three saints were associated with Serdica/ Sofia as the relics of St John of Rila resided twice in the city, while the other two were martyred there after the unsuccessful attempts of the Ottoman authorities to convert them to Islam. In all three cases, however, medieval writers not only pointed out the inextricable link between the place (the locality) and its saint, but used the cults to make further claims – that the saints owned, saved, and defended their territories. While the translations of the relics of St Ivan of Rila to various places of medieval Bulgaria acted as a trigger for the constant redefinition of the boundaries of the territories protected by the saint, and secured the sense of continuity of Bulgarian royal houses; the cults of St George the New and St Nicholas the New, created at the peak of a vigorous interfaith and inter-ethnic competition in the sixteenth-century Serdica/Sofia, revealed different dynamics of the use of the local saint in justifying the claims over a specific territory and political/religious status. Yet, perhaps the last of all these texts – the *vita* of St Nicholas the New written by Matthew the Grammarian shortly after 1555 – is the most telling example of the 'transformation' of the divine presence of the saints into a geopolitical entity. In the long introduction to the *vita*, Matthew equates the glory of his city Serdica/Sofia with the glory of the long chain of saints associated with it. Starting with the early Christian martyr Therapontios, he tells the story of the place through the deeds and miracles of its saints, turning the history of saints into memories of a city.

**The Cult of St Catherine of Alexandria in the Thirteenth Century:
Between Mount Sinai and Pisa**

St Catherine of Alexandria is intimately associated with the Orthodox monastery at Mount Sinai, where her cult started in the 9th century. It is well known that at a later date this Orthodox saint was appropriated by the West and became one of the most popular female saints in Western Christendom. This paper will be concerned with the process of domestication of St Catherine in medieval Pisa and the role her cult played in forging a civic identity. I will look at two narrative (*vita*) images of the Life of St Catherine – the first, an early 13th-century Byzantine icon from Mt. Sinai, the second from the later half of the century by an anonymous Pisan artist (now at the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo; for the two images, see www.metmuseum.org/special/g9_pop_2.R.asp). The Pisan icon was very likely based on the Sinai one, but it makes significant deviations with respect to the narrative scenes (some scenes are missing, while others have been added). I will suggest that some of the transformations are intended to emphasize the connection between Pisa, on the one hand, and Mt. Sinai and, by extension, the Holy Land, on the other. It has been noticed, that “the spiritual and civic identity of medieval Pisa was long defined by its relationship to the Holy Land” (Ahl, Diane, “The Camposanto, the terra santa: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa”, *Artibus et Historiae*, vol.24, number 48, 2003, p.98). In my reading, the image under our attention bears witness to the desire to sanctify the city, which sometimes went to extraordinary lengths as the transportation of tons of soil from Palestine to Pisa, which then formed the base of the Camposanto, the core of the city.

Conques – Ideological Center of Sainte Foy's Territories

A medieval saint whose cult and reputation are linked to a famous shrine is usually depicted in hagiography as the protector of the local religious community as well as of all those who pray for the saint's intervention and vow to make a pilgrimage to the shrine. The geographical reach of the saint's cult inscribed within these hagiographical narratives, however, can differ dramatically – from the region immediately surrounding the shrine to far-flung and exotic countries where the saint's power may be felt. Representations of place carry symbolic significance, as the organizers of this conference suggest; in particular, the symbolism of spatial depiction takes us to the ideological core of the hagiographic scene.

In my forthcoming book, *The Cults of Sainte Foy and the Cultural Work of Saints*, I focus on the role that local patronage and appropriation play in shaping and reshaping the cult of a saint – a process during which representations of the saint herself, her legends and her miracles are rewritten to perform new cultural work at new sites and under new patronage. Despite my contention that we should speak of the “cults” of Foy in the plural rather than the singular, one of the striking traits of this diverse cult (which spread throughout France, to Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, England – and eventually even to the Far East and the New World) was its consistent construction of Foy's shrine at Conques as the ideological center of her territories, no matter how far flung.

Using hagiographic materials from the pilgrimage cult of Santiago de Compostela for comparison, this paper will explore the spatial symbolics of Conques in Foy's cults throughout Europe. Even when re-shaped by patrons in England, the Alsace or Austria (far from the saint's shrine in the Rouergue), cult narratives and iconography acknowledge the links between the new cult site and the abbey at Conques. The Conques monastery also functioned as the de-facto instigator of the trans-Pyrenean Franco-Spanish ecclesiastical culture created in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when many religious from Conques were appointed to positions in the region across northern Spain, churches and chapels were dedicated to Sainte Foy, and King Sancho gave various properties (including the church and hospital at Roncevaux) to the monastery of Sainte Foy of Conques. Although the image of the saint was radically transformed along with the evolving functions of her cult, the ideological role of Conques itself remained remarkably stable. It will be the purpose of this paper to analyze the reasons why.

Memory and Identity: Recycling of the Historical and Geographical Knowledge in the Passio of St Arethas in South Slavic Context

The paper takes the Passio of St Arethas and his Companions as a starting point in the discussion of the role of the earliest Slavic menologia (compiled in the 10th century) in the establishment of sense of belonging to a transethnic and transregional imagined community. The choice of the Passio of St Arethas was dictated by the fact that the story unfolds in settings, both geographically and historically, completely alien to the reading audience of that time. The text is rich in geographic and historical details and the mistakes and misunderstandings in its translation from Greek to Old Bulgarian reveal the changing perception of space and history in that period. The main question is why pre-Metaphrastic texts (like the one of St Arethas) remained in the South Slavic menologia even after the adoption of the new, Metaphrastic texts. It looks like a promising hypothesis to suggest that pre-Metaphrastic saints' lives with their narrative structure and encyclopedic character were important sources for the establishment of new type of collective memory, upon which the universalistic Christian identity was built. The incorporation of the local historical and geographical knowledge into a universalistic framework is a phenomenon which could be helpful for the understanding of the opposite process of "regionalization" of the collective knowledge and identity at the threshold of the Modern times.

Natales Divo Ladislavo restituti; „Nationalization“ of the St Ladislav
Cult in the 17th-century Croatia

An indispensable element of all early modern national ideologemes was a respectable canon of national saints, whose main ideological function was to enable nationalization of sacral and sacralization of the national. As an illustrative example, this paper will focus on „nationalization“ of medieval Hungarian king Ladislav I (c. 1040-1095) whose cult was not only a vital part of historical representation but also of the emancipative programme of the Croatian Estates during the 17th century. This phenomenon will be traced from the first “national” hagiography *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae foecunditas* (1630) written by Ioannes Tomcus Marnavitijs (1580-1637) to historical polemics *Natales Divo Ladislavo Regi Slavoniae Apostolo restituti* (1704) published by Paulus Ritter Vitezović (1652-1713), when “nationalization project” of St Ladislav nationalization reached its peak. As the appointed historian of Croatian Estates, in the mentioned work Paulus Ritter systematically expounded 19 “irrefutable” historical arguments which were meant to prove undoubtedly that St Ladislav was originally Croatian, not Hungarian, sacred and apostolic king. It demonstrates clearly that St Ladislav was a highly contested sacral figure, whose cult was a symbolic pivot of various ideological and political aspirations of Croatian intellectual elite.

Saint Pierre de Thomas (d. 1366) and Cyprus: Defining the Eastern Mediterranean in the 14th Century

Saint Pierre de Thomas (c. 1305-1366) was a French Carmelite friar who rose to great prominence in the Latin Church: after serving as the Procurator General of the Carmelite Order he became a papal legate and nominal Patriarch of Constantinople. His Life was written by his friend Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405), a well-known soldier, diplomat, writer, and, in the 1360s chancellor of Cyprus under king Pierre de Lusignan. Cyprus will be the focal point of my investigation for this paper.

Cyprus at the time was a multi-cultural and multi-religious island. Latins, Greek Orthodox, Muslims, and Jews all lived and practiced their faiths on Cyprus. Of course, Cyprus had some (long dead) indigenous saints like St Hilarion. Pierre de Thomas by contrast was a “modern” living saint (or at least an aspiring saint). As a French Carmelite and papal legate he was an outsider who had to negotiate the religious life on Cyprus, a region on the periphery of Europe. Through an analysis of a number of crucial episodes in the Life I will show how Pierre transformed himself from a disruptive force into an integrative force on the island.

From ideas on forcible conversion (Pierre locked a large number Orthodox priests in a church and tried to bully them into conversion to the Latin faith) to the ecumenical participation in an important plague procession and his posthumous miracles, we can observe a trajectory from hostile confrontation to the religious integration so typical of many regions in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, Pierre Thomas’ interventions in the religious life in Cyprus have wider ramifications in that they allow us to define Cypriot and Eastern Mediterranean religious and cultural identities in the second half of the 14th century.

Saints in the City. Angevin Religious Politics and Problems of Regional Identification

The conquest of the Hohenstaufen Empire by the French Angevins in the second half of the thirteenth century brought a series of abrupt and profound changes for Southern Italy: a new ruling dynasty, a new class of landowning nobility, a new language of court, culture, and administration. The political aspects of this long process of state-building and of the integration of the invaders into all aspects of local life has been described by historians and art historians alike. The focus of research lying mostly upon the royal family though, the role of the local, regional forces have not yet received the necessary attention. A closer look on the development of the cult of saints promises, therefore, a key to understand more of these socio-political processes between 1266 and the end of the dynasty at the beginning of the 15th century.

The development of the cult of saints in the kingdom of Naples is largely determined by the interests of the ruling Angevin family. While the iconography of family monuments emphasize the family's holiness (*beata stirps*), the donations for liturgical celebrations underline the importance of individual family saints like Saint Louis of Toulouse, the older brother of King Robert the Wise. The tight alliance of the Angevin family with the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans, has been important for the spreading of this cult.

On the other side, local saints venerated by individual cities or by groups of citizens seem to have received neither much interest nor donations from the royal family. In Naples, for instance, the royal family succeeded in implementing their personal cult in the city's main sanctuary only in the 1330s. This indicates a deep rooted antinomy in Neapolitan society between the over-regional orientated royal family on the one side and the local cathedral clergy and their families on the other.

This study proposes to investigate the slow integration of the Angevins into the cult of local saints and the role this development had for the unification of the Neapolitan region under a capital and for the cohesion of Sicilian kingdom as a whole.

Marco Bogade

Dorothy of Montau († 1394). Remarks on the Cult of a Mystic and Teutonic Knights' Saint

The hagiographic written sources on St Dorothy of Montau (Dorothea von Montau) have been well edited and received wide attention within the scientific community in recent years. Her iconography, however, has not been explored yet and therefore represents a major research gap within art history.

Dorothy was born in Groß Montau/ Mątowy Wielkie in the monastic state of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia (today Poland) and spent the last years inside the retreat of Marienwerder/ Kwidzyn cathedral, as a mystic and visionary. Her confessor and spiritual accompanier, Johannes (of) Marienwerder, recorded her words as well as her biography and composed six *vitas* in Latin in the years 1394/95, marking the starting point of her canonization process in Rome. The proceedings were completed by Pope Paul VI in 1976, after nearly 600 years.

The canonization of Dorothy gives a disparate impression of her qualities as a role model or “*exemplum*” and of her “function” as a saint being promoted by the Pomesanian diocese. The cult of her as the “blessed patron saint of the Teutonic knights and the Monastic State of Teutonic Knights, Prussia” remained of regional importance and temporarily limited. In contrast to the veneration of St Hedwig (Jadwiga) of Silesia, for example, Dorothy never achieved the rank of a national patron saint and did not play a major role in the specific culture of remembrance among German refugees and expellees in the 20th and 21st century.

The aim of the conference paper is to examine the visual representations of Dorothy's cult from the late 15th to the 21st century in relation to the files of her canonization. What were the literary and iconographic traditions? Was she considered to be a “political saint” similar to e.g. St Wenceslas in Bohemia? What have been or are her qualities as a saint and whom was or is her holiness addressed to?

Inter-regional and Local Saints' Cults: Examples of Significant Liturgical Chants from Medieval Region of Istria

The research to be presented here is based on the evidence from medieval liturgical musical manuscripts from the bishopric of Parenzo/Pula (11th and 14th century). Those liturgical sources testify the profile of *sanctorale* of this region, which is rather unknown from the musical aspect of liturgy.

Though historically being part of the Patriarchy of Aquileia, Istrian region shows the traces of Bavarian (South German) and Aquileian liturgical repertoire, which is clearly documented in the list of musical plainchant items (sequences, Gloria trope, office chants, alleluia verses) of this region. *Sanctorale* from the musical manuscripts of the bishopric of Parenzo /Pula is documented in the codices stored in the archives in Šibenik and Augsburg today. The author aims to show concrete examples of German and Aquileian saints' cults that had been documented in the plainchant items for mass and office, meant for the liturgical usage in medieval Pula (chants for the patron saint of Pula, chants in honour of "local" saint Juliani Histrici, as well as chants dedicated to the German saints Afra, Othmar, etc.). Although one can testify a «transfer» of liturgical saints' cults from the great centres of liturgy, Regensburg and Aquileia, to Istria, the aspect of mutual influences, connections and similarities of the repertory among those regions has not been investigated from the musicological point of view yet. Besides the portion of liturgical chant repertory that seems to be "unique" for the Istrian region (Parenzo/Pula), we find the examples of "rare" disseminated sequences present in the limited number of Bavarian and Istrian codices, as well as the presence of Istrian saints in the musical repertory of Aquileian centres.

Based on the methods of comparison of melodies, this paper will try to show the process of adoption of German and Italian melodic models and its adaptation to the local «*consuetudo*» of the liturgical music in the bishopric of Pula.

Sabina de Cavi

From Amalfi to Bari: Itinerary of Sanctity in Early Modern Southern Italy under the Early Spanish Habsburgs

This paper will consider and discuss the trans-regional pilgrimage route to the main shrines of the Kingdom of Naples from the Angevin to the Habsburg times, from the shrine of St Andrew in Amalfi to the mountain of St Michael the Archangel and the shrine of St Nicholas of Bari in Apulia. It will discuss the cohesion of this holy itinerary “South of Rome”, questioning the regional borders, and/or civic spaces of the single shrines, to explain the role such journey had in the complex game of legitimating foreign rule in Southern Italy, either French or Spanish. The paper will also discuss the way relics were showcased in earlier architectural settings, and later re-enshrined through new remodeling, to convene ideological programs independent from (and sometimes in contrast with) the local and civic use of the relics. Since some of these shrines have been radically altered through the twentieth century, my research will document pre-existing conditions, questioning restoration choices that tend to dismantle the social relevance of cult in modern rituals, as well as the layering of the sacred space: an element determinant to understand the social engagement with cult through the early modern era.

Maria Craçiun

Elizabeth and the Saxons of Late Medieval Transylvania

Relying primarily on visual evidence, this paper aims to discuss the cult of St Elizabeth among the Transylvanian Saxons in the late medieval period. The main research question is whether Elizabeth reached the Saxons as a royal (dynastic) or as a Franciscan saint. The paper aims to explore the identity of a status group, living in a geographically delineated region and the dynamic of politics and piety in its construction.

Elizabeth Dawson

The *Vita Patricii* by Tírechán and the Creation of St Patrick's National Status in Seventh-century Ireland

This paper is primarily concerned with the creation of St Patrick's status as a national saint and the primacy of his church in the seventh century. For these purposes I will focus on the important seventh-century Hiberno-Latin Life of the saint written by the bishop Tírechán. Tírechán's *vita* is the oldest extant Life of Patrick and is especially important to a study of saintly jurisdiction because it sees the saint complete a journey of the island, through which he claims national dominance and primacy.

Compiled in the seventh century, the Life retrospectively looks back upon the fifth century and the beginnings of Irish conversion – specifically, Patrick's role in the proselytising of the island. Crucially, while Tírechán promotes Patrick's central role in Irish conversion, he implicitly acknowledges the complexity of the island's religious transformation through his inclusion of a great number of other clerics in the Life, who in their own way contribute to the development of the religion. Indeed, it appears that the biographies of many of these clerics have been subsumed into Patrick's extensive history. Hence, the Life advocates a greater national Patrician narrative, but simultaneously brings together a variety of extant traditions concerned with lesser known clerics from across the island, whose importance was far more localised and spatially limited.

In considering these aspects of Tírechán's work, this paper seeks to understand the development of Patrick's national identity through the creation of a spatially extensive narrative for the saint. Moreover, it will consider the importance of lesser-known clerics in this process, and ask why their regional histories remained part of Patrick's jurisdictionally extensive biography.

Anne Doustaly

Local Uses and Universal Identities: Cult and Iconography of Female Saints in Late Medieval Provence

À partir d'un corpus composite, formé des peintures publiques (retables et peintures murales), des récits hagiographiques, des exempla et des prix-faits de retables disparus, l'étude s'intéresse au culte des saintes et à leurs représentations, dans un cadre géographique compris entre Rhône et Alpes, et entre Méditerranée et haute Durance.

L'inventaire des images révèle une prédilection pour les saintes universelles, et l'absence, dans les représentations, des figures locales de la sainteté médiévale – Douceline, Dauphine, saintes populaires, non canonisées. Parallèlement, des pèlerinages locaux existent, comme celui de sainte Marthe à Tarascon, de sainte Anne à Apt ou de sainte Marguerite à Lucéram, qui semblent définir la spécificité provençale en creux, comme une adhésion à des cultes universels de saintes évangéliques ou martyres. L'exemple majeur est le pèlerinage de sainte Marie-Madeleine à Saint-Maximin : l'ancrage provençal, fondé sur la légende de la sainte et l'invention des reliques par les comtes-rois de la dynastie des Angevins de Naples, s'articule avec une popularité universelle et un rayonnement international qui font converger vers la Provence des pèlerins venus de tout l'Occident. Le culte et les usages iconographiques des saintes semblent alors rattacher la Provence soit à un royaume désarticulé et finissant – le royaume Angevin – soit ensuite au royaume de France, enfin au plus vaste ensemble de la chrétienté, les origines orientales des saintes évangéliques et martyres faisant en outre écho à l'horizon commercial et culturel de l'Orient. L'identité « régionale » fonctionne ici par un particularisme à rebours, fondé sur les cultes les plus partagés et, partant, les plus prestigieux.

Carrefour commercial, ex-capitale de la chrétienté, qui plus est soumise à des dissidences encore vivaces – Vaudois, Réforme – enfin politiquement rattachée à des tutelles successives, la région développe une culture de la centralité qui, par peur de l'éclatement, ne promeut pas les saintes locales pourtant très populaires, et met au contraire l'accent sur les cultes les plus universels. Les prix-faits de retables, les commandes de peintures murales, les origines sociologiques variées des pèlerins, attestent une culture commune de la sainteté féminine qui favorise la cohésion régionale par adhésion à l'universel.

Juliana Dresvina

St Margaret - a Saint for Medieval East Anglia?

The cult of St Margaret of Antioch, flourishing in late-medieval England, was particularly strong in the East Anglian region. In church dedications, she was second only to the Virgin Mary among female saints, with more than 200 churches dedicated to her, of which a quarter are scattered across rural Norfolk, making her the most popular female patron-saint there. Numerous medieval images of her, made between the late 14th and early 16th centuries, survive in various media: wall-paintings, stone- and wood-carvings, stained glass, manuscript illumination – more than anywhere else in the country. Margaret (or its vernacular form Margery) was the most popular female name of that period in the region (it is enough to think of Margery Kempe or the Margarets of the Paston family). Fifteenth-century East Anglia also engendered four lives of St Margaret - more than any other part of medieval England – with a distinctive local flavour: Lydgate's 'balade' written in 1429/30 for Anne Mortimer; the first entry in a verse legendary by Osbern Bokenham, an Austin canon from Clare in Suffolk, composed in 1443 for Osborn's close friend, Thomas Burgh of Cambridge; a mid-fifteenth-century reworking of the St Margaret entry from the South English Legendary by a scribe from the east of Ely, extant in Bodleian Library MS Rawl. Poet. 225, and a unique life of St Margaret in prose, found in the British Library Harley MS 4012, a devotional compilation in English dated to the 1460s and produced for Anne Harlyng (of East Harling, Norfolk). In my paper I propose to attempt an explanation for such unusually overwhelming popularity of the saint with seemingly no local connections.

Saints over Sea, Saints from Overseas. Cult and Images of Saint Michael and Saint Nicolas between Apulia and Dalmatia in the Middle Ages

Since ancient times, Dalmatia has been mutually intertwined with the territories of the opposite Adriatic shore, and with Apulia in particular. In such an intimate and defined area, the sea has a more unifying nature than a separating one, allowing more fluid and dynamic relations between the two. The widespread worship of Saint Michael and Saint Nicolas during the Middle Ages, considered in Dalmatia as “overseas saints”, testifies to the great number of exchanges with Apulia, where two major worship locations consecrated to the saints can be found, namely Saint Michael’s Sanctuary, which is located on the Gargano, and Saint Nicolas’ Basilica in Bari.

The grassroots-level popularity of the two saints in the local area has been suggested to have occurred as a result of the numerous Slavic migration flows to shores of Apulia during the high Middle Ages and to the many merchants and wayfarers continuously travelling along trade and pilgrim routes. The Benedictines played a decisive role in rooting the worship of the two saints in the area. They passed on the cultural and religious traditions of Southern Italy. Monuments and painting works were often promoted by monastic communities spread along the entire Dalmatian shore, especially those of the low Adriatic Sea, which shared deep relations with towns in Apulia. Dedications and iconographic choices clearly express the self-worshipping aim of upper-class members, who usually commissioned these works. These examples, which are sometimes the result of the activity of travelling workers, testify to the exchange of shared models, and thus the existence of a single cultural identity, which goes beyond geopolitical and regional borders including the territories of the low Adriatic Sea.

Multiple Regional Identity of a Neapolitan Queen: Mary of Hungary's Readings and Saints

Mary of Hungary (+1323) constitutes in her person a cross-regional identity, since she was a Hungarian princess and got married in a French-Italian dynasty, namely the Angevins of Naples. She was an especially devoted person, and the cult of saints was a primary element of her personal and dynastic identity. Since the recent publication of a volume on the Church of Donna Regina (Janis Elliot-Cordelia Warr ed., *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*. Aldershot, 2004), many aspects of her patronage-activity have been clarified, but there are still a few problems to be solved.

From the decorative program of the frescoes of the church Santa Maria Donna Regina we can learn that the Hungarian royal saints, first of all, Elizabeth of Hungary, played an important role in Mary of Hungary's devotion. However, from an analysis of the titles of the books she inherited, we can learn that not only her home region (Hungarian Kingdom that in modern terms corresponds to the major part of what we call the Central European region), but surprisingly also the French cultural background could have been important for her. Furthermore, if we compare the decorative program of the fresco-cycles of the Donna Regina church with the reconstruction of the books listed in her testament, we can get closer to understand the multiple identity of a late medieval ruler.

A concrete case-study can be the Elizabeth fresco-cycle that follows in major part the narrative of the Golden Legend but contains also episodes missing from this source. From the testament we learn that the queen had two – presumably different – Elizabeth legends in her library, and on the basis of these pieces of information we can make a hypothesis about the content of these lost texts. Furthermore, the Pseudo-Bonaventurian *Meditationes Vitae Christi* is one of the main textual sources of other fresco cycles, but there are problematic points concerning its dating and attribution to be clarified in order to establish the relation between text and images in this case.

Patrons in the Diocese: the Transylvanian Episcopate and the Channelling of Saints' Cults

Late medieval Transylvania belonged to what has been identified as a region of an archaic model of sainthood, primarily characterized by the presence of long-established cults, such as those of the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and St John the Baptist, or the more recently introduced cults of the dynastic saints. Whilst this view is confirmed by Transylvanian-produced source material, both textual and visual, it would be worth investigating the dynamic of this model of sainthood prevalent in the region. The understanding of the various influences under which one cult or another spread in the Transylvanian diocese could highlight the extent to which institutionally-promoted cults were adopted by and adjusted to the needs of different groups. I would propose, therefore, to focus on the role played by the Transylvanian episcopate in the emergence and propagation of saints' cults and to assess the modalities within which these cults acted as catalyses in the forging of parochial, professional, or cultural communities. As bishops were instrumental in the spread of the saints' cults, the paper would aim at identifying the cults which were cultivated in the Transylvanian episcopal see of Alba Iulia in the timeframe between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century. By investigating the personal initiatives of the cathedral clergy in this regard, one would be able to outline the episcopal agenda in the domain of saints' cults. Yet, this would be only the first level of the analysis. A second analytical step would be that of following by means of church patronage how cults promoted in the cathedral reverberated in the ecclesiastical units of the Transylvanian diocese. From this point of view one separate category could be identified. It consists of cults, such as that of St Michael, the patron of the episcopal see, which were successfully transferred by episcopal mediation to the parish level and contributed to the shaping of parish-based communities. This transfer of cults was, nevertheless, a two-way process. Therefore, another distinct category would be represented by cults which became very popular in Transylvania since the end of the thirteenth century, but made a belated appearance among the holy figures venerated in Alba Iulia cathedral: for example, the cults of the dynastic saints, Stephen, Emeric and Ladislas, who received the honor of the altar in the cathedral of St Michael only in the course of the fifteenth century, despite being long-established, highly popular cults, particularly in south-eastern Transylvania. Thus, this close scrutiny of the interplay between the cults favored by the highest Transylvanian ecclesiastics and those revered locally could enrich our understanding of the way saints' cults made an impact on the complex process of identity formation.

Reichsheiliger or Regional Patron? Imported Hagiography and Local Adaptation in the Cult of St Adalbert of Prague

The present paper examines the transformation of the early hagiography of St Adalbert of Prague (ca. 956-997) in the context of his cult in Central Europe, focusing on the various transformations which shaped the hagiographic profile of Adalbert in close relation with and often in response to the evolution of his cult from an imperially-sponsored cult to that of a regional saint. The evolution of the hagiographic material will be traced in two ways.

On one hand, I will consider the intentional changes introduced in the Bohemian and Polish surviving manuscript copies of the the early Adalbert *Vitae* written by Iohannes Canaparius (BHL 37, 37a, 37b; ca. 999) and Bruno of Querfurt (BHL 38, 39; ca. 1004); both these hagiographic narratives, which can be defined as “imported” hagiography, were produced outside of the Central European context and underwent significant changes in medieval Bohemia and Poland meant to contextualize them and to adapt Adalbert’s image to the needs of a regional, rather than an empire-wide cult.

On the other hand, I will also briefly investigate the various ways in which the needs of this regional cult were addressed in various local hagiographic products intended to supplant or to supplement the earlier, “imported” hagiography of Adalbert. For this purpose, I will consider texts such as the metrical *Vita* (BHL 41, inc. *Quattuor immensi*) produced in Bohemia at an uncertain date as well as several texts of Polish provenance such as the anonymous eleventh-century *Passio of Tegernsee* (BHL 40), the thirteenth-century *Vita* (BHL 42, inc. *Tempore illo*), and the earliest miracula collection (BHL 44, 45). All these texts are informed, as I will argue, by easily recognizable regional concerns. These are related both to the ideological expression of clearly defined local identities and to the absence from the early “imported” hagiography of certain elements of the cult (such as miracles effected among and targeting regional audiences) which later came to be regarded as important for Adalbert’s status as a local *patronus*.

Visual Cults of Saints between the Kingdoms of Hungary and Poland – the Case of Medieval Spiš (1412 – 1526)

The region of Spiš (Scepusia, Zips, Szepes) offers an example of a territory in which the medieval cults of saints functioned in multicultural environment. In this context, the visual propagation of saints served different purposes. Images and legends of early Christian martyrs, venerated in the whole Latin Europe, were closely connected with the basic values of Christian communities. Some cults were used to strengthen different group identities: the legend of Saint Antony in Dravce served the local monastic community, whereas the narrative cycles of Saint Ladislav of Hungary were particularly attractive to nobility connected with the Angevin dynasty. After 1412, when King Sigismund of Luxembourg pawned a substantial part of the region to Poland, the traditional tensions between ethnic and social groups were positioned into a new context. This new political situation has been reflected by some images of saints on altar retables, too. After the middle of the 15th century, Hungarian dynastic saints and the scenes from their legends were represented in Matejovce, on a retable which was otherwise influenced from Poland. The Polish influence on the iconography of the images was relatively weak – the patron saints of Cracow were depicted in Spišská Sobota in 1516. Nevertheless, the visual language by which the figures and lives of the saints were offered to the communities was substantially influenced by a new style of the strong workshop of Veit Stoss in Cracow. The aim of the proposed paper is a closer visual and historical analysis of media and processes of cultural communication, in which the images of saints played very important role.

The Cult of Spain's Regional Saints in Counter-Reformation Madrid

During the early modern period, Madrid began to be thought of as a moral entity, which in solemnities such as the beatifications could symbolize the unity of the kingdom in all activities devoted to the defence of the Church. The ceremonies devoted to Ignatius Loyola (1609) and Teresa of Ávila (1614) offered a tangible expression of cohesion within the diverse forms of the Hispanic Monarchy, and those celebrated in Madrid with the exceptional participation of the king were considered examples for the rest of the Habsburg territories. They were moments of an emotive nature, imperceptibly indoctrinating, during which the people of Madrid felt to a certain degree to be proud members of the most powerful and splendid nation, and immersed within this powerful framework they could present their supplications for the intercessions of the heroic 'Spanish saints'.

The Spanish hagiographical festivities constitute a privileged genre to explore the apologetic aspects of a display of elements intended to produce admiration, with a diverse mobilisation of expressive media ranging from iconography and emblems to oratory and poetry, with the aim to teach, while also entertaining, about the greater glory of the orders, the king, and his capital. By their faceted nature, these extraordinary religious festivities were a more diverse and engaging spectacle than the theatre itself, the public entertainment par excellence in seventeenth-century Spain. The public would look at, overwhelmed with the luxury of ornament; the altars and altarpieces; the images and relics; the masses' solemnities; the inventiveness of the hieroglyphs and competitions, reaching the religious through the bodily senses. Thanks to these festivities, Spain and its capital were transformed into one of the privileged spaces of Christendom and among the most prodigious examples of sanctity of all Europe, fulfilling, at the same time, a double function of exalting regional interests and eulogising royal authority.

Thomas J. Heffernan

Volitional Suffering as the Mark of Regional Identity in the African Church from Tertullian through Augustine

The African Church first enters the historical record with its leader Tertullian who provided an understanding of that church's fundamental spiritual ethos in his ringing expression: "The blood of the Christians is the seed of new life" (*Apologeticum*, 50.12; composed ca. 197). Tertullian's argument is inseparable from a context of severe persecution. Christianity in Africa was persecuted from its very origins as is evident in the earliest text of African Christianity and the earliest Christian Latin document, the *Passio Scilliantorum* (ca. 180). While persecution of the church in its first three centuries was sporadic and wide spread throughout the Mediterranean, it appears that the desire for volitional suffering is a singular quality which provided this regional church its identity, even after the period of persecution had ceased. Christian African writers beginning with Tertullian, but including Cyprian, Augustine and Quodvultdeus, situate the identification of their Christian past with the sacrifice of the martyrs. These leaders preached that their Christianity is inseparable from that of a suffering church. Suffering was to remain a cornerstone of its ecclesiology and indeed to be embraced throughout its history. Writing two centuries after Tertullian's death and a century after Constantine's edict establishing the church, Augustine, who is well aware of Tertullian's heterodoxy – indeed he condemns him as a heretic (*De haeresibus* 86) – nonetheless cannot resist borrowing this expression of Tertullian's in two sermons (*Sermo* 22.4.4 and 286.4.3), remarking that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed and [it will] raise up a harvest for the church." Thus even for the intellectual Augustine, his church, the ancient church of Christian Africa, is one whose sustaining charisma is the expiatory volitional sacrifice of its earliest members.

Intercessores pro natio. Visual Constructions of Central European Christian Pantheons

The paper will compare ways of constructing “national” Christian pantheons in Central Europe as presented in visual material of the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period (14th to 17th centuries). It confronts the examples from the Czech Republic and Austria looking at the historical development of their patron saints’ representations. The aim is to look for the different models of constructing national (supra)identities and attachments through the cult of saints.

The opening hypothesis is the following: The two countries represent two different patterns of formation of national pantheons. In Czech Republic consisting of three historical regions, the dominant Bohemia was responsible for formulating the canon already in the early Middle Ages, whereas Moravia, colonised by Czechs since the 11th century, did not contribute to the canon until the 19th century. The third region, Silesia, joined the Lands of Bohemian Crown at a later point, when a regional pantheon was already established, and thus resisting influences from Bohemia. Although the official version of Bohemian pantheon (called by the Baroque historians the “Bohemian Heaven”) underwent changes in the period of confessionalisation, it remained remarkably stable through history.

In Austria, on the other hand, no similar pantheon has been developed. In the Late Middle Ages, there were important attempts to create official umbrella cults important for the formation of the state, culminating with the canonisation of St Leopold the Babenberg. In spite of them the regions of Austria managed to maintain their independent traditions in the individual lands’ patronage until the 20th century.

In my paper, I will look at late medieval and early modern representations of holy patrons as symbolic manifestations of collective identities and compare their usage, lack, and changing formats using examples from both countries.

Gerhard Jaritz

Images of Saints - Images of Community

Visual representations of saints were produced, disseminated and exhibited for different groups and levels of beholders, that is, different types of community. These distinctions of image recipients could, among others, refer to geographical, social or gendered space. With the help of various visual signs, the depictions of the saints, their environments, the background of the images, the portrayed objects of material culture, etc. were often in some way connected to the (environment of the) expected beholders of a specific territory, regional entity, town, village, social affiliation, religious community, family, etc. This created context should help the beholders to get closer to the saintly message by recognizing the saint as close to or even as a member of one's own community or 'region' (to be understood in a very broad sense). The paper will show the variety of such possibilities of cohesion with the help of late medieval Central European image material.

Graham Jones

Shepherd of his Flock, Guardian of the *polis*: the Geography of Regional Identity as Expressed in the Dedications of Churches

The spatial distribution of church dedications, that is to say *patrocinia*, is non-random and choices of patron appear deliberate (Jones, 2007*). Primarily they reflect communal concerns, often around the economic exploitation of the landscape. However, in the case of episcopal saints the geography of cult as expressed in religious dedications generally appears to link the saint more powerfully with identity and protection of the *patria* rather than any particular aspect of character or efficacy – even when addressed by the saint-bishop's iconographic attribute(s). Of course, some bishops acquired patrocinial honour far beyond their dioceses. St Martin is an obvious example of one whose cult transcended national borders. Others were commemorated in dedications across a nascent nation-state. Nevertheless, the bulk of episcopal cults seem reflected in dedications which largely respect their home ground – the saint's diocese or the *regio* it served (often coterminous). Are there common features which explain the anomalies? Is it possible to suggest cases where individual cults may have stimulated a new sense of belonging, rather amplifying pre-existing loyalties? Do episcopal dedications inhabit particular types of locality?

Addressing these and related issues, this paper examines case studies from countries where the methodology of TASC (the Transnational Atlas and Database of Saints' Cults) has been applied. It collates and analyses dedication evidence on a comprehensive, scientific basis and at the most local level: diocese by diocese, parish by parish (within discrete topographic units), church by church. Where possible, devotional locales other than parochial and monastic churches are included, e.g. chapels and altars within churches, stand-alone chapels, hospitals, and sacralised features in the landscape.

*Graham Jones, *Saints in the Landscape* (Stroud, Tempus).

Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen

Pitting Saints against Saints: The Battle for Status and Supremacy in Medieval Danish Dioceses

In this paper I wish to explore the ways in which saints become clearly identified with geographic and political areas, enabling the saint to serve as a figurehead, and spiritual as well as physical or military protector of such an area. The point of departure for this paper will be medieval Denmark and the patron saints of four cathedrals (Lund, Roskilde, Odense and Århus) which each can be understood to belong to a distinct geographic area and diocese of the country. The crux of the matter will be how the supremacy of a protector saint over other saints can be measured and what happens when such regional protector saints are pitted against each other as a way to test the power and influence in-between different agents, which in this case will be bishops and their dioceses.

I will furthermore touch upon the role of local or national Danish saints (St Knud and St Niels) in comparison to internationally known or revered figures (St Dionysius and St Lawrence). The source materials to be used for this exposition are miracle collections, sermons, and popular legends, as well as a number of visual sources.

Demoniacs and Devotees – Defining the Boundaries of Cultic Communities

This paper seeks to explore how victims of demonic possession contributed to the formation of a cultic community; by cultic community is meant the participants in rites of devotion (invocation, pilgrimages) here. The paper will focus on the canonization process of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino (AD 1325) and register of miracles of Saint Zita of Lucca (AD c 1278).

Deliveries from demonic possession were typical manifestations of saintly powers; but, occasionally, the victims of spirit possession were besieged not by demons but by deceased known malefactors, like Rinaldo di Brunforte (in Nicholas' process) connected with the political strife of guelfi and ghibellini. Respectively, in the registers of Saint Zita, there are several cases of possession in which the malign spirit has been an ordinary man, not a demon. Interestingly, some of the possessing spirits can be labeled as political adversaries of the main supporters of these saints. In the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino, preference as witnesses was given to guelfi-supporters and dominant families of the area, while a prominent Lucchese family, the Fatinelli, controlled the cult of Zita. Did the cases of spirit possession illuminate the struggle of good and evil forces – not only in the spiritual realm but in the secular political context, as well?

Demoniacs, even if they were a disruptive presence causing disorder in their communities, were at the same time humble devotees. By their torments, they linked devotion to political negotiations; they pleaded the help of a local patron to deliver them from malign spirits (of political adversaries), thus giving support to local elites who promoted cults of these saints. Local heavenly patron cast out unclean spirits; therefore, the demoniacs, for their part, helped to define a (mental, political and social) space dedicated to these saints – they helped to define the boundaries of a cultic community.

Per totam provinciam. Saints, Propagation and Regional Identities

Hagiographic sources from the Later Middle Ages (13th-15th centuries) connected to the process of canonisation contain a vast amount of information on the *fama sanctitatis*. The concept of *fama* was initially adopted from civil law and became more and more important in canon law too. The general background and the use of *fama* at medieval civil court hearings have found some attention in research (e.g. Fenster & Smail, 2003), as well as its place within the juridical development of late-medieval canonisation (Wetzstein 2004).

Some features of *fama* in hagiographic sources have been treated in studies by Vauchez, Finucane, Goodich, Krötzl (2004), and others, but the spatial dimension has not yet been object of a more detailed research. In my paper, I intend to present some results of my studies in this regard, based on hagiographic sources from various parts of medieval Europe (Italy, France, England, Germany, Scandinavia). How does the spatial dimension appear in the questionnaires prepared for canonisation hearings? What do the answers tell about regional identities, their extension and overlappings? Can they be differentiated as to social background of the witnesses? What do they tell on the different ways of propagation and spreading of information? What are the limits of interpretation: trustworthiness, generalisation, etc.

Preachers and Regional Saints in the Late Medieval Krakow

The paper will investigate how the preachers in Krakow perceived and presented various saints who symbolized various local and regional identities related to the Krakow centre: the city, the diocese, the region, the kingdom. Various saints were patrons of Krakow and its region on various levels in the late Middle Ages: St Wenceslas, St Stanislaus, St Adalbert, St Florian, etc.

By the late Middle Ages all of them had their firm place in the pantheon of the local patrons, which is confirmed by liturgical evidence, diocesan synodal prescriptions, and so on. The saints were changing ranks and order of importance, they competed and cooperated, and preferences of the individual patron-saints varied depending on various circumstances. Their festivities were regularly celebrated, often not only locally but reaching beyond the centre, still retaining an important connection to Krakow. Preachers had occasions to deliver sermons on these saints on their feast-days in front of clerical and lay audiences; a number of sermons (in various stages of elaboration, different types) are extant in manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are reflections of existing symbolic regional identities. At the same time, they contributed to their formation and strengthening.

I will focus on the sermons on these saints which were composed or delivered in Krakow in this period. Several well-known personalities composed and delivered speeches on these saints, many of them affiliated with the university, the cathedral chapter, the court and local parishes, or some of the religious orders active in Krakow. Although the activity of these clerics has been subject to research, in many cases their pastoral activities have not been studied in detail. The paper will focus, first of all, on the sermons by these well-known personalities, then also on some anonymous texts which are, however, clearly bound with the centre in Krakow, or deal with the patronage of these saints. I will draw on previous research as well as bring into light some hitherto unstudied manuscript material.

The Cult of St Nicholas in Albania

When looking at the place names of Albania, one can easily notice that their majority is bearing saints' names. The written sources confirm that most of these place names exist since the Middle Ages. Although there is such a rich ground for hagiographical studies in Albania, very few studies are done in order to highlight this aspect of the Christian culture in Albania, and those studies tend mostly to identify and enlist the saints' names, rather than to see them as a forming part of the local identity. In order to study how their cult was imported or created, one would need a huge project to be undertaken, but thanks to international project, one can treat these cults as part of bigger ones and study them in a much wider context, avoiding thus work on general aspects of these cults. I would be thus more than happy to present results of my research at this conference, focusing on the cult of St Nicholas in the territories of present-day Albania.

Saint Nicholas was one of the most popular Christian saints in Albania, venerated by Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims alike. Saint Nicholas, a 4th-century bishop of Lycia, rose in later times, beginning with the 9th century in the East and with the 11th century in the West, to become one of the most beloved saints of the church. In 1087, the relics of Saint Nicholas were stolen by Italian merchants and enshrined in Bari, which no doubt helped to strengthen his cult in the southwestern Balkans. Of the some 275 Catholic churches which are known to have existed in Albania in the late 16th and the early 17th centuries, 40 (i.e., one in seven) were dedicated to Saint Nicholas.

The Development of Devotion to Saint Anthony of Padua between Localism and Universalism

The paper aims at discussing the double way in which the figure of Saint Anthony of Lisbon/Padua was presented in sources from 1232 to about 1350. Following a strictly hagiographical point of view, it is possible to reconstruct the steps by which the community of friars in Padua confined the importance of Saint Anthony's place of birth, Lisbon, more and more, in order to turn him into the saint of Padua. Within a larger movement aimed at the appropriation of the saint, friars linked with Padua wrote several lives where the importance of the city in Anthony's life got more emphasis.

The demand for Anthony as a patron saint of Padua is also visible in the role that the urban population had in the canonization of Anthony: the first sign of the increasing identification between the city and the Franciscan saint, the identification which grew during the centuries. This is also accentuated by the centrality of the Basilica di Sant'Antonio and the activities that have flourished around it shortly after the death of Anthony. On the other hand, we can find a different attitude represented by the Franciscan Order, preachers and hagiographers, as it can be seen mostly through the study of sermons dedicated to Anthony. The friars preached almost all over Europe, but they very rarely recalled the city of Padua in relation to the saint, preferring to present him as a model of sainthood for their own holy community of St Francis. Moreover, they shape Anthony's figure to meet the internal needs of the Order in various stages of its expansion. Thus, these sources accentuate the universality of Saint Anthony, whose model is supposed to be valid for all, but mainly for the members of the Order, who are constantly called to imitate and worship the saint wherever they are.

Starting from these preliminary considerations, the paper aims to provide answers to the following questions: how does hagiography use and build the figure of Anthony in terms of its emergence as a *patronus Paduae*? What are the interventions of the Commune, the bishop, the friars and the faithful of Padua in order to achieve this goal? How do the Friars Minors act and take again possession of Saint Anthony? Which tools do they use? What are the characteristics of the saint that the preachers of the Order emphasize in order to make him a model for the entire Franciscan community?

The Cult and Depiction of St Olav and St Canute in Medieval Livonia

This paper will explore the cult and visual representation of two important Scandinavian saints in the 'peripheral' region called Livonia (corresponds approx. to modern Estonia and Latvia). The discussion includes the main centres and promoters of these cults, such as St Canute's guild, St Olav's guild and St Olav's church in Tallinn, and St Olav's guild in Riga. The probable conflation of the cult of two different Canutes in Tallinn will be pointed out. The paper will study how these saints became identity markers for particular social groups and representatives of certain occupations. The visual 'domestication' of these saints will be investigated, and how their representations shaped the local urban environment. Although the paper will chiefly focus on the Middle Ages, the function of these saints as guild symbols in the Lutheran context of the following centuries will also be outlined.

Foreign Saints at Home in 8th- and 9th-century Rome

This paper probes the relationship between Rome's foreign communities and its cults of 'foreign' saints in the 8th and 9th century. Overwhelmingly, Rome's attested Greek monasteries, as well as its *diaconiae* and *xenodochia*, religious institutions associated with foreigners, were dedicated to saints not martyred in Rome. Taking this close correlation as my starting point, I examine to what extent and how the foreignness of the saints to which these institutions were dedicated served to differentiate these institutions. Many of these saints (such as St Lucy) were well-known in Rome and elsewhere; nor is there much evidence to suggest any correlation between the origins of these communities and the saints to which they were dedicated. Meanwhile these institutions were often deeply involved in the city's political and religious life (for example as sites of liturgical processions or as recipients of papal gifts). Nonetheless, in the hagiographical texts associated with these cults, these saints were frequently portrayed as distinctly foreign, retaining close ties to distant locations outside Rome. Furthermore, a number of these saints (such as St Erasmus) were regarded as extensive travellers, an identity well suited to religious institutions catering to pilgrims. Thus I suggest that although these communities were tightly integrated into Rome's sacred topography, their cults of 'foreign' saints allowed them to distinguish themselves as nodes of a geographic expansiveness that transcended Rome.

**Invocation of Saints and the Virgin as Protectors against the Turks:
Its Partisans and Critics in the Age of Confessionalization**

The cult of saints was a large thorn in the eyes of the Protestant Reformers and a subject of fierce polemics against the Church of Rome, especially from the second generation of Lutherans onwards. The idea that the saints and the Virgin Mary could intercede with God on behalf of men and that, consequently, it was useful and desirable to address prayers to them, especially in difficult or dangerous situations, was in the Protestant churches understood as depriving Christ of his role as the exclusive mediator between God and man and the redeemer of humanity.

While the Ottoman threat was becoming more imminent and tangible even for the more distant and largely Protestant regions, the conquered or directly threatened regions in South-Eastern Europe fed on the stories of miraculous interventions performed by the saints and especially the Virgin, and the few milestones that were gradually turning the battle luck towards the Christian side (such as the battle of Lepanto in 1571) served as a proof that special communal prayers indeed secured heavenly aid. The emergence of the Rosary cult and the rise in prominence of traditionally militant saints were the most conspicuous results of this process, but there were also minor, local cults that gained fame by defending their settlements from destruction. The news of such small triumphs and the intensification of the cults, however, only made the Protestant polemics against the invocation of saints fiercer, and accusations of “hagiolatrous profanity” (Jakob Thomasius) proliferated. All the more so as the saints’ cults were also used in the framework of the Tridentine reform to combat the Protestant churches and to re-Catholicize Europe.

This paper aims to bring to light some of the less known polemic treatises discussing the topic of the invocation of saints, specifically with regard to the Ottoman threat to the Christian West and the process of confessionalization.

How Did a Eulogy Brought from Jerusalem in the 6th Century Assist in Promoting Lavra of St Davit to the Regional Caucasian Significance

The paper deals with the story of elevation of the Lavra of St Davit, which belongs to the Gareji Wilderness in Georgia, to the regional, Caucasian importance, achieved through stationing there a eulogy brought from Jerusalem by St Davit.

The Life of St Davit of Gareji has preserved an interesting account, thanks to which the monastery founded by him turned into the most popular pilgrimage site not only for the Georgians but also for the believers of other nations and even for the representatives of other Christian creeds. Numerous medieval graffiti left by pilgrims on the walls of the monastery structures in Georgian, Armenian, Greek, Persian, and some other scripts, is a convincing proof of this tradition.

In the 6th century, St Davit jointly with his disciples headed for the Holy Land on foot. After reaching Jerusalem, he did not enter the Holy City, considering himself unworthy of that. St Davit picked up three stones from the Hill of Mercy overlooking Jerusalem, where he stayed praying and lamenting until his disciples returned back from the Holy City, and made back to Gareji wilderness, carrying the stones as a precious eulogy. That night the God sent an angel to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. In his dream the patriarch was informed about the pilgrimage of St Davit, who was on his way back to his motherland, carrying away all grace of Jerusalem together with three stones picked up on the Hill of Mercy. The patriarch was instructed to send messengers after St Davit with the purpose of taking two stones from him, allowing him to take away only the third stone with one third of Jerusalem's grace. St Davit had brought the stone to his monastery, where it has worked many miracles and has shown the strong healing power. Since then it is believed that three pilgrimages to the Lavra of St Davit equal to one pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Believers, who are unable to afford themselves a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visit the Lavra of St Davit at least three times and obtain the full grace of the Holy Land. This tradition is practiced to this day.

Center, Parrocchia and Colony: Some Patterns of Relic Acquisition in Late Medieval Venice

When Senator Flaminio Corner wrote *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello* in 1757, the sheer quantity, varied provenance, and fame of some relics were seen as crucial evidence of the might and longevity of Venetian religious institutions. In doing so, Corner follows in the footsteps of the doge Andrea Dandolo, who in his *Chronica extensa* (ca. 1350) carefully documented the history of the most important Venetian relics, thus making them an indelible part of subsequent historical and political discourse.

While relic holdings were integral to the Venetian sense of self and increasingly to pilgrims' perception of Venice as the second Holy Land, it is less clear why this part of Venetian history has not received attention in modern scholarship. While it is true that abundant scholarship has focused on the cult of Saint Mark, who evolved to become the state cult since its transfer in 826, the relic cults in parish churches have not been sufficiently studied, although replenishing and maintaining a wider network of relics within a city seems to have been equally important as maintaining a clearly defined cultic center. Thus, I propose to outline some patterns of acquiring relics for Venetian parish churches. I will claim that the decentralization of relic cults was in part due to the ample autonomy of parochial churches in the early history of Venice and the insignificance of the *ecclesia matrix*, which is the cathedral.

Furthermore, I will show that local need for relics was mostly fulfilled by entrepreneurial individuals who brought them to their parish churches from abroad. Such endeavors may have even brought them fame, as happened to Tribunus from Malamocco and Rusticus from Torcello, who were depicted proudly posing with the stolen body of Saint Mark in a 12th-century mosaic. These acquisitions entered the state chronicles and may have become integrated with the map of relics encompassed by state rituals. Such was the case with the body of Saint Marina which was stolen from its resting place near Constantinople in 1213 by Giovanni Buora, a Venetian merchant, and subsequently deposited in his parish church, San Liberale. The body, however, rose to state prominence and received annual visits by the barefoot doge only when the Venetian army recovered Padova from Cambrai League on her feast day, the 17th of July, 1512. This is just one example of the spatially delineated parish cult that at some juncture became reactivated and revalued on a much broader level as a state cult. We might be able to conclude that creating multiple *foci* of relic-based cults provided a stable material basis for a variety of individual and group identities to call upon as the need arose.

The second aim of the paper is to elucidate how Venetians disempowered their colonies by empowering their *parrocchie*. Examples will be drawn from the eastern Adriatic, namely from the towns of Zadar, Trogir, and Motor (Ital. Cattaro). This part of paper will greatly benefit from recent research on several Dalmatian towns where Venetian conquest was followed by thefts of patron saint relics. Recently, Nikola Jakšić elaborated on the circumstances surrounding the theft of the leg of Saint Tryphon, the patron saint of Kotor. That enterprise was led by Vettore Pisani, a Venetian navy general in 1378. Ana Marinković has worked on the theft of the arm of Saint John of Trogir, while Trpimir Vedriš and Ana Munk have researched the faith of Zadar patron saints in the context of Venetian conquests of Zadar. These studies allow us to form some preliminary conclusions. I will thus argue that drawing relics from the eastern Adriatic colonies was a means of disempowering conquered cities while empowering individual and family identities in hometown parishes. As the story of Saint Tryphon's leg demonstrates, the thefts were not necessarily only blind and blank attempts to disempower the enemy but were targeted acquisitions which were calculated to further supply body parts of previously established Venetian cults or create meaningful symbolical connections for which a certain body part provided a crucial link. By focusing on several examples of thefts that sucked holy power from the colonies after 1204 A.D., I'll attempt to outline the mechanisms that created a wide network of holy power in late medieval Venice -- a network which was necessary for the center and its center cult to function at its full force.

Holy Validation. Scandinavian Bishoprics and Their Saints

During the conversion and Christianization process in Scandinavia, from about 1000-1300, cults of new “indigenous” saints were formed. The emergence of these new cults is similar to other newly converted areas, in that the process of conversion usually saw the making of new martyrs for the Christian faith. The promotion of these early cults of saints was tied into the Christianization process of the country.

In many bishoprics in Sweden, it was seen as important to have a saint in order to legitimize a bishop’s seat or as firm evidence of the establishment of Christianity in a region. The evidence for this comes in part from the saints’ legends and their explicit naming of the location the saint favoured for the bishop’s see, such as St Sigfrid in Växjö (Sweden).

This paper will address the cults of Botvid of Södermanland, Eskil of Strängnäs, and Sigfrid of Växjö, as well as Helene of Skövde. The formation and initial establishment of bishoprics are incorporated into the legends of the first three. In addition, these cults of saints enjoyed a strong following in their local bishoprics of Strängnäs and Växjö.

Not all of the cults of new saints were used as evidence to support the placement of bishoprics. Helena, an important saint in the Skara bishopric with an office written by Bishop Brynolf of Skara himself, can be seen as a church-builder and a promoter of orthodox Christian practices. This paper will explore the differences and the diverse verification needs of the new bishoprics through the new cults of saints.

In the Scandinavian countries, the majority of liturgical books in use during the medieval period were later mutilated during the Reformation. The pages were re-used as covers for royal account books and in this manner preserved for later research. Using the Swedish liturgical fragments as indicators for the earliest official veneration of these indigenous saints and their provenance, it can be seen that the cults of saints appeared here in the newly converted region.

St Eric of Sweden. A Saint between Regional and National Importance.

St Eric is mostly known as the patron saint of Stockholm and as the national saint of Sweden in the later time of the Kalmar Union. This, however, is not the position from which he started. After his death in 1160 A.D., we do not learn anything about his cult until 1198, when his feast day was mentioned for the first time in the *Calendarium Vallentunense*. His cult remained inside the territory of the church of Uppsala until the middle of the 14th century, when St Eric started to fill the position of a national saint of Sweden in parallel to St Olav of Norway. This change of the spatial spreading of the cult of St Eric coincided with the changing conditions inside the Swedish society. The merging of the two *gentes* of *Svear* and *Götar* into one Swedish kingdom and the forging of a national identity made it necessary to create a unifying symbol. This symbol gained further importance in the time from the 1430s onwards, when there was a large faction in the Swedish society that aimed at disengaging the Swedish kingdom from the Union with Denmark and Norway.

On the other hand, the regional claim on the saint occurred approximately at the same time (the beginning of the 15th century), when only in the diocese of Uppsala a second holyday of St Eric, the day of his translation (January 24th) emerged and was added to the already existing and then widely observed day of his death (May 18th). The establishment of this new feast day as well as the two-sided description of St Eric in the sources of the 15th century show a regional reaction against the national re-interpretation of the saint and show that he was venerated differently on different spatial levels.

Alexander O'Hara

Saint Formation in a Marcher Society: The Cult of St Coloman and the Babenbergs

In 1012 an Irish pilgrim following the overland pilgrimage route to Jerusalem was brutally murdered by the inhabitants of Stockerau near Vienna on the false suspicion that he was a Czech spy. Following his death, miracles began to occur and he came to be venerated as a saint by the local people. In 1014 renown of this new saint came to the attention of the ruler of this frontier region of the Eastern March of Bavaria, the Babenberg margrave, Henry I. The margrave appropriated the incorrupt body of the martyr and took it to his stronghold at Melk. The spiritual power of the new saint was a valuable asset for Henry, a marcher lord in the process of consolidating his power base in this volatile, frontier region. This paper considers the role of the cult of St Coloman in legitimizing Babenberg power and authority and in the process helping to shape a new identity for the region that would later become to be known as Austria.

St Lucy and a Tale of Two Cities

The early Christian virgin-martyr Lucy is a universally recognized saint throughout Western Christendom, even in non-Catholic areas such as Scandinavia and the Orthodox East. A native allegedly of Syracuse, and a victim of Diocletian's persecutions, she has been venerated at least since Early Modern times as the healer of eye ailments. Like many popular saints, her cult has assumed different forms. More interesting, however, is her history in Italy, where two cities (Syracuse and Venice) claim sole right to her patronage. Although Lucy was born and suffered martyrdom in Syracuse, her body has long since disappeared from her native city. According to a popular Sicilian tradition, her relics were appropriated in the eleventh century by the Byzantine general Georgius Maniacus, who presented them to Empress Theodora. During the sack of Constantinople in 1204, however, they were seized by the Venetians. Although the Syracusans were unable to repossess the body, they continued (and still continue) to venerate Lucy as their chief protector. Although competition between the two cities for Lucy's favor is a constant, it peaked between 1560-1630, the period I would like to address. While Venetians commissioned a new church from Palladio to house the saint's remains, the Syracusans rebuilt the old one before the site of her martyrdom, and, several hundred meters away, an unusual semi-subterranean octagonal chapel that enshrined her conspicuously empty *loculus* in a catacomb. To fill the void created by her absence, they commissioned not only an altarpiece by Caravaggio (The Burial of St Lucy, 1608), but also an exorbitantly expensive monumental silver cult statue, which to this day they keep hidden all year in the city's Duomo save the week when they carry it in solemn procession to the martyr's basilica outside the urban walls. In her birthplace, in other words, Lucy's cult was fueled by popular longing for the recovery of her body, as the epigraph over her *loculus* still attests. The ascent of Lucy's cult in the late 16th/early 17th century coincided with the Counter Reformation's eager promotion of the cult of martyrs. This, however, was also a period in which both Venice and Spanish-controlled Sicily were experiencing serious friction with the Holy See and were threatened by interdicts. For this reason, scholars have generally assumed that the cult of Lucy was being pushed by those anxious to prove their loyalty to the papacy. Yet, there is no evidence that Rome was behind the surge of the cult in either place; indeed, in Syracuse the expense of the commissions were carried by the local government. Thus, the situation suggests that in both cases, the local population appealed to the saint not thanks to pressure from Rome but in order to transcend a tense political situation and demonstrate their loyalty to Catholicism – via the cult of saints – to an authority beyond the pope.

On the Cult of the Painting of Our Lady of Sinj in the 18th Century and the Process of Its Transformation from a Regional Anti-Turk Symbol to a Symbol of National Identity

The paper focuses on the development of the cult of the painting of Our Lady of Sinj, kept on the Baroque altar of Vicko and Pia Dall'Aqua in the Franciscan Church in Sinj in the course of the 18th century. In terms of iconography, the painting belongs to the type of the Madonna with inclined head, a popular Baroque pattern, venerated as Our Lady of Victory and Our Lady of Mercy, in the area of Sinj also frequently referred to as Our Lady of Slavodobiće (Glorious Victory). According to legend, the painting was brought to Sinj from Rama by the Franciscan friar Pavao Vučković in 1687. Tradition has it that the Holy Virgin, through her intercession, defended the Town of Sinj from the Turkish onslaught in a battle fought between the Catholic and Ottoman armies in 1715.

The author will show how the cult of the Holy Virgin, starting to develop from the moment of victory at Sinj, was gradually attributed political and spiritual connotations, most dominantly those of the Franciscan community, at the time present along the Croatian-Bosnian border extending between Sinj, Knin, and the pertaining coastal belt. The author will also interpret the chronicles and texts written by prominent Franciscans of the time, such as Filip Grabovac, Petar Knežević, and Andrija Kačić Miošić, on the one hand, corresponding with the contemporary ideas of the Counter-Reformation Church and the Marian cult, and on the other, aimed at creating a sense of national pride in the local population.

How to be an Alien: From Foreigner to Patron Saint in Late Antiquity

One of the most conspicuous features (and paradoxes) of the late antique cult of the saints is the promotion of legal aliens to the status of patron saints in the cities of the Roman Empire. The shift from 'stranger' to 'patron' is even more tantalizing if we realize that the Christian martyrs were not simple foreigners in the city: they made a point of their being aliens to the Roman State by a rather sanguine demonstration of how much preferable the Kingdom of Heaven was to the earthly Empire. How could conscientious objectors of *Romanitas* become defenders of Roman cities and patron saints of entire Roman regions?

This paper takes a fresh look at the 'rise of the stranger' in late antique hagiography. By the fourth century, martyrs were held to have acquired more than one new citizenship at their death. Apart from a passport to Paradise, martyrdom also bought them Roman citizenship! The new terrestrial country of the martyr for which s/he was responsible in Heaven was not necessarily identical with his or her birthplace. The saints changed homelands (*mutaverunt patriam*) and ruled the countryside by 'tomb right' (*iure sepulchri*): where their graves lay, there was divine power. The new clerical impresarios of the cult of the saints -- Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, Paulinus of Nola, and Prudentius -- stress with gusto the foreign extraction of their martyrs whose new-fangled patriotism they praise and proclaim: foreigners in life, the martyrs are naturalized by their death. Rome might have lost her status as imperial capital, but reigned as the capital of foreign saints. Other episcopal centres followed lead and extended their spiritual (and political) links through the martyrs to the borders of the Roman Empire.

To be an alien was an asset in the late Empire not only for long dead martyrs, but also for living holy men. Cities from Tours to Lorsch and to Naples showed manifest preference for unkempt and outlandish individuals when it came to choosing their local holy man, and Martin of Tours and Severinus of Noricum proved to be highly successful patrons of their new hometowns both in life and after their death. Not only mobility, but *translationes* and the booming trade of relics also brought saints from the margins to the center of Empire and thus redefined the very notion of 'center' and 'periphery.'

How to explain this outburst of foreign patron saints? Competition among the cities offers a useful tool, but is insufficient as an explanation. I wish to suggest that the multiple citizenship of the saints reflected not only new theological thinking but also new social realities in the late Empire.

Hagiography was a strikingly modern genre, remarkably sensitive to social issues. Emphasizing the foreignness of the saints was not only good Christian theology that explained why Christians were pilgrims on earth, but also good politics that calmed the existential *Angst* of many who felt uprooted in the swiftly changing world of the great migrations. The cult of alien saints mirrored the social mobility of the late Empire and established new networks between Greece and Rome, Rome and Ravenna, Milan and Rouen, Noricum and Naples, Sabaria and Tours. International Christianity gave a new local cohesion within the Roman city as well as within the Roman Empire. In meeting the political needs of those not in the center, hagiography did not simply use the saints as a means of negotiating power, but sought to redefine Rome both as an idea and as a functioning state. The paper argues that the naturalization of Christian saints in the Roman city gave a welcome redefinition of what it meant to be Roman.

**The Historiæ of Saints Oswald and Edmund:
Forging the King's Image, Defending the Community's Identity**

The religious celebrations commemorating sainted kings Oswald (634-642) of Northumbria and Edmund (ca. 855-869/70) of East Anglia represent case examples of how liturgy can disclose a communities' own projected and at times contested identity. Each of these saints' liturgical celebrations (*historiæ*) consists of composite texts, or additionally as in Oswald's feast, of two entirely different corpora. Unpacking the musical and textual strata helps elucidate the devotional and socio-political narratives they were made to express. The present paper aims at illustrating the diverse uses the cults of Oswald and Edmund served from the hitherto unexplored reference point of their liturgy. This is carried out in two parts, the first based on a textual analysis of the liturgy. The Durham feast for Oswald is compared with the Flemish continental liturgy from the monastery of Bergues. I argue that the stark contrast in messages conveyed by these celebrations underscores the specific political identity created for Oswald in England. Thereafter, study of the different parts comprising Edmund's *historia* and the contrasting messages they communicate, facilitates rendering the purposes his cult addressed at Bury St Edmunds Abbey.

The narratives created by these two *historiæ* are then compared with a musical analysis of their chants. Through the examination of text and music interactions I provide specific examples of how liturgy communicates extra-devotional messages. Both of these saints' liturgical celebrations demonstrate music creating a distinct relationship between king and the community. The way musical chants articulate the themes of kingly patronage and protection exposes how liturgy participates in transforming a saint's image into a socio-political tool helping further a community's aims. This in turn underscores how *historiæ* play a calculated component in the struggle over contested ecclesiastical independence and identity.

Rational Clergy and Irrational Laity: an 18th-century Biography of St Blasius in Service of State Promotion

Confronted with deep social, political and economic crisis towards the end of the Ragusan Republic, the state authorities took a bold step to improve their self-esteem both with their subjects in the region of Dubrovnik and with their allies at the papal court. The chosen means for this goal was historiography. Although this scholarly discipline enjoyed a particular status in the past of the Ragusan Republic, always regarded as a political tool and a symbol of national cohesion and identity, it reached the climax in the middle of the 18th century, when several clerics from various Church orders wrote a series of books analysing the history of the city from the ecclesiastical point of view.

Their wide interests included various topics from the history of political institutions to the everyday life, but clearly aiming to prove the greatness and singularity of the state. With this purpose they also approached the entire treasury of the city relics, kept at various reliquaries in the city churches. Their origin and importance in life of the community were analysed on the principles of critical thinking, instead of relying on legendary accounts. This rational and unbiased approach, however, was neglected by the state authorities who engaged a foreign author to prepare the first monograph on life and deeds of St Blasius, the Ragusan patron saint. The comparison of these two different approaches to the same topic shows how the greatness of critical mind surpassed unrealistic expectations, even supported with significant material means.

Beyond the Patrimony: the Spatiality of Miracle-stories

The concern of hagiography with land and property has long been noted (B. de Gaiffier, 'Les revendications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du xie siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 50 (1932), pp. 123-139; also more recently W. Davies, 'Property rights and property claims in Welsh Vitae of the eleventh century', in Patlagean and Riché, *Hagiographies*, pp. 515-533), and as such hagiographic texts are often full of geographical information. Yet the spatial landscapes they invoke vary significantly, as this paper will demonstrate through comparison of the miracula of St Columbanus and Ste Foy. Both collections, unsurprisingly, anchored their monasteries at their geographical centre. Yet, the cultic and political landscapes painted in each demonstrate very different attitudes to spatiality. Writing the posthumous miracle-stories of its patron, Columbanus, in the tenth century, Bobbio's community (N. Italy) was more concerned with perimeters and 'inclusion' (and thus exclusion) in a material sense. The anonymous monastic hagiographer was preoccupied with defining borders between Bobbio's own 'territory', and those of local bishops from whom Bobbio had long defended its independence. At Conques (S. France), the eleventh-century miracles of Sainte Foy invoke a very different landscape, which was neither enclosed in the symbolic sense as at Bobbio, nor exclusive. In fact, the miracles of Sainte Foy describe a pluralistic scene that allowed for co-spatialities between cultic and secular political authorities. Neither of the collections represented the patrimony of either monastery in its entirety. Instead, they chose to represent different versions of cultic and political spheres of influence, as geo-visualisation using GIS technology will demonstrate. Bobbio was concerned to represent a core area of the *terra sancti Columbani* where Columbanus' cultic capital was most valuable. Conques' cultic reach was significantly larger than its socio-political horizons. The spatial landscapes painted by the two collections were inseparable from the texts' audiences and wider purposes, and can tell us much about attitudes to landholding, rival sources of political or religious authority and conceptions of space in the central middle ages.

One Town's Saint is Another's Worst Nightmare: Saints Cults and Regional Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Russia's Upper Volga Region

My paper explores how, after being destroyed during Russia's first civil war (1598-1613), the provincial town of Torzhok in the Upper Volga region sought to rebuild itself and reclaim its regional historical identity by rallying around the cult of its native eleventh-century spiritual intercessor, Saint Efrem of Torzhok. The paper shows how the inhabitants of Torzhok (Novotortsy) collaborated with the monks of Efrem's house, the Borisoglebskii Monastery, to promote Saint Efrem's veneration at the expense of the reputation of Saint Mikhail Iaroslavich, the protector saint of Torzhok's regional rival, the town of Tver'. Throughout the Middle Ages, Torzhok, which had been ecclesiastically, economically, and politically aligned with the independent city-republic of Novgorod, was involved in a protracted confrontation with the rulers of Tver'. After the subjugation of Novgorod in 1478 by Moscow, Torzhok continued to be under the spiritual guidance of the Novgorodian Russian Orthodox archbishop but fell under the administrative jurisdiction of Tver', which led to serious political and economic consequences for Torzhok during the reign of Ivan the Terrible and the following civil war, when the Upper Volga region suffered enormous destruction from Polish raids. When in 1634 Tver' rediscovered the relics of Saint Mikhail Iaroslavich, one of its fourteenth-century princes, who had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Mongols, the monks of the Borisoglebskii Monastery and the Novotortsy embarked on a conscious effort to celebrate their independence from Tver' in the production of Saint Efrem's first *vita*. Saint Efrem's life, which was produced in Torzhok in the 1640s, accused Tver's protector saint of having destroyed Efrem's monastery and of having ordered his troops to pillage and burn down the town during a campaign of revenge in 1316. Saint Efrem's *vita* deliberately ascribes Torzhok's destruction by one of Mikhail Iaroslavich's successors, Aleksandr Mikhailovich, in 1372 to the Tverite martyr saint himself. The striking hagiographic effort to demonize the patron saint of a rival town played an important role in the forging of a lasting regional identity for Torzhok that was delinked from Tver' – even in the nineteenth century few Novotortsy possessed icons of Saint Mikhail.

The High-Altarpieces in the Hanseatic City of Rostock in Northern Germany – A Hagiographic Approach to Create Collective Identities

The Hanseatic City of Rostock plays a significant role within the late medieval artistic production in Northern Germany which is mainly represented by three high-altarpieces from the 15th century, spread around the monastic and parish churches in the city centre (a fourth high-altarpiece has been destroyed and is only represented by a predella). They all follow one formal standard of size, format and structure, which indicates that they have been fabricated in local workshops. However, each of the three altarpieces has a very genuine iconography and has been created with the conceptual approach to attach people serving within a specific community to one particular church and, thus, to create a genuine collective identity.

1) The oldest altarpiece, the Reredos of St John from around 1440, in the Dominican monastic church of St John was commissioned and financed by the powerful fraternity of the Three Magi whose members were merchants and traders in Rostock. To express the importance of the fraternity in a cross-regional setting an iconography was chosen that originally can only be found in places with a specific reference to the cult of the Three Magi (e.g. Cologne or Milan). Furthermore, the cycle of in total eight scenes from the legend of the Three Magi is in this quantity unique, even in a Europe-wide setting.

2) The second altarpiece served a female community within the Order of Cistercians. The iconographic programme that clearly takes a holistic artistic and intellectual approach to represent the idea of *virginitas* both in the sculpted as well as in the painted sections was made to give daily guidance to the nuns. The *Defensorium Inviolatae virginitatis beatae Mariae*, a 14th-century manuscript that reflects on the complex relationship between natural wonders and the virginity of Mary, has been a substantial supportive element to design the site-specific iconography.

3) The third and youngest altarpiece was produced for a parish church whose community members were mainly sailors, fishermen, and simple tradesman. The holistic iconographic programme is reflecting on the lives of St Nicholas and St Martin to represent the idea of altruism and charity that was directly related to the daily lives of the parish members.

My talk will investigate the cohesive forces behind each altarpiece and how a specific iconography generated a religious uniqueness that shaped the perception of the church and its members both in a civic as well as in a regional context.

Local and Overseas Saints in the Religious Identity of Late Antique Roman Africa

At the beginning of the 4th century Latin-speaking Roman Africa was proud of the graves of its martyrs, whose number exceeded by far those that could be found in any other region of the West except Rome. The tombs of victims of the 2nd- and 3rd-century persecutions were cared for with respect, their passions were remembered in literature and their names recalled in liturgy. However, whereas in the second half of this century, in several regions of the Mediterranean relics of saints began to be considered a source of a power able to expel demons, heal maladies, reveal hidden things and even protect cities, the graves of African saints remained silent and unspectacular from this point of view. In 404 Augustine, already aware of the miraculous power of relics which manifested itself in Milan and Nola, affirmed that the things like that did not happen in Africa. This situation changed just a few years later, after the arrival of relics of Gervasius, Protasius, and Stephen, which in a few years created several new, attractive and popular cult places. I am going to show what role these successful newcomers on one hand and the indigenous saints on the other played in the Christian identity of Roman Africa. To do so I will focus on two critical moments, both confronting two hostile Christian groups in this region: The first is the Donatist controversy, in which both sides – though in different manners – considered themselves to be ‘the Church of saints’ and the heirs of martyrs. I will present the ways in which the ‘Donatists’ and ‘Catholics’ used Apostles, other imported saints and local martyrs to construct their religious identity. The second moment is the Vandal period in which the persecuting invaders and the subdued population differed both ethnically and religiously. I will only touch a most interesting but poorly attested problem whether the saints were important for the ‘national’ consciousness of the Vandals. I will say more on how the presence of the invaders changed the set of most popular African saints and their function in local communities.

* POSTERS

Maja Cepetić

The Cult of St Ladislav as the Idea of Medieval Regional Cohesion

This poster has aim to explore the presence of the cult of St Ladislav on the territory of today's Croatia, and its role as a factor of cohesion in the Lands of the Crown of St Stephen. The cult of St Ladislav started to flourish in the late 13th century under the last Arpadian rulers, and it was especially intense at the time of the new Angevin kings in the 14th century. The figure of Ladislav successfully represented the ideal knight, and it was also an important propaganda tool for the legitimacy of the Angevin dynasty, but it also had a role in creating stronger collective identity of the kingdom. That is especially visible on the map, where we can see that the legend of St Ladislav in wall-painting cycles is mostly present in the outskirts of the region (Slovakia, Transylvania, Slavonia), where collective identity was weaker than in the center.

The topic will be mostly presented through the cycle of wall-paintings of the legend of St Ladislav in the church of St Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko. In this context the presence of the churches dedicated to St Ladislav in today Croatia (also of St Stephen the King, and St Emeric), as well as an interesting late medieval appearance of St Ladislav in Dalmatia will also be explored and presented.

From “Adoption” to Appropriation: Three Hungarian Holy Kings in the Churches of the Nobility in Medieval Hungary (14th-15th centuries)

The representations of the three Hungarian holy kings, Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislás, are widely spread in the late medieval Hungarian kingdom. By the beginning of the fifteenth century they also appear frescoed in some of the Romanian Orthodox churches pertaining to nobles of the Hațeg region, where the Hungarian authority was expanding. Their representation in such a context raises important questions on the significations these royal saints are invested with by the noble patrons of the works.

In order to reveal significations, the present essay produces a general survey upon all the remaining frescoes depicting the three Hungarian holy kings in the medieval Hungarian kingdom. This analysis brings to light a pattern of representation that develops in time, with the abandon of the focus on their royal character (generally preferred in the fourteenth century) and the addition of specific details from the saints' *vitae*. To all appearances, this evolution corresponds to an increasing devotion towards the holy kings, betrayed by the location of their frescoes in the sacral space. If their usual place was formerly in the nave, by the beginning of the fifteenth century their images are reserved a distinguished place in the church choir.

Considering this general evolution, a new light is thrown upon the frescoes in the Romanian Orthodox churches of the nobles of the Hațeg region, notably those of Crișcior and Ribița. Commissioned at the beginning of the fifteenth century, these churches' paintings render a model that was already obsolete in the rest of all the other churches that exhibited representations of the three holy kings in the Hungarian kingdom at that time.

The paper concludes by emphasizing that the approach of the nobles to the Hungarian holy kings is a progressive one, from “adopting” the dynastic model created by the royal house in the fourteenth century to appropriating these figures as saints with a strong devotional attachment in the fifteenth century. The acculturation of the Romanian newcomers follows the same pattern, showing nevertheless an important time lag.

Joaquim Eusébio

Anthony of Padua or Anthony of Lisbon?

The Portuguese refer to Saint Anthony as Anthony of Lisbon, elsewhere known Anthony of Padua. We can easily explain why there is a close bond between Anthony and Portugal. He was born, Fernando Martins de Bulhões, in Lisbon, completed his studies and lived most of his life in Portugal. He started his life as an Augustinian monk and in 1220 joined the new Franciscan Order. The new Brother Anthony then set out for Morocco but illness stopped him on his journey. During his voyage back, his ship was driven by a storm onto the coast of Sicily and he decided then to stay in Italy. The last ten years of his life were devoted to missionary activities and education in Italy and in France. Anthony died on the way back to Padua on 13 June 1231 at the Poor Clare monastery at Arcella.

Anthony could be said to have become one of the "quickest" saints in the history of the Catholic Church because he was canonized by Pope Gregory IX on May 30, 1232, at Spoleto, Italy, less than one year after his death. For two centuries the cult of Saint Anthony remained in the shadows of Saint Francis of Assisi. Since the 15th and 16th century, his cult will be known in Italy and the rest of Europe. Portugal will proclaim him as their national saint and will spread his cult throughout his Colonial empire.

Saint Anthony is venerated all over the world as the patron saint and invoked for the recovery of lost articles. He is credited with many miracles involving lost people, lost things, and even lost spiritual goods. In order to find the lost independence of Portugal, written sermons of this period attest that he was associated with the Portuguese resistance to the Spanish domain (1580-1640) and the war of restoration of Portuguese independence (1640-1668). A similar phenomenon occurred in Brazil during the Dutch attack. Saint Anthony then became the protector of the Portuguese army and is represented in a military costume in Portugal and Brazil.

The paper brings a reflexion on the role played by the arts, hagiography, theatre, and literature in the construction of an identity myth - Saint Anthony of Lisbon to the Portugueses and Brazilians during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ewelina Kaczor

***Principis Silesiae et Maioris Poloniae* in 15th-century Sermons on St Hedwig of Silesia. State of Research and Primary Sources**

Throughout this article I will examine the idea of St Hedwig of Silesia as princess and patron of Silesia and Greater Poland. Apart from explicitly hagiographic sources, there are various kinds of supporting texts that can show the saints' lives and perceptions of them. This article will take into account one of the most popular kinds of devotional literature: sermons. I will analyse sermons as medium of St Hedwig legend and tradition as a saint female model and patron of Silesia and Greater Poland. I will also explore changes and modifications in that tradition. I will also attempt to show St Hedwig's significance for particular places: Silesia and Greater Poland. The cult of St Hedwig functioned in those domains as decisively cohesive force. Piasts of Silesia did not hesitate to take advantage of that asset and founded many churches and abbeys to spread and strengthen the cult of St Hedwig.

This article will also examine the state of research about St Hedwig in Poland and the state of primary sources: their amount and degree to which they were explored. My research is limited to University Library in Wrocław and PAN Library in Kórnik, which contain most of the sermon manuscripts for the feast-day of St Hedwig of Silesia. Most of the preserved sermons dates back to the 15th century, when St Hedwig's cult flourished in Poland, especially in her domains: Silesia and Greater Poland.

Fernand Peloux

Hagiography and Territorial Cohesion in South Medieval France: the Case of the Diocese of Mende

The process of diocesan cohesion is linked with the memory of holy bishops. The diocese of Mende offers an exceptionally numerous documentation to study the elaboration of the process of episcopal memory and its relation with territorial construction during a long period. Through a set of hagiographical rewritings, we can see how the bishops use the figure of the holy *fundator*, Saint Privat, to strengthen their power within the diocese against other memories from late antiquity to pre-modernity. Hagiographical texts had an influence on the symbols of power; episcopal seals, coins and banner are used as tools to reinforce the common history of the diocese elaborated by the episcopal authorities. In this particular case we can see that territorial cohesion has been built during struggles of the bishops against lay authorities from the Peace of God and elaborated in judicial sources from the end of the 13th c. From the 6th c. to 15th c. the territorial cohesion of the diocese is constantly renewed by the bishops using the sacred past to establish their domination and we can sometimes perceive reactions to this process and the rise of alternative memories showing that territorial cohesion depends of the actors who advocate it.

Proliferation of St Ladislav's Images in Matthias Corvinus' Visual Politics: The Case of the Augsburg Edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle

King Ladislav I (1077-1095), from his canonization in 1192, as *rex gloriosus et victoriosissimus*, was one of the main patrons and holy protectors of Hungary. His cult played a fundamental role in the legitimization and nobilitation policy of Hungarian kings from Béla III (1172-1196) onwards. The visual and literary references to *Vita Sancti Ladislai* were adjusted to the current political constellations and manifested themselves both on the regional and international political scene. The significance of St Ladislav's cult found its reflection in the public iconosphere, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Apart from the representational depictions of St Ladislav on such multipliable images as those on coins and royal seals, the narrative scene showing holy king as a rescuer of the abducted maiden was among the most popular saint's images of the time. An analogous scene with the caption: *Vita Sancti Ladislai* opens the first printed and illustrated royal narrative of King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) – *Chronica Hungarorum* by János Thuróczy.

The illustrated Chronicle printed in 1488 in Augsburg was among the export products of Corvinus' propaganda. The paper discusses the function of the Chronicle's iconic and verbal version of *Vita Sancti Ladislai* in the king's visual and religious policy. The use of print, an easily multipliable medium of communication, will be analyzed here as a strategy used to spread Corvinus' narration outside Hungary and influence supra-Hungarian religious identities. It will be shown how, through the slight shifts in the visual and verbal representations of both the saint and the king, *Chronica Hungarorum* remodeled and appropriated images of St Ladislav in accordance to the foreign politics of Corvinus. The printed images of *Vita Sancti Ladislai* in the Augsburg edition of the Chronicle will be analyzed as a product designed for a supra-Hungarian book market, a nomadic medium that marked the religious geography of Corvinus' reign.

