(Trans)missions: Monasteries as Sites of Cultural Transfers

edited by

Monika Brenišínová

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Introduction

Monika Brenišínová and Markéta Křížová

The idea of writing and publishing the monograph *(Trans)missions: Monasteries as Sites of Cultural Transfers* was born out of the eponymous international workshop which took place at the Center for Ibero-American Studies of the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University. The workshop was held in the cooperation with the French Institute for Research in Social Sciences in Prague, the Institute of Art History of Czech Academy of Sciences and the University of Valladolid in 2017.[1] The texts included in this book in part reflect the discussions held on the occasion, although the debate on related topics continued later in personal conversations and emails between the authors and other researchers. These debates crystallized into two main ideas: first, to publish this book; and second, to continue the international workshop on regular basis. Unfortunately, the current unfavorable situation due to the global pandemic of the coronavirus disease COVID-19 has prevented the organization of the ensuing workshop, while the publication of the monograph was made possible due to the support of the European Regional Development Fund-Project 'Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success in an Interrelated World' of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University.[2]

This monograph focuses on Catholic tradition of consecrated life (*vita religiosa*) from the Late Middle Ages up to the present. Christian monasticism originated in 3rd century Egypt and over the following centuries it quickly spread across the Europe (and beyond) and became an integral part of western society. In this book we operate predominantly with the term monastery, although its meaning varies both in space and time, since it is still the most commonly used and, therefore, easy to understand term. In general terms, this term designates an institution and a building (or complex of buildings) serving as a residence for the spiritual and work activities of monks and nuns (or laics), where they live together as a community. However, in reality the tradition of monastic architecture is highly diverse, and a number of other designations can be used to describe it, such as abbey, convent, house, cloister or mission.[3] Since these denominations habitually have a narrower meaning

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[3] A monastery generally consists of a monastic church, a convent and a complex of technical and estate buildings such as granges, barns, craft workshops, gardens, orchards, water reservoirs or cemetery, etc. A convent habitually includes a chapterhouse (*capitulum*), refectory (*refectorium*), dormitory or individual cells (*dormitorium*), prelature, library and *scriptorium*, kitchen with food storehouse (*cellarium*) and balneary, which are distributed around the cloister. In addition there can also be other places, such as *parlatorium*, *vestiarium* or cells for visitors (*cella hospitum*). Depending on the status and function of the monastery there can also be a hospice (*infirmarium*) or a school (for example, school of novices or mission school). As regards the other terms that are used in relation to the monastery, the term abbey and priory designates a monastery headed by an abbot or a prior; the word convent was used predominantly in Latin languages to designate the house of mendicant orders, but lately it has been used rather to describe a house of female religious communities; a house denotes generally the residence building of the religious

(which also differs temporally and regionally), we have decided to use the term monastery to denominate religious architecture related to the monastic communities, which is more general. The same goes for the religious orders. In his book *Prosperity and Plunder* (2003), the British historian Derek Beales distinguishes between: 1) monastic contemplative orders (such as Benedictines, Cistercians and Carthusians; 2) orders of regular canons (such as Augustinians and Premonstratensians); 3) mendicant or also begging orders (such as Dominicans and Franciscans); and 4) orders of regular clerics (such as Jesuits and Piarists). The religious orders differ from each other solely in the type of *regula* (such as Rule of Saint Benedict or Rule of Saint Augustine), religious vows, divine office, daily activities, organization, etc.[4] We also have to mention that some orders are referred to more as congregations or societies as Society of Jesus. Since in the present monograph we are focusing solely on the Benedictines along with the Franciscans and Dominicans, we have decided to predominantly use the expression order or regular and/or monastic community. Eventually, although we are aware of the differences between the members of particular religious orders, their occupations and ranks (such as mendicants, canons, regular clerics, regular laics, monks or friars and nuns), unless explicitly necessary we speak of them as regulars or monks and nuns.

The female religious communities represent an exceptional case, since they cannot be divided into the same distinctive groups as the male orders, despite the fact that many of them arose as supplementary communities to the male religious orders, whether monastic (such as Benedictines and Cistercians), orders of regular canons (such as Augustinians and Premonstratensians) or mendicants (such as Dominicans and Poor Clares). Female orders usually put significant emphasis on contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*), respected strict seclusion and had a common chorus. Female religious communities more oriented towards active life (*vita activa*) – focused in particular on caregiving in healthcare and education – began to emerge until the 16th and 17th centuries (such as Angelines).[5]

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community; for which the designation of friary and/or nunnery is also used; cloister (*claustrum*) means a covered walk or open arched corridor that surrounds the inner courtyard called paradise garden (*paradisus*) of a monastery; and eventually, mission is a name for ecclesiastical missions operating in the territory of pagans – their architecture is usually less complex, see Alison I. BEACH – Isabell COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, Cambridge 2020, 2 vols, esp. vol. I, chap. 16. pp. 317-339; Derek Edward Dawson BEALES, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 18-19; Pavel VLČEK – Petr SOMMER – Dušan FOLTÝN, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů* [Encyclopedia of Czech Monasteries], pp. 41-42.

[4] Monasteries differ in terms of architecture and hierarchy, which varies from religious order to order. We can distinguish, for example, between individual monasteries with a general concept of monasticism (for example, Benedictine *regula* and model), the hierarchical models that emerged as part of the monastic reform movements (for example, the Cluny-system or the Cistercian model) and the monastic missions generally led by mendicant orders of regular canons and clerics (for example, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians or Jesuits). These networks displayed regional differences in organization (for example, motherhouse, *filiatio*, general chapter, *visitation*) and distribution patterns (for example, Christianization of Northern and Western Europe). An overall introduction to the history of monasticism and monastic orders in the Western world including their architecture and organization is offered by an extensive two-volume collective monograph by: BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, esp. vol. I, chap. 25. pp. 485-501,vol. II, chap. 59, pp. 1093-1108.

[5] In addition, we can distinguish between military orders (for example, Order of Saint James, Knights Templar or Knights Hospitaller), which are sometimes defined as a separate category, although Derek Beales classifies them amongst the orders of regular canons. Furthermore, we can also distinguish between congregations of regular clerics (for example, Jesuits or Piarists) and laics (for example, Theatines) which began to emerge in the age of Reformation from the 16th century onward. Eventually, there are also secular communities, societies of apostolic life and forms of consecrated life outside institutions (for example, virgins consecrated to God or the consecration of widows), see BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, vol. I., esp. chap. 3 and 9, pp. 44-45, 163-188 and vol. II, esp. chap. 41, 42, 55, 56, pp. 729-738, 766-782, 783-802, 1027-1038, 1039-1056; BEALES, *Prosperity*, pp. 17-23; VLČEK – SOMMER – FOLTÝN, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 9-13.

The Order of Saint Benedict (*Ordo Sancti Benedicti*) is a mendicant order which was established in around the year 529 by Saint Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-c. 548). Its female branch was allegedly founded by the Saint's sister Saint Scholastica (c. 480-c. 543). Life in the Benedictine monasteries is governed by the Rule of Saint Benedict, although other authorities of the Church are also worshiped, such as Saint Augustine. As for the organization of female Benedictine monasteries, the heads of the large houses are the abbesses, the heads of the smaller establishments the prioresses.[6]

The Franciscans and Dominicans are classified amongst the first mendicant orders. The Franciscan Order of Friars Minor Conventuals, commonly known as Conventual Franciscans or Minorites (*Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*), was founded by Francis of Assisi (c. 1181-1226) in 1209, and the Dominican Order of Preachers (*Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum*), whose members are commonly called Dominicans, was established by Saint Dominic (c. 1170-1221) in 1216. Begging orders began to emerge in the 13th century in relation to the process of urbanization of medieval Europe. Initially they were characterized by a life of poverty and charity, however they later acquired considerable property. The Franciscans stressed spiritual service and preaching, the Dominicans, in addition, education and sciences. Both orders are significantly contemplative and missionary. They are headed by generals, and their territory is divided into provinces led by provincials. (At the lower level of the organization, of course, there are differences between the two orders.) The Franciscan convents are headed by guardians, the Dominican ones by priors and the smaller houses by superiors.[7]

The monograph aims to present the phenomenon of a monastery as a multifaceted research theme across time and space, which can and should be studied from both the global and interdisciplinary perspectives.[8] It gathers papers by authors from various disciplinary backgrounds, including in particular art history, history, anthropology and translation studies. Eventually, it includes two short reports on monastery-related Czech projects. The chronological and geographical scope of the present book is limited to the Western tradition from the High Middle Ages up to the present, and in terms of content it specifically covers the territory of Central Europe and Spain along with its overseas colonies. The fact that the region of Central Europe was interconnected with the Spanish Empire through the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs allows us to study the given topic in a broader international context,

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[6] VLČEK – SOMMER – FOLTÝN, *Encyklpedie*, p. 112.

[7] The Franciscan order consists of three fraternities, The First Order of Saint Francis, The Second Order, which is a female order of Poor Clares and the Third Order. Further we distinguish between the Franciscans Observants (*Ordo fratrum minorum regularis observatiae*), who are commonly called Franciscans, and the Franciscans Conventuals, who are habitually known as Minorites. However, in everyday life these terms are frequently confused, and the denomination Franciscans predominates, see BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, vol. II, esp. pp. 790-791, 792, 794, 795-796, 798-799, 800, 867-868, 1023-1024; VLČEK – SOMMER – FOLTÝN, *Encyklpedie*, pp. 118-119, 120-122, 143-144.

[8] The concept of interdisciplinarity was born in the 1960s. It made possible to cross the borders of scientific disciplines and combine different methodological and theoretical approaches and concepts and respond to the needs of the postmodern, globalized society facing multifaceted problems (for example, global warming). It generated new scientific disciplines as areal studies, see Andrew BARRY – Georgina BORN, *Interdisciplinarity: Reconfigurations of the Social and Natural Sciences*, London 2013; Robert FRODEMAN, *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity*, Oxford 2010; Julie T. KLEIN, *Interdisciplinarity: History, Theory, and Practice*, Detroit 1990; Joe MORAN, *Interdisciplinarity*, London – New York 2010. Global history deals with the history of multiple cultures or nations from a global perspective, seeking common patterns and differences, see the comprehensive overview: Sebastian CONRAD, *What is Global History*, Princeton 2017; Georg IGGERS, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century. From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, Middletown, Connecticut 2005, pp. 155-160; Bruce MAZLISH – Ralph BUULTJENS, *Conceptualizing Global History*, Boulder 1993.

and involve the Central European and Spanish territories in the global flow of information and thus incorporate the regional and national histories of individual European countries into global history.[9] This involvement is also enabled by the study of interconnecting themes, such as the cultural transfers (defined below) within and between the Old and the New World, informational flows between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, the processes of individual and social identity formation,[10] representation and othering of women[11], and the missionary activities of mendicant orders in the New World together with their translation practices in both the Old and New World; and by the contextualization of monastic history and related themes within the processes of European internal and external colonization and evangelization.

As the title of the book suggests, it puts special emphasis on two phenomena: first, on (trans) missions, i.e., it focuses on the processes of European internal and external evangelization from the national and transnational perspective (such as Franciscan monasteries as a tool of catholic mission in the New World, Benedictine monasteries as sites of shaping local religiosity and/or temporality); and second, on cultural transfers (defined below), i.e., on such questions as how monasteries contributed to information flows and exchanges of cultural practices (such as making and reading of illuminated manuscripts, transfers of religious practices, such as processions, and the translation and circulation of religious texts).

In the current monograph we intend to present the space of the monastery as a site of (trans) missions and cultural transfers at the regional, national and transnational level, since we seek to disrupt the traditional western idea of a monastery as an enclosed space, which stems from the past centuries and generally dominates people's imagery to the present. In fact,

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[9] Although it is not appropriate to speak of nations in the modern sense of the word in the period of the Early Middle Ages, when awareness of nationality was just emerging, we use the term nation to indicate that history as a science was constituted in the 19th century in deep connection with the idea of nation and nationalism and, therefore, it is still frequently defined by the borders of nation states, see IGGERS, *Historiography*, esp. chap. I, pp. 23-30.

[10] The social identity theory was developed by H. Tajfel, a British social psychologist of Polish descent, at the beginning of the 1970s. It has generated a quantity of research and nowadays is one of the most significant general theories dealing with the role of the categorization process in social identity phenomena and the theory of the group, see Henri TAJFEL, 'Social Categorization. English Manuscript of 'La catégorisation sociale'', *Introduction à la Psychologie Sociale* 1, 1972. Since the 1980s the concept of identity has become an important tool in contemporary history and humanities and researchers began to explore how individuals represent and construct their identity. While literature on this topic is vast, little attention has been paid to the influence of migration on identity formation and/or transformation, see Charles WESTIN – José BASTOS – Janine DAHINDEN – Pedro GOIS (eds.), *Identity processes and dynamics in multi-ethnic Europe,* Amsterdam 2010.

[11] The mere existence of social differences makes people evaluate the others, predominantly on behalf of their group, see John Charles TURNER – Henri TAJFEL, in: William G. Austin – Stephen Worchel (eds.), *The Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Chicago 1986, pp. 7-24. It implies that the negative definition is the most effective and people tend to create their identity by delimitation, i.e., by setting boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Thus, 'otherness' represents one of the key factors in the process of self-identification and social integration. Within these processes people generate ideas about themselves (auto-stereotypes) and others (hetero- or xeno-stereotypes), which are contained in the so-called images of 'otherness' and gazes (for example, male gaze, urban gaze and colonial gaze). The European images of alterity along with the migration of stereotypes and its representations are studied, for example, by the American historian Ruth Mellinkoff, who studied the othering of Jews in medieval culture and art and the migration of these stereotypes between witches and Jews (for example, yellow color, peaked or pointed hats, vulgar gestures, physical and moral closeness to the devil, etc.), see Ruth MELLINKOFF, *The Mark of Cain*, Berkley 1989. In her two-volume study *Outcasts...*, she asks important questions about the attitudes of Christian society towards the other and pays attention to the pictorial signs (such as iconographic motifs, attributes, gestures, patterns and colors, and physical attributes) used by medieval artists to identify the outcast figures (such as Jews, heretics, Muslims, blacks, executioners, prostitutes, lepers, gamblers, foot soldiers, entertainers and peasants), see idem, *Outcast: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, Berkeley 1993, 2 vols.

though the world monastery (from Greek MONOS, a solitary person) itself suggests the idea of withdrawal from society (life in seclusion), and as we just have seen[12] Christian monasticism is based on strict discipline and rules, in reality monks and nuns did not remain passively enclosed within the monastery walls, but to the contrary interacted with broader society at the religious, cultural, social, political and economic level.

The monasteries acted as tools of Catholic (trans)missions, i.e., as instruments of conscious individual and/or public politics, becoming centers of religious missions and promoters of internal and external colonization, Christianization and/or confessionalization.[13] Christian universalism, together with the need to integrate the pagan populations of non-European or non-Europeanized nations, as well as to legitimize the armed conquest and/or re-conquest of their territories, led the Catholic Church to establish a complex set of missionary methods based on the construction of missions, religious (such as catechesis, theatre of evangelization, and the art of conversion used as *Biblia pauperum*) and secular (such as western methods of agriculture, pastoralism and crafts) instruction of catechumens and neophytes, integration of selected elements of pagan pre-Christian religious and cultural habits and customs (such as adaptation of Catholic liturgical calendar to the local festivities, appropriation of pagan sacred places as miraculous springs of water) into Catholic religiosity and the cult of local saints, the learning of vernacular languages (such as translation and linguistic activities of monks and missionaries, including the writing of dictionaries and grammar books of foreign tongues) or even local population resettlement (such as from mountains or tropical rainforests to fertile agricultural areas, etc.).[14]

The missionaries were the first to penetrate the 'new', 'undiscovered' territories, producing intercultural and interconfessional interactions and facilitating knowledge transfers with Natives and their culture. They described the 'unknown' lands and their populations, they studied vernacular languages and local habits and traditions and wrote chronicles, reports, letters, grammar books and sermons. From the contemporary perspective some missionaries are even considered promoters of modern science, such as Bernardino de Sahagún,[15] a Franciscan missionary known as the first anthropologist of the New World.

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[12] See footnote 4.

[13] Traditionally western historiography has conceived Christianity as one of the crucial conditions of the West's expansion (in terms of the European sense of exceptionalism), see Christopher DAWSON, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture: The Classic Study of Medieval Civilization*, London 1991; idem, *The Formation of Christendom*, New York 1967. Later, especially in relation to decolonization or spatial turn along with increasing interest in the study of relation between the center and periphery, the processes of European colonization, exploration, Christianization and cultural interaction were reinterpreted, see Robert BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, London 1994; Nora BEREND (ed.), *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, Cambridge 2007; Emilia JAMROZIAK – Karen STÖBER (eds.), *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, Turnhout 2013; Dane KENNEDY (ed.), *Reinterpreting Exploration: the West in the World*, Oxford – New York 2014; Boje MORTENSEN, *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000-1300)*, Copenhagen 2006; James MULDOON – Felipe FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO (eds.), *The Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom: Expansion, Contraction, Continuity*, Farnham 2008; Andrew F.WALLS, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith*, New York – Edinburgh 2002.

[14] For the missionary methods of Catholic Church see an authoritative history of Christianity that focuses on how Christianity spread all over the world: Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE (ed.), *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols., New York 1937-1945, esp. vol. 1. For the Franciscans, see Bert ROEST, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent*, Leyden – Boston 2004. For missionary methods used by Catholic Church in colonial Spanish America, see an exhaustive monograph by: Pedro BORGES, *Métodos misionales en la cristianización de América, siglo XVI*, Madrid 1960.

[15] Bernardino de Sahagún (c. 1499-1590) worked in the 16th Century Viceroyalty of New Spain (1635-1821). (We have

The missionaries were also frequently actively involved in politics, since they participated in the holding and administration of territory, distribution of labor force and assessment and collection of revenues and taxes. The monasteries facilitated Christianity across all social classes and related to both the poor villagers and peasants and rich stakeholders and land owners from the nobility (and later also bourgeoisie or representatives of political power), playing an important intermediary role between the state, its authorities and its subjects.[16]

The monastic communities shaped the local spiritual and material culture through devotional and educational practices. They organized local religious life by managing the liturgy, catechism, preaching, festivities, processions and pilgrimages. However, all these activities also served as agents of social discipline, since they contributed to the formation and shaping of individual and social identity and impacted the cultural and geopolitical frontiers between regions and states and/or migration flows on the local, national, transnational and transcontinental level. In this light, the activities of the Church can be understood as signs of the dominance of the Western culture and the exclusive status of the Christian faith. Furthermore, as the French philosopher and cultural critic Michel Foucault pointed out, the medieval Christian monasteries were places not only of dominance, but of disciplination in general, where modern disciplinary and surveillance techniques (such as disciplination of body or time) which would significantly affect the shape of Western modern society were born.[17]

In this book we understand the term cultural transfer[18] as it was coined by the French historian Michel Espagne in the 1980s. M. Espagne promoted a transnational approach which aimed solely at the study of the history of translation and circulation of knowledge beyond the

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to take into consideration that all missionary activities were driven by an attempt to know and hence evangelize the 'other', not by a scientific interest.), see Ascensión HERNÁNDEZ DE LEÓN-PORTILLA (ed.), *Bernardino de Sahagún: diez estudios acerca de su obra*, México 1997; Miguel LEÓN-PORTILLA, *Bernardino de Sahagún*, Madrid 1987; Victoria RÍOS CASTAÑO, *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal History of the Things of New Spain*, Madrid 2014.

[16] Eventually, the missionaries could even represent the executive and judicial power, especially in times of transition and colonization as demonstrated, for example, by the case of Vasco de Quiroga (c. 1470-1565), the first bishop of Michoacán in colonial Mexico, who turned Michoacán (historical and contemporary Mexican state) into his own state based on the utopian model of Thomas More, see José PRAT, *Don Vasco de Quiroga: otra forma de encuentro de España y México*, Madrid 1992; Bernardino VERASTIQUE, *Michoacan and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico*, Austin 2000; Geraldo WITEZE JUNIOR, 'Vasco de Quiroga rewrites Utopia', in: Juan Pro (ed.), *Utopias in Latin America: Past and Present*, Brighton – Portland 2018.

[17] Michel Foucault dealt solely with a special type of Christian spirituality associated with the emergence of monastic life in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, the relationship between monasticism and ancient philosophy, as well as the formation of the individual subject and the relations of power and knowledge. See esp. the analyses of Cassian's *Cenobite Institutions* and its conception of anchorite's training in the eleventh and twelfth lectures of 19 and 26 March 1980. Michel FOUCAULT, *On the Government of the Living: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1979-1980*, London 2014, pp. 252-320. In his work, however, he develops a number of ideas and concepts that can be applied to the study of monasteries. For example, in her PhD. Thesis, Katalin Pataki, a Hungarian historian, studies Enlightenment church policies during the 18th century dissolutions of ecclesiastical institutions while applying Foucault's concept of governmentality, see Katalin PATAKI, *Resources, Records, Forms: The Implementation of Monastic Policies in the Kingdom of Hungary under Maria Theresa and Joseph II*, (PhD. Thesis), Budapest 2019. For the disciplination, temporality and technologies of time control see chapter 7 of this book.

[18] Michel ESPAGNE – Michael WERNER (eds.), *Transferts: les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIᵉ et XIXᵉ siècle)*, Paris 1988. Among western historians the topic is addressed, for example, by British historian William O'Reilly, see William O'REILLY, 'Ireland in the Atlantic World: Migration and Cultural Transfer', in: J. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, Cambridge 2018, pp. 385-408. In the Czech Republic, Veronika Čapská in particular deals with the topic, see Veronika ČAPSKÁ et al., *Processes of Cultural Exchange in Central Europe, 1200-1800*, Praha – Opava, 2014.

national borders. In recent decades studies on cultural transfers and transmissions history have developed rapidly and provide an abundant variety of research possibilities (such as gender aspects, minority literatures and translative activities).[19] In accordance with this definition, the authors of the present monograph are interested in cultural transfers and exchanges of complex information packages as formulated by the Hungarian medievalist József Laszlovszky,[20] whether they are objects, ideas, persons, technology, experience, way of life, etc.

Over the centuries the monasteries became not only centers of contemplative life, but also important sites of production and cultural (and also economic) transfers. The monasteries served as centers of medieval philosophy and education and represented a fertile ground for spiritual and material culture, where literature, music and visual arts and crafts were produced and interchanged.[21] The monks and nuns wrote, rewrote, copied and illuminated manuscripts and other literary works, such as sermons, confessional mirrors, catechism, hymn-books, translations, grammar books, dictionaries, vocabularies, but also herbals or recipe books, frequently completed with meticulous works of art such as bookbinding, illuminations and manuscript making[22] (in fact most books made between 6th and 12th century were created

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[19] See the fourth volume of the book series Studies on Cultural Transfer & Transmission, which offers articles with reflections and new perspectives on cultural transfer and transmission history (for example, gender aspects, minority literature), its research possibilities and methodology, see Petra BROOMANS – Sandra van VOORTS (eds.), *Rethinking Cultural Transfer and Transmission: Reflections and New Perspectives*, Groningen 2012.

[20] József Laszlovsky spoke about informational packages in his keynote speech *Transfer, Translation and Transmission of Knowledge in Monastic Networks. Research Directions and Approaches in the Study of Medieval and Early Modern Patterns* by which he opened on September 25, 2017 the workshop (*Trans*)*missions: Monasteries as Sites of Cultural Transfers*, see *Transfer, Translation and Transmission of Knowledge in Monastic Networks – Keynote Speech by József Laszlovszky* [on-line], [consulted 20 August, 2019], accessible from: https://cefres.cz/en/events/event/laszlovszky-transfer-monastic-networks. He also dealt with the issue of communication, transfers of ideas and materials, hierarchical structures of religious orders and monastic networks in a project which he led together with professor Gabor Klaniczay in cooperation of the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University with the Research Center on Comparative History of Religious Orders at the Technical University of Dresden, see *Communication and Knowledge Transfer in Medieval Monastic Networks* [on-line], [consulted 14 August, 2019], accessible from: https://medievalstudies. ceu.edu/projects/communication-and-knowledge-transfer-medieval-monastic-networks.

[21] Indeed, the monasteries used to be self-sufficient autonomous economic units. They relied on the natural and agricultural resources available in their local environment and frequently held and managed monastic estates and granges. They produced and preserved their own food (and frequently also their own wine necessary for the celebration of the Eucharist). And they traded agricultural and medical raw materials such as plants, fruits, vegetables or grains, breeding animals and agricultural products such as honey, beer, pastry or material drugs. Monasteries were also promoters of herbal medicine and grew medicinal plants in their gardens, see BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, vol. II, esp. chap. 45, pp. 831-846; Ian KERSHAW, *Bolton Priory: The Economy of a Northern Monastery, 1286-1325,* London 1973; Katalin PATAKI, 'Healers, Quacks, Professionals: Monastery Pharmacies in the Rural Medical Marketplace', in: Fabrizio Baldassarri (ed.), *Controversies in Intellectual History and Medicine: The Case of Losers, Heretics, and Outsiders* [on-line], (=*Society and Politics* 12/1), 2018, pp. 32-49, [consulted 26 July, 2019], accessibile from: https:// socpol.uvvg.ro/docs/2018-1/03.Katalin_Pataki.pdf; idem, 'Medical Provision in the Convents of Poor Clares in Late-eighteenth-century Hungary. Cornova', *Revue České společnosti pro výzkum 18. století* 6/2, 2016, pp. 33-58; Michael SPENCE, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire: Monastic Administration, Economy, and Archival Memory*, Turnhout 2020. The wider literature is discussed in: Richard ROEHL, 'Review: The Ecclesiastical Economy of Medieval Europe', *The Journal of Economic History* 46/1, pp. 227-231.

[22] Details on manual labor, monastic reading culture and other aspects of daily life in a monastery can be found in the Benedictine guidelines for monastic life: Benedict, *Rule of Saint Benedict,* chapters 6, 38 and 48. Copying ancient books and texts was one of main monastic activities. Instructions on how to became a good scribe are to be found in: Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* [on-line], book 1, chapter 30, [consulted 12 August, 2019], accessible from: https://faculty. georgetown.edu/jod/inst-trans.html. See the project of the Department of Medieval Studies of Central European University available in English, Italian, Hungarian and Russian: *Medieval Manuscript Manual* [on-line], [consulted 12 August, 2019], accessible from: http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/home.html. For the early history of monasteries, monastic libraries, traditions and inner workings, see Lionel CASSON, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, New

there). Many of them were also skilled craftsmen and artists, who – in order to furnish and decorate the monasteries and its facilities – made objects of everyday use, such as ceramics, baskets, furniture and pieces of art such as devotional paintings, sculptures and relics.[23] They were frequently multitalented personalities who often mastered a series of disciplines, arts and crafts, such as Hildegard of Bingen,[24] a 12th century Benedictine abbess who was mystic, composer and artist in one. They interacted with broader society (such as patrons, donors, artists, craftsmen, nobility and authorities.) and engaged in a significant manner in national and transnational flows of information and cultural transfers, playing both a conservative (such as copying the works of ancient philosophers) and innovative role.[25] Indeed, the monastic idea itself was an object of cultural transfers, being transferred and translated in many different ways (e.g. hymns, *vita* of saints, *regula* of orders) and different languages (such as Latin as the medieval *lingua franca* versus vernacular languages, language of mission and language of administration).

As regards the content of the present monograph, it consists of seven papers written by a group of investigators and scholars from Czech Republic and Spain. It offers an interdisciplinary view of issues related to the phenomenon of the monastery written from different disciplinary backgrounds, namely from art history, history, anthropology and translatology. The book commences with two art-historical and one historical study dedicated to the ambience of Medieval Bohemia, female monastic contemplative and mendicant orders and to the production and reception of illuminated manuscripts, which were written by three Czech and Slovak female scholars Daniela Rywiková, Lenka Panušková and Renata Modráková.

Although the monasteries, both male and female, were an important part of Western medieval culture, the history of monasticism has been highly gendered, and female monasticism has remained marginal, frequently being perceived as spiritually, socially and economically at an inferior, declining level. Fortunately, due to the recently increased interest in women's history, recent works (such as those of Marilyn Oliva, Susan Marti, Steven Vanderputten and Jeffrey F. Hamburger) show us a significantly different picture of female monasteries, pointing out

Haven 2002. For the books and libraries within monasteries, see BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, vol. II, esp. chap. 53, pp. 975-997; For the institution and history of copying within the monastic tradition, see Stephen GREENBLATT, *The Swerve: How the World Became Modern*, New York 2011. An overview of Medieval book culture (for example, Carolingian Revival and the Ninth Century Renaissance) is offered by: Leighton Durham REYNOLDS – Nigel Guy WILSON, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1974.

[23] For an overview of artistic production within monasteries, see BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, vol. I, esp. chap. 27, pp. 519-541 and ibidem, vol. II, esp. chap. 54, pp. 998-1026. In recent years, a number of publications have been written in the Czech Republic mapping the artistic and literary production of monasteries. For the artistic production of Bohemian Benedictine monasteries, see Linda LEFFOVÁ – Gita ZBAVITELOVÁ – Kateřina HILSKÁ – Ky KRAUTHAMER, *Open the Gates of Paradise: The Benedictines in the Heart of Europe 800-1300*, Prague 2015. For the Benedictine Emmaus Monastery in Prague, see Kateřina KUBÍNOVÁ (ed.), *Slovanský klášter Karla IV: zbožnost, umění, vzdělanost = The Slavonic Monastery of Charles IV: Devotion, Art, Literary Culture*, Praha 2016. Interesting papers related to the artistic production of female monasteries or manuscript miniatures are to be found in: Waldemar DELUGA – Daniela RYWIKOVÁ (eds.), *Medieval and Early Modern Art in Central Europe*, Ostrava 2019.

[24] For the work and personality of Hildegard of Bingen see BEACH – COCHELIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History*, esp. pp. 738-739, 119-120, 659-660, 681, 665-666, 679, 704-705, 711, 721, 723, 878-879; Suzanne LORD, *Music in the Middle Ages: A Reference Guide,* Westport 2008, pp. 32-33, 80; Jeffrey F. HAMBURGER – Susan MARTI (eds.), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, New York 2008, pp. 137, 139, 141, 153, 155, 158-159.

[25] The monks invented, for example, a musical notation based on spoken syllables. For a historical survey of music in medieval Europe from Antiques to the fifteenth century, from plain chant to late medieval polyphonic song and all types and forms of music (for example, Gregorian chant, The troubadours of France, Meistersingers of Germany, the Cantus Firmus of Italy), see LORD, *Music*; Jeremy YUDKIN, *Music in medieval Europe*, New Jersey 1989.

the fact that they made up integral part of the local social and spiritual landscape, and that their inhabitants not only led an active life in local communities, but that they had a profound impact on medieval culture.[26] The nuns served as models of piety, enjoyed significant social prestige, exercised political power, produced and commissioned architecture and pieces of art and were involved in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of the laity, as demonstrated, for example, by Kunigunde of Bohemia (1265-1321), a member of the Přemyslid dynasty and abbess of the Benedictine Monastery of St George, the oldest Czech monastery (founded in 976) and located at Prague Castle, which is mentioned in all three above-mentioned texts.

In her study, Daniela Rywiková, an assistant professor of the Department of Art History and Cultural Heritage of the University of Ostrava, Czech Republic, deals with the spiritual struggle against sin which due to the catholic doctrine of original sin accompanied the life within the walls of medieval monasteries, as well as the everyday life of laity. Using the example of *Liber depictus*, a Bohemian 14th century illuminated codex and its illustrations (especially the depiction of the *Woman of Sins* and its comparison with other similar contemporary representations), she introduces the readers to the medieval imagery of sin and examines its various iconographical and (poly)semantic roots and meanings. She points out that the medieval allegorical thinking worked frequently with animal symbolism (such as wolfs, foxes, lions, snakes, dragons, bats and birds associating human nature (and solely its negative characteristics such as vices) with animals, and demonstrates that the figure of the *Woman of Sins* was not only a symbolic expression of deadly sins but also the model example of a hermaphrodite monster. Furthermore, Rywiková asserts the issue of sexual identity and its perception in the Middle Ages, demonstrating that this type of hermaphrodite representations (such as *Gryllus*) was a result of a manipulation with the female body that stemmed from the contemporary misogynistic views of the female physiognomy. She shows that female body was perceived as a derivation of the normative male one and, hence, that the monstrous figure of the 'diabolic hermaphrodite' was perceived as a representation of the Antichrist and the 'open' world ruled by the Devil, in contrast with the immaculate (virgin) body of Mary embodying the antagonism between good and evil, salvation and damnation, virtue and sin, the monastery and the world. Eventually, she deals with the (poly)semantic meanings of the given representation within the period theology, alchemy and Christian ethics putting emphasis solely on hermetic philosophy and natural sciences.

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[26] For a broad introduction to the history and visual culture (for example, art, architecture, literature, liturgy, religious practices and economy) of female monasticism in the Middle Ages, from Late Antiquity to the Reformation in German Empire, Frankish Gaul, Langobard Italy, and Anglo-Saxon England see the collective monograph written by a diverse range of scholars from numerous disciplinary backgrounds and edited by a pair of leading figures in the study of female monasticism Jeffrey F. Hamburger, a scholar of medieval monasticism, mysticism and manuscript illumination, and Susan Marti, a scholar of the art of female monasticism and manuscript illumination and a curator for exhibitions on the Middle Ages, see HAMBURGER – MARTI (eds.), *Crown and Veil*. An interesting study of the eleven female monasteries in the diocese of Norwich between 1350-1540 suggests that nuns were more active in local community life than their male counterparts and also more popular. The book also emphasizes the fact that the majority of nuns came from the gentry families and not from the upper gentry or aristocracy as has been thought and reveals the possibility of social mobility within the nunnery, see Marilyn OLIVA, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540*, Woodbridge 1998. Steven Vanderputten, a historian of the society and culture of the medieval West, argues against the common view of religious women between 800 and 1050 as disempowered. He based his book on a study of primary sources from forty female monasteries laying in Lotharingia, see Steven VANDERPUTTEN, *Dark Age Nunneries: The Ambiguous Identity of Female Monasticism, 800–1050*, Ithaca – New York 2018.

The following two papers are dedicated to a similar environment and period – St George's monastery in Prague. The first one was written by L. Panušková, an art historian specializing in the history of Czech early medieval art, who works at the Institute of Art History of Czech Academy of Sciences. In her study Panušková examines the manuscript of the *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde* – one of the most famous Czech illuminated early medieval manuscripts. She questions the traditional interpretation of this extraordinary piece of art, which has been interpreted within the context of personal devotion and/or the religious and devotional practice of St George's Monastery in Prague, and decides to address the question of its possible audience in more detail. She concludes – based on a variety of visual and written contemporary evidence – that a wider audience should be considered.

The third text was written by R. Modráková, a specialist of Department of Manuscripts of the National Library of the Czech Republic. Her study addresses the role of the aforementioned St George's Benedictine Monastery and its cultural history within the Benedictine nunneries in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. Modráková pays particular attention to the transmissions of cultural ideas and thoughts from outside and inside the given monastery, which had a unique position within the Czech lands as it served as an educational center for young women from the higher social strata. Her study is based on the study of a corpus of medieval manuscripts from Benedictine conventual libraries and aims to depict a colorful world of medieval religious society emphasizing the fact that the Benedictine female monastery interacted with an abundant array of different social groups and their members: the internal ones (such as abbesses, nuns and novices), and the external ones (such as family and staff members, priests, canons, donators, founders, laics or members of royal courts and especially widows [*matronae*] living in the cloister and young women [*puellae*] to be educated there). She concludes that the St George's Monastery played a significant role in contemporary religious life, since it was a place where important religious practices and festivities (such as Eastern Dramas) were performed, as well as in the social and political life (especially within the Royal Palace), since its court is situated in the heart of Prague Castle.

The study by M. Brenišínová, an assistant professor of the Center for Ibero-American Studies of the Charles University, Czech Republic, deals with the monastic architecture and art of the 16th century Viceroyalty of New Spain (1635-1821) commissioned by the Franciscan order in order to evangelize the Native inhabitants of contemporary Central Mexico. The study is interdisciplinary. It combines classical historical procedures (such as study of contemporary written evidence, source criticism) with art history (such as iconographical and iconological analysis) and the theories and concepts of the symbolic and interpretative anthropology (esp. by Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner). It is based on the study of current written and visual evidence (esp. annals and chronicles) in form of a set of mural paintings located in Huaquechula and Huejotzingo, two small municipalities of Puebla State. Brenišínová addresses the practice of performing processions in 16th century New Spain, a tradition which stems from both involucrated cultures – the Western and the Mesoamerican one. She examines the mutual relations between these two traditions, as well as the transmissions of ideas between the Old and New World. The study aims to shed light on the meanings of these representations and the religious practice being displayed in them from the point of view of early colonial society, the distribution of power and its functioning. She concludes that the religious processions played a core role in the process of shaping the social identity of early colonial society, since

they enabled the consolidation of the *status quo*, while having at the same time a significant subversive potential due to the emphasis put on equality and brotherhood.

The following pair of studies is written by a pair of translatologists – Antonio Bueno-García and Jana Králová – and it is dedicated to the issue of translation practice of mendicant orders during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era in the context of contemporary translatology. In accordance with both authors, we have to assert that the history of translation of mendicant orders has long been overlooked by historians and other experts. The groundbreaking change in this field occurred with the collective monograph *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (2007) edited by Peter Burke, a British historian dealing with cultural, social and anthropological history, in which an international team of historians deals with the practice of translation especially in Early Modern Period and onwards – conceiving the practice of translation as part of cultural history and examining its role in the process of spread of information in Early Modern Europe.[27]

Antonio Bueno-García, a professor of translation and interpretation of the University of Valladolid, Spain, focuses in his study on the question of how notions about the Dominican missions are reflected in the works of Dominican translators and lexicographers and how these reflections could be used and applied to contemporary translation theory. In brief, the paper aims to understand the translatological reflections of religious translators over time. Specifically, it analyzes various types of paratexts (such as prologues – *desiderata*, dedications and acknowledgements, introductions or epilogues) that enable us to know in more depth and detail the work and practice of monastic translators, showing that they frequently considered in their translative practice not only the different cultural and linguistic environments or the work being translated along with the personality of the author of the translated text, but that they even tried to adapt the texts to the contemporaneous period of time and its cultural codes and habits. Eventually, A. Bueno-García points out that the translators frequently thought of their readers along with their familiar and social environment (such as ecclesiastics, devotees, young people, adults and scholars in the field) to whom they adapted their final works.

The following study by prof. Jana Králová, the deputy director of the Institute of Translation Studies of the Charles University, Czech Republic, covers the same topic dealing with the monastic translation practice. J. Králová introduces her text by observing how the references to the translative practice of Franciscan and Dominican Orders in the Czech specialized literature have been scarce – not only in general, but also in the field of translatology. She finds this fact more than interesting, since – according to her – the translative practice of religious orders could offer a significant number of fresh and useful insights into the current practice of translatology, its concepts and notions. Furthermore, she points out that by way of contrast, in Spain the number of studies dealing with the translative activities of mendicant orders has been increasing over recent decades (as well as in the rest of Europe or Latin America), and she relates this steep increase to the special position of the translative activities of monks in the context of the history of Monarchy of Spain and its processes (such as reconquest, the conquest of the Americas, and the Wars of Spanish-American Independence.). In addition,

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[27] Peter BURKE – R. Po-chia HSIA (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2007. For literary production and translative activities of male monasteries see Miguel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA – David PÉREZ-BLÁZQUEZ (eds.), *Los escritos misioneros: estudios traductográficos y traductológicos*, Madrid 2020; Miguel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA, *Traductores hispanos de la orden franciscana en Hispanoamérica*, Lima 2012.

she also deals also with the issue of contemporaneous translation research and practice (esp. translation and interpretation) and emphasizes the importance of the study of written evidence, such as chronicles or paratexts, and its cataloguing that would, in her opinion, enable the analysis of the history of translation and its study from the philological, thematic and translative perspectives. In addition, she underlines the fact that the translation works of the monks represent unique evidence of so-called intercultural communication, which is currently better known as semiotic translation, since the monks had to struggle during the translation not only with linguistic and philological issues, but also with the cultural differences. For this reason their works frequently have strong socio-anthropological and aesthetic components that in the opinion of the author should be appreciated by scholars as valuable historic evidence. Eventually, she recalls that the frequently omitted or even 'invisible' figures of translators should deserve more specialized attention and raises other interesting topics and research possibilities, such as the application of gender perspective (for example the study of transfers between the male and female orders), that interested researchers could study in relation to the practice of monastic translation.

The final paper brings us back to the Benedictine environment, although in contemporary times. The authorial team for this paper is a pair of researchers – Barbara Spalová and Jan Tesárek from the Institute of Sociological Studies of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Charles University, Czech Republic. Their study focuses on an understanding of the changing roles of the Benedictine monasteries in contemporary Czech and Austrian societies. It examines the different ways that the monasterial institutions construct and produce time, distinguishing between two main levels of temporality: first, the monastic temporality stemming from the monastic spiritual and meditative tradition; and second, the temporality of 'slow time' as it is frequently characterized by the public. The paper is based on comparative field research carried out in Czech and Austrian Benedictine monasteries together with an analysis of public media discourse. The paper demonstrates how monasteries as contemporary institutions are shaping time and temporality (such as by distinction praxis, by life rhythmization or by enacting long-term traditions.), and at the same time how they are perceived by the general public (such as spiritual wellness) against the background of the relationship between the individual self and identity on one hand and the relationship between the monasteries and society in its social and historical context on the other. Eventually, the paper asks whether and how the monasteries could serve as a source of new temporality.

Eventually, we included at the end of the book a pair of short reports representing projects related to the phenomenon of the monastery. The first one is written by Jan Zdichynec from Department of Czech History, Charles University, who introduces us in his text to a project intended to gather and present monastic historiography (such as chronicles, calendars, memoir books and annals) of Medieval Czech Lands via internet database *The Bio-Bibliographical Database of Members of the Religious Orders Living in the Czech Lands in the Early Modern Age* (*BBDR*).[28] Currently, the database contains about 2 500 entries.

The final, second brief text compiled by Kateřina Charvátová, Head of the Center for the Study of Cultural and Historical Heritage at the Department of History and Didactics of History of the

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[28] The database is accessible via the catalogue of the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, available in Czech, English, German, Polish, Slovak and Latin: *ON-LINE katalog – zadání dotazu* [on-line], Historický ústav AV ČR Projekt Řeholníci – katalog Clavius, [consulted 14 August, 2019], accessible from: http://reholnici.hiu.cas.cz/katalog/.

Faculty of Education of the Charles University, together with Radka Ranochová from the same Department, presents an original Czech website *Klášterní stezky*[29] (in English *Monastic Routes* or *Monastic itineraries*) which is intended to present selected monasteries built by regular orders in the Czech lands and offer solely practical information and educational programs to the general public.

Editor's acknowledgement

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[29] *Klášterní stezky* [on-line], Klášterní stezky 2016-2021, [consulted 14 August, 2019], accessible from: https://www.klasterni-stezky.cz.

Chapter I

Sola Superbia Destruit Omnia
The Female Monster in *Liber Depictus* as a Polysemantic Image of the Spiritual Malformation and the Fallen World[1]

Daniela Rywiková

(University of Ostrava, Czech Republic)

Abstract

Liber depictus (cod. 370, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) is the mid-14th century pen-draw illustrated manuscript of Bohemian origin commissioned by the Rosenberg family for the Friar Minor and Poor Clares double monastery in Český Krumlov. The verso of folio 155 bares a unique so-called *Frau Welt* image in form of female monster with grotesque, deformed body symbolizing the spiritual and moral deformity; personifying the Seven Deadly Sins. The monster is depicted as a woman with animal features, following the iconographic tradition of associating the individual sins with animal body parts. Uniquely the image also reflects *peccatum linguae*, the sin of tongue described as the eighth sin by William Peraldus in his *Summa de vitiis.* The polysemantic image is analysed from multiple aspects: Visual – as the animal-like monster inspired by wider iconographic medieval tradition; Religious – as the antipode of cloistered; Moral – as the personification of eight sins; Hermetic – in the context of period alchemy ideas and tracts; Gender – as the example of visual distortion and manipulation with feminity and female body leading to monstrous forms.

Keywords

Middle Ages; Seven deadly sins; medieval; Visual Arts; book illumination; monster; female; Czech Lands.

From the Early Middle Ages onwards, both university and monastic theologians were occupied and concerned with the spiritual struggle against sin. The idea was based on the notion that in this world, people are surrounded by the power of the Devil and are left at the mercy of the Devil's temptations. The enclosed monastery on the other hand represented a paradise on earth, a secure refuge that the Devil could not enter.[2] The personal struggle against imperfections and vices was regarded as necessary due to Adam and Eve's original sin, and represented an inevitable part of everyday life in a medieval monastery, including both a proactive denial of bodily desires and contemplation of one's own weaknesses and sins as part of the spiritual journey toward perfection and unity with the Godhead. Starting in the twelfth century, the theme of struggle against sin also appears in didactic-spiritual compendiums,

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[2] This idea was common in medieval monastic spirituality from the very beginning. For the perception of monasteries by medieval authorities, see, e.g., Paul MEYVAERT, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', *Gesta* 12, 1973, pp. 53-59.

often lavishly illustrated, that served for the religious education of monks and nuns as well as outside the monastery as part of the pastoral practice and education of laity.[3]

The Bohemian codex called *Liber depictus* represents a particularly fine example of such a spiritual compendium. The manuscript was commissioned around 1350, probably by the Prague Canon, Peter II of Rosenberg, for the double monastery of the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares in the Rosenberg residence town of Český Krumlov.[4]

The manuscript is remarkable for many reasons and includes, apart from the popular typological cycle *Biblia pauperum* (Bible of the Poor), the lives of Czech patrons and other saints, as well as two biblical parables: the Parable of the Talents and that of the Great Banquet.[5] The 'comics-like' and didactic character of the manuscript pen-drawing illustrations containing minimal text placed no great demands on theological education or a knowledge of Latin and could have been perceived as being very suitable for *cura monialium* as well as *cura laicorum*.[6]

The opening folio (1r) of the manuscript (Figure 1) is remarkable from the iconographic perspective. It contains a full-page drawing depicting the Woman of the Apocalypse with wings and a crown made of twelve stars standing on a crescent moon, and 'clothed' into the sun disc with the half figure of the Man of Sorrows in her bosom. Apart from a reflection of the Biblical text of Revelation, this iconography also refers to the incarnation of Christ, his real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist and the mystery of transubstantiation.[7] The Man

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[3] E.g., the manuscripts already mentioned, *Liber Floridus, Speculum virginum* and *Somme le roi.* Jean-Claude SCHMITT, 'Les Images classificatrices', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 147, 1989, pp. 311-341; Aden KUMLER, *Translating Truth. Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England,* New Haven – London 2011, pp. 57-101. For medieval didactic miscellanea and their decoration in general, see Adam S. COHEN, 'Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany', *Gesta* 48, 2009, pp. 135-152. For late medieval 'spiritual encyclopedias,' see Franz SAXL, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5, 1942, pp. 82-142.

[4] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 370. On the manuscript, see Antonín MATĚJČEK - Jindřich ŠÁMAL, *Legendy o českých patronech v obrázkové knize ze XIV. století* [Legends about Bohemian Patrons in Liber depictus from the 14th Century], Praha 1940; Gerhard SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 370. Textband zu der Facsimile Ausgabe,* Graz 1967; Idem, 'Die Fresken von Strakonice und der Krumauer Bilderkodex', *Umění* 41, 1993, pp. 145-152; Ewald Maria VETTER, 'Mulier amicta sole und Mater Salvatoris', *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 9-10, 1958-1959, esp. pp. 32-33; Ulrike JENNI – Maria THEISEN, *Mitteleuropäische Schulen III (ca. 1350–1410): Mähren – Schlesien – Ungarn: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,* Vienna 2004, p. 32; Helena SOUKUPOVÁ, 'Klášter minoritů a klarisek v Českém Krumlově' [The Minor Friars and Poor Clares Monastery in Český Krumlov], *Průzkumy památek* 2, 1999, pp. 69-86; Milada STUDNIČKOVÁ, 'Rožmberkové a knižní malba' [The Rosenberg Family and Book Illumination], in: *Rožmberkové. Rod českých velmožů a jeho cesta dějinami*, České Budějovice 2011, pp. 496-503; Jana GROLLOVÁ – Daniela RYWIKOVÁ, *Militia est vita hominis. Sedm smrtelných hříchů a sedm skutků milosrdenství v literárních a vizuálních pramenech českého středověku* [Militia est vita hominis: Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Works of Mercy in Literary and Visual Sources of the Czech Middle Ages], České Budějovice – Ostrava 2013, pp. 134-142. On the gift of the book by Peter II of Rosenberg to the Český Krumlov double monastery, see Marta HRADILOVÁ, '*Liber monasterii de Chrumpnaw comparatus per honorabilem domunim Petrum de Rosenberch* - knižní dar Petra II. z Rožmberka českokrumlovskému klášteru' [*Liber monasterii de Chrumpnaw comparatus per honorabilem domunim Petrum de Rosenberch* – Peter II of Rosenberg's Book Gift to the Český Krumlov Monastery], in: Daniela Rywiková – Roman Lavička (eds.), *Ordo et paupertas. Českokrumlovský klášter minoritů a klarisek ve středověku v kontextu řádové zbožnosti, kultury a umění*, Ostrava 2017, pp. 219-227.

[5] Matt. 25:14-30; Matt. 22:1-14.

[6] Both the ownership note '*Conventus Beatae Virginis Cru...,*' and especially the fact that at the time the nuns' convent was disbanded in 1872 the codex was located in the convent's library, support the hypothesis that the manuscript was originally commissioned for the Český Krumlov Poor Clares. Marta HRADILOVÁ, *Příspěvky k dějinám knihovny minoritů v Českém Krumlově v době předhusitské* [On the History of the Minorite Library in Český Krumlov during the Pre-Hussite Period], (Ph.D. Thesis), Prague 2014, pp. 101-103.

[7] For the iconography of the depiction, see SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex*, pp. 16-17; Daniela RYWIKOVÁ,

Figure 1. *Woman of the Apocalypse*, c. 1350. *Liber depictus*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 370, f. 1r. Photo: SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex.*

of Sorrows standing in the sun is in fact a representation of the rayed sun-monstrance with the consecrated host – the real present body of the living Saviour. It simultaneously reflects the patrociny of the monastic church that was in 1358 consecrated *'in honore Corporis Christi et Gloriose virginae Marie.'* [8]

The iconographical and semantic pendant for the aforementioned image is an interesting personification of the Seven Deadly Sins on the verso of the folio 155, following the legend on the ascetic saint Ulrich (Figure 2). The folio is entitled: *'sola superbia destruit omnia si comitetur'* and depicts a female zoomorphic creature – a hybrid monster representing the embodiment of the seven major vices. The creature wears a crown made of peacock feathers – the attribute of the queen of all vices – Pride, noted as *Superbia*. She is holding a bow – a deadly weapon of anger entitled *Ira* – in her right hand, and a full festoon – the symbol of Greed (*Avaritia*) – in her left hand. The creature is standing on a bird's leg with feathers labelled as *Accidia*; i.e., Sloth, into which a snakehead symbolizing the sin of Envy (*Invidia*) is biting. Sticking out of the woman's bosom is a wolf's head representing the last sin of Gluttony (*Gula*). The last in the list of the Seven Deadly Sins – Lust (*Luxuria*) – is missing. It is, as I will attempt to explain, untypically merged visually and semantically with Gluttony and depicted in the form of an animal (wolf) head with a protruding tongue reminiscent of the male member. It draws attention to the so-called sin of the tongue (*peccatum linguae*), described as the eighth deadly sin in the treatise *Summa de vitiis* written by the Dominican monk Wilhelm Peraldus around the mid-thirteenth century, which was widely popular and well-read in the Mendicant environment.[9]

Gerhard Schmidt has focused on the interpretation of this image and noted its iconographic analogies in other monastic manuscripts.[10] He sought the famous *Physiologus* as the main source of its remarkable iconography; however it alone does not explain the original visual concept of the female monster or its semantic intricacy. I am convinced that to understand the image in its complexity, it needs to be perceived as the pendant to the front folio with the Woman of the Apocalypse symbolizing the Church (*Ecclesia*) and salvation in general. The female hybrid – the Woman of Sins – *Welt Frau* or *figura mundi* [11] symbolizes on the contrary the fallen world, as well as reminding the reader that committing the deadly sins leads to eternal damnation in hell.

Eucharistická zbožnost v českých zemích pozdního středověku jako vizuální fenomén [Eucharist Devotion in the Late Medieval Czech Lands as a Visual Phenomenon], (Ph.D. Thesis), Olomouc 2009, p. 43; GROLLOVÁ – RYWIKOVÁ, 'Militia est vita', pp. 134-142; Daniela RYWIKOVÁ, "Krásná jako luna, čistá jako slunce.' Apokalyptická žena v Liber depictus jako alegofy monastického života' ['Beautiful like the Moon, Pure like the Sun'. The Woman of the Apocalypse in Liber depictus as an Allegofy of Monastic Life], in: Daniela Rywiková (ed.), *Klášter minoritů a klarisek v Českém Krumlově: Umění, zbožnost, architektura*, České Budějovice 2015, pp. 268-270.

[8] SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex*, p. 17.

[9] On Peraldus and the medieval treatises on the 'sin of the tongue,' see Gabriella I. BAIKA, *Lingua Indisciplinata. A Study of Transgressive Speech in the 'Romance of the Rose' and the 'Divine Comedy'* , (Ph.D. Thesis), Pittsburgh 2007, pp. 3-27.

[10] SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex*, p. 22.

[11] 'Woman of the World'. This is how the Woman of Sins is denoted in *Speculum humanae salvationis* from Wolfenbüttel (1340–1350). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf 35a Helmst, f. 1r. GROLLOVÁ – RYWIKOVÁ, 'Militia est vita', pp. 180-181. For the iconography of *Frau Welt*, see Gertrude GSODAM, 'Welt, Fürst der Welt, Frau Welt', in: Engelbert Kirschbaum (ed.), *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* IV, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993, col. 496-498.
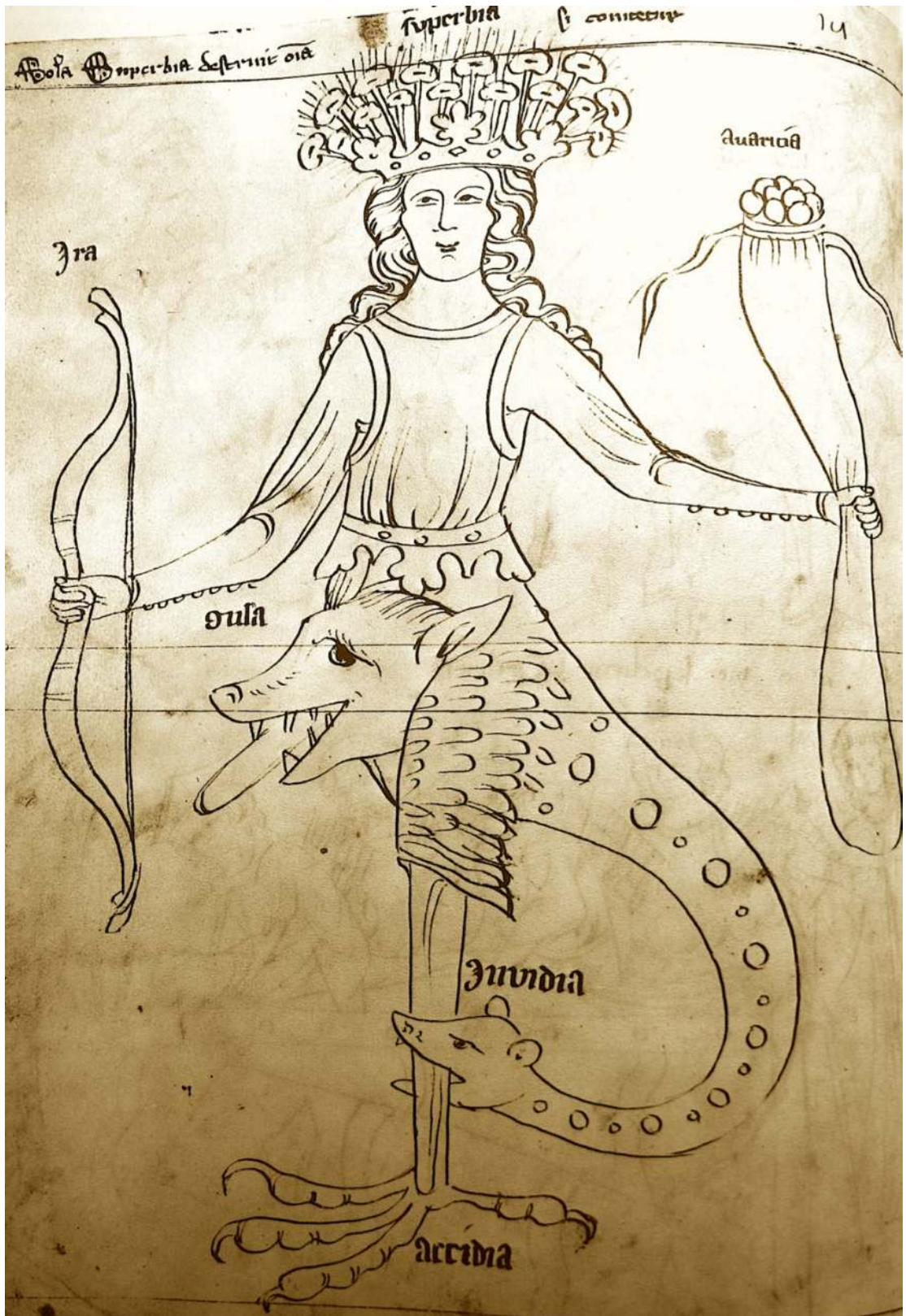
Figure 2. *Woman of the Seven Deadly Sins*, c. 1350. *Liber depictus*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 370, f. 155v. Photo: SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex.*

Figure 3. *Woman of the Seven Deadly Sins and St Benedict*, 1414. The Metten *Biblia pauperum*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 8201, f. 95r. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

The parallel for such antagonism can be found in a compendium also of Bohemian origin dated to 1414.[12] It is a lavishly illuminated *Biblia pauperum* from the Benedictine Abbey of St Michael in Bavarian Metten, on the recto of folio 95 bearing an image of a very similar monstrous female figure whose bird leg is, nonetheless, marked as *vita* (Life) and the dragon head biting into it as *mors* (Death) (Figure 3). The opposite figure to the Woman of Sins is in this case St Benedict armed with a cross with the inscription '*Crux sacra sit m*/ichi/ *lux n*/on/ *draco* /sit/ *michi dux*'[13] further accompanied by the formula: '*Vade retro sathana nunquam suade m*/ichi/ *vana. Sunt mala que libas ipsa verena bibas.*'[14] The text is based on Christ's words addressed to St Peter: '*Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.*'[15] It is clearly associated with the Benedictine Order, possibly used as a part of the spiritual training stipulated in the fourth chapter of the Rule of St Benedict, who was in the Middle Ages considered as the exemplum of Christian virtues and a warrior of Christ.[16]

The depiction of the Woman of Sins portrayed in the Metten *Biblia pauperum* differs from the depiction in *Liber depictus* in the following details: she has membranous bat wings and is holding a chalice symbolizing Gluttony (*Gula*) in her right hand while her left hand, labelled with the inscription *Accidia* (Sloth), is cut off from her body. The text *Luxuria* (Lust) that was missing from the *Liber depictus* image of the *Frau Welt*, lines the woman's bust. A pierced moneybag hangs from her waist, and the coins falling out of it represent the worldly ephemerality of wealth and Greed (*Avaritia*). The heads of two canines – a wolf and a dog, labelled with the inscriptions Wrath (*Ira*) and Envy (*Invidia*) are sticking out of the bag.

It is clear that animal symbolism plays a crucial role in this type of image since medieval allegorical thinking liked to associate specific human characteristics with animals (as well as specific sins with their particular body parts). The dragon or the snake clearly represented the Devil and evil as such, while the bird (*avis*) symbolized – not only through the etymological closeness of its Latin name – Life (*vita*). The dog was perceived as a symbol of tenaciousness or stubbornness (*tenacitas*); however high and late medieval bestiaries also mention the animal's positive characteristics, despite the commonplace of medieval exegesis and Passion literature associating dogs with Christ's tormentors.[17]

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[12] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 8201. It was Schmidt who called attention to the analogous depiction in the *Metten Bible*. See SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex*, p. 22. For the manuscript and iconography, see Robert SUCKALE, 'Das geistliche Kompendium des Mettener Abtes Peter. Klosterreform und Schöner Stil um 1414/15', *Anzeiger des Germanischen National Museums,* 1982, pp. 7-22. For the iconography of the depiction of the Woman of Sins, see Robert SUCKALE, *Klosterreform und Buchkunst. Die Handschriften des Mettener Abtes Peter I.,* Petersberg 2012, pp. 104-105.

[13] '*May the Holy Cross be my Light, let the Devil not be my Lord.*'

[14] '*Begone Satan, never tempt me with your vanities. What you offer is evil, drink the poison yourself!*' The identical Latin text can be found in the above-mentioned *Speculum* from Wolfenbüttel (see note 11).

[15] Mark 8:33: '[...] *vade retro me Satana quoniam non sapis quae Dei sunt sed quae sunt hominum.*' Quoted according to Alberto COLUNGA – Laurentio TURRADO (eds.), *Vulgata, Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, Madrid 1946, [on-line], Bible Gateway, 1969, [consulted 27 May, 2018], accessible from: https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Biblia-Sacra-Vulgata-VULGATE.

[16] Chapter 4: *The Tool for Good Works* (Caput 4: *Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum*) that lists the forbidden acts, sins followed by the works of mercy plus other good acts, tasks and virtues leading towards salvation. *Sancti Benedicti, S. Benedicti Regula, Prologus* [on-line], caput 4, Bibliotheca Benedictina IntraText. Internet Archive, [consulted 5 November, 2020], accessible from: http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0011/_P5.HTM.

[17] For the positive characteristics of the dog see for example Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae XII: De animalibus*: '*Nihil autem sagacious canibus; plus enim sensus ceteris animalibus habent. Namque soli sua nomina recognoscunt, dominos suos diligent, dominorum tecta defendant, pro dominis suis se morti obiciunt* [...]. *In canobus duo sunt: aut fortitude, aut velocitas.*'
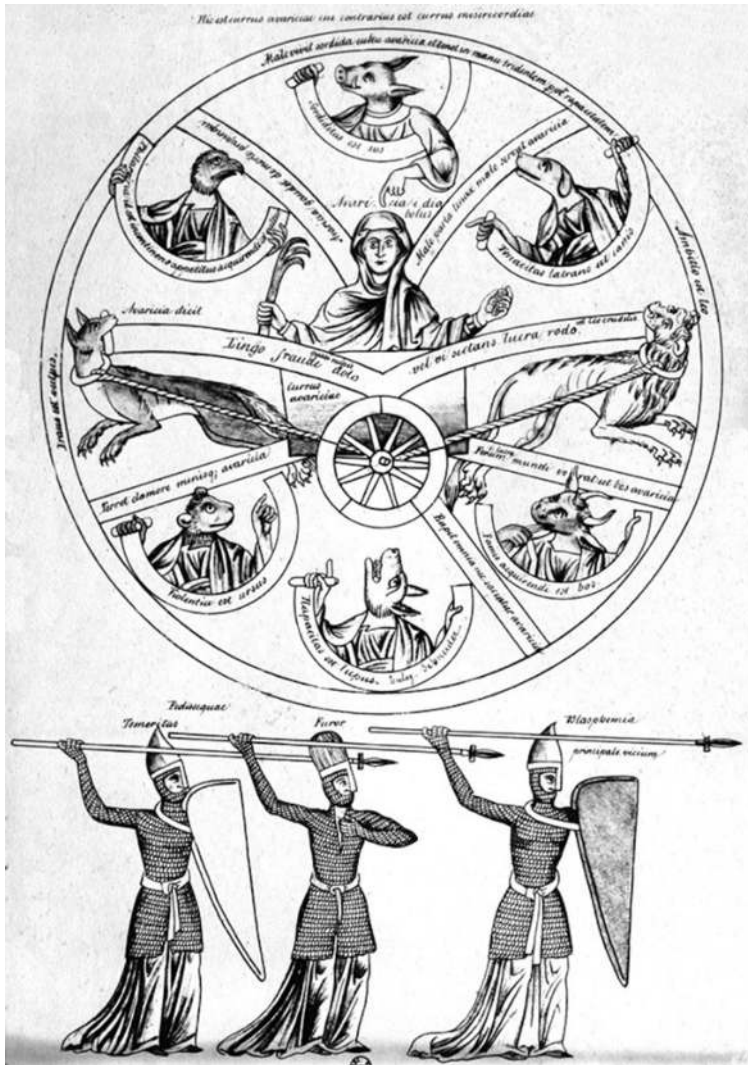
Figure 4. *Avaritia*. 1185. Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum.* Drawing after the lost original. Photo: Author's archive.

PL 82:458. ('No animal is smarter than the dog, for they have more senses that the others. They alone recognize their own names; they love their masters; they defend their master's home; they lay down their life for their master [...]. There are two qualities found in dogs: strength and speed.') English translation quoted according to Dieter BITTERLI, *Say what I am Called: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, Toronto – Buffalo – London 2009, pp. 108-109. In a similar manner, *The Aberdeen bestiary* (from around 1200): '*Canum sunt plurima genera, alii ad capiendum investigant feras silvarum, alii ab infestationibus luporum, vigilando greges custodiunt ovium, alii custodes domorum, substantiam dominorum suorum custodiunt ne forte rapiatur, in nocte a latronibus et pro dominos suos se morti obiciunt, voluntarie ad predam cum domino currunt, corpus domini sui etiam mortuum custodiunt, et non linqunt.*' ('There are many kinds of dogs: some track down the wild beasts of the forests to catch them; others by their vigilance guard flocks of sheep from the attacks of wolves; others as watch-dogs in the home guard the property of their masters lest it be stolen by thieves at night and sacrifice their lives for their master; they willingly go after game with their master; they guard his body even he is dead and do not leave it.'). *The Aberdeen Bestiary* [on-line], Aberdeen University, MS 24, f. 18r. [consulted 5 November, 2020], accessible from: https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/f18r. For Bohemia see Alena HADRAVOVÁ (ed.), *Kniha dvacatera umění mistra Pavla Žídka, část přírodovědná* [The Book of Twenty Arts by Master Pavel Žídek. The Section on Natural History], Praha 2008, p. 307. The negative meaning of the dog is based on Psalm 21:16-20: '*Dogs surrounded me, a pack of villains encircles me; they pierce my hands and my feet. All my bones are on display; people stare and gloat over me. The divide my clothes among them and cast lots for my garment. But you, Lord, do not be far from me. You are my strength; come quickly to help me. Deliver me from the sword, my precious life from the power of dogs.*' For more see James MARROW, 'Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *The Art Bulletin* 59, 1977, pp. 174-179; Simona COHEN, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, Leiden – Boston 2008, pp. 136-142. For the canine monster in the Middle Ages see Jeffrey J.

On the other hand, the wolf appearing in the two images of the female hybrid monster was considered in the Middle Ages to be an archetypally evil animal and an embodiment of the Devil.[18] Bestiaries describe the wolf as the animal whose Latin name (*lupus*) is derived from its Greek equivalent *licos* that allegedly derives from the Greek word for 'bites' since: '[...] *maddened by greed, wolves kill whatever they find* [...] *wolves get their name from rapacity: for this reason we call whores lupae, she-wolves, because they strip their lovers of their wealth.*'[19] This text explains the semantic relation between the wolf's head, the pierced moneybag in the scene in the *Metten Bible*, and links to the sexual innuendo in the form of the wolf's head depicted in the *Liber depictus* monster. The wolf is reflected in a similar way in the spiritual compendium *Hortus deliciarum* written by the celebrated nun and mystic from Alasace, Herrad of Landsberg, in 1185, where the wolf is depicted as the embodiment of rapaciousness (*rapacitas*) and one of the attributes of Greed depicted as a woman riding a carriage pulled in opposite directions by a lion – the symbol of ambition (*ambitio*) – and a fox, representing cunning and deceitfulness (*fraus*) (Figure 4).[20]

Both images of the female monsters in *Liber depictus* and the *Metten Bible* are based on multiple sources, spiritual ideas, imagination, and currents of thought of the medieval monastic environment where the official church dogma and mysticism often permeated. It is in the complexity of these relations and traditions that we need to seek the roots of the Woman of Sins iconography. She is not solely the symbolic expression of deadly sins, but also the model example of a monster – hermaphrodite, as well as a result of manipulation with the female body.

Particularly interesting in this context is the depiction in the book of mystic visions by the Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen *Liber scivias*, completed in 1152.[21] One of her visions in which she describes five animals symbolizing the five eras that precede the coming of the Antichrist, is illustrated by an intriguing full-page illumination (Figure 5).[22] The lower part of the illumination depicts a woman who Hildegard describes as the mother of the Antichrist.[23] She conceived the Antichrist with several men in '[...] *the most wanton villainy of fornication* [...]'

COHEN, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis – London 1999, pp. 119-126.

[18] '*Lupi figuram diabolus portat, qui semper humano generi invidet, ac iugiter circuit caulas ecclesie fidelium, ut mactet et perdat eorum animas.*' ('The Devil has the nature of a wolf; he always looks with an evil eye upon mankind and continually circles the sheepfold of the faithful of the Church, to ruin and destroy their souls.'), *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, Aberdeen University, MS 24, f. 17r.

[19] '*Lupos enim dicunt illi licos autem grece, a morsibus appelantur, quod rabie rapacitatis, queque invenerint trucidant... et meretrices lupas vocamus, quia amantium bona devastant.*' *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, Aberdeen University, MS 24, f. 16v.

[20] Adolf KATZENELLENBOGEN, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art. From Early Christian Times to the Thirteen Century,* London 1939, p. 61.

[21] This concerns the eleventh vision, third part. See Bruce HOZESKI (ed. and transl.), *Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias*, Santa Fe 1986, pp. 345-363. For the iconography of *Liber Scivias* see Lieselotte SAURMA-JELTSCH, 'Die Rupertsberger Scivias Handschrift: Überlegungen zu ihrer Entstehung', in: Edeltraut Forster (ed.), *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten,* Freiburg im Breisgau 1997, pp. 340-358.

[22] Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1, f. 214v. The luxurious edition of the manuscript *Liber scivias* from 1165-1175, whose illumination is explored here, disappeared from the Wiesbaden library in 1945. Between 1927 and 1933 the nuns in the cloister in Eibingen prepared a facsimile of the manuscript including colour copies of the illuminations. For the iconography of Antichrist in *Liber Scivias* see Richard K. EMMERSON, 'The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience', *Gesta* 41, 2002, p. 95.

[23] Ibidem, p. 100.

Figure 5. *Mother of Antichrist*, 1152. *Liber scivias*, Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1, f. 214v.
Photo: Author's archive.

Figure 6. *Gryllus*, c. 1300-1310. *The Ormesby Psalter*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 366, f. 131r.
Photo: Bodleian Library.

and her womb will give birth to the '*destroyer*' filled '*with the spirit of the devil.*'[24] The woman's womb is filled with a '*[...] monstrous and very black head. This head had fiery eyes and ears like those of an ass. Its nose and mouth were like those of a lion. It had a great jaw which could crush and cut horribly with its ironlike and horrible teeth.*'[25] In Hildegard's vision, the depiction of the monstrous animal head in the woman's womb predominantly represents the sin of Lust – diabolical, inhuman monstrosity in which the Antichrist was conceived, with the actual birth of the Antichrist described as the separation of the head from the woman's body.

The notion of the monstrous animal head reminds us of the fabled figure of the so-called *Gryllus* – the monster popular in the marginal iconography of thirteenth and fourteenth-century French and English manuscripts. *Gryllus* was the materialization of the lascivious, sexual gaze leading to the sin of fornication and eternal damnation. It is the opposite of the so called 'gaze of salvation'.[26] For this reason, the *Gryllus* is usually depicted as a furry animal face among the lower, frequently also animal, limbs and often joins other zoomorphic creatures to accompany courtly and amorous scenes in drolleries. (Figure 6).[27]

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[24] HOZESKI, *Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias*, p. 353.

[25] Ibidem, p. 345.

[26] Michael CAMILLE, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art,* London 1992, pp. 37-41.

[27] See, e.g., the Psalter from Ormesby, c. 1300–1310. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce, MS 366, f. 131r; CAMILLE, *Image on the Edge*, pp. 40-41.

In general, women's sexuality was a difficult subject for medieval theologians. They had no idea about the subject, or at least only a bizarre one, and their ideas stemmed from contemporary misogynistic views of the female physiognomy. Medieval physicians and theologians described the female body as anatomically different from the male.[28] They believed that all bodily fluids, including the mother's milk, are transmuted blood. Medieval books on anatomy depict a vein that is unique to the female body, which connects the womb with the breasts. It was believed that after childbirth, the blood that fed the uterus was diverted to the woman's breasts and further refined into milk.[29] Renowned thirteenth-century medical treatises such as *De secretis mulierum*, and tracts by St Augustine or Thomas Aquinas and other medieval authorities understood women as 'misbegotten males': *'As regards her individual nature, woman is defective and misbegotten, for the active force in the male seed tends to the production of a perfect likeness in the masculine sex [...]'* [30] according to them, the monstrosity of the female body also manifested itself in menstruation, blood, bodily odours, and different urine. The female body was regarded as polluted, deformed, and in fact monstrous from its very substance in relation to the normative male body.

The body of the female monster in *Liber depictus* is therefore perceived as sexually active, damaged, and 'open', in contrast to the enclosed, immaculate (virgin) body of Mary (the Woman of the Apocalypse) depicted on f. 1r, whose body and womb made of the sun bearing the Man of Sorrows is '*virginitatis claustra.*' [31] The pure body of Virgin Mary was also perceived as a metaphor of the cloistered body of the nun; i.e., her virginity; or as the locked house of a heart (*domus cordis*) or chamber (*talamus virginis*) where a community of nuns or a nun's soul dwells alongside Christ.[32]

The Woman of Sins in *Liber depictus* simultaneously foregrounds the issue of sexual identity and the perception thereof in the Middle Ages. The Woman of Sins is a person of dual sex – a hermaphrodite whose sexual organs bear the form of a wolf's mouth with sharp teeth and a penis-like tongue. In the western Christian world, hermaphroditism was perceived as the ability to play both the 'male' (i.e., penetrative) and the 'female' (i.e., receptive) sexual role.[33] Therefore dual sex in itself was perceived as a monstrosity. It was an attribute of the Antichrist, suggesting not only abnormal sexuality and sexual crime, which highlighted the repudiation of sinfulness, but in the non-literal sense also, the monstrosity and demonism of the 'open' world ruled by the Devil.

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[28] Monica H. GREEN, 'Bodily Essences: Bodies as Categories of Difference', in: Linda KALOF (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Middle Ages*, Oxford – New York 2014, pp. 151-161.

[29] Caroline W. BYNUM, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York 1992, pp. 214-215; GREEN, 'Bodily Essences'.

[30] *'Ad primum ergo dicendum quod per respectum ad naturam particularem, femina est aliquid deficiens et occasionatum. Quia vitus aktiva quae est in semine maris, intendit producere sibi simile perfectum, secundum masculinum sexum [...]'.* Thomas AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae, De productione mulieris*, I, Q 92, a. 1 ad 1. See also GREEN, 'Bodily Essences', p. 151.

[31] The body of the Virgin Mary was often compared to the shut or locked gate or *hortus conclusus* as a metaphor of her impenetrable and perpetual virginity. See Sarah A. MILLER, *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body*, New York 2010, pp. 11-52; Emma M. SOLBERG, *Virgin Whore*, Ithaca – London 2018, p. 31.

[32] Sarah SALIH, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2001, p. 128.

[33] GREEN, 'Bodily Essences', p. 163; Kathleen P. LONG, 'Hermaphrodites Newly Discovered: The Cultural Monsters of Sixteenth-Century France', in: Jeffrey J. Cohen (ed.), *Monster Theory*, Minneapolis – London 1996, pp. 183-201.

The monstrous Woman of Sin in *Liber depictus* and the *Metten Bible* interestingly reflects the hermetic tradition of the Middle Ages.[34] It is possible to state, with perhaps a little exaggeration, that medieval hermetic philosophy was essentially an analogy of the monastic way of life. In the same way that the hermetic sciences were inaccessible to the uninitiated, so the monastery was closed to the outside world. It is not accidental that medieval monasteries represented important centres of hermetical sciences, the most important of which were astrology and alchemy. Alchemical manuscripts of the High and Late Middle Ages frequently contain the monstrous figure of the 'diabolic hermaphrodite' representing the Antichrist who is depicted in, for example, editions of the popular treatise by the German Franciscan alchemist Ulmann, *Das Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* from the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century.[35] Although the treatise originated later than *Liber depictus,* it is clear that its iconography is based on the earlier Christian-hermetic tradition and demonstrates interesting similarities to our images of the *Frau Welt.*

The 'diabolic hermaphrodite' is usually depicted as a united female and male figure with membranous wings whose feet are standing on the body of snake or dragon or are wrapped by a snake-like monster with bird claws and two female heads. (Figure 7) The hermaphrodite is standing, based on the inscriptions at the feet, on Gluttony and Envy (*Gula* and *Invidia).* The inscription above the hermaphrodite's two heads reads Wrath (*Ira*), and the sword in the right hand symbolizes wickedness, labelled with the words '*contra iusticiam*' (against justice), which is held in the malevolently acting arm with the inscription *Superbia* (Pride). The other hand holds a crown, representing moral depravity, sexual transgression, and Lust (*Immunditia).* Around the neck is Greed (*Avaritia*), and below the belt is '*aqua luxu*/riae/' (Water of Fornication).

In alchemistic ideas, the hermaphrodite of vices – the Antichrist – stands for the opposite of the Philosopher's stone (*lapis philosophorum*) and the source of eternal life – Jesus Christ.[36] Since the Antichrist was born out of the sinful substance of his mother, her body forms an inseparable part of his own body. He is the ruler of darkness, the destroyer, manifested in Hildegard's visions by the black animal head, and in the images of the diabolical hermaphrodite by the black colour of his armour, his crown and in some cases also his face (as *ferreus rex* – the king of darkness and wickedness).[37] The mother of the Antichrist is in alchemistic ideas identical to the 'Hermetic Whore', an alchemic analogy of the Great Whore of Babylon, described in the Revelation of St John as a woman who:

> [...] sits upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold

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[34] Ivo PURŠ, 'Mariánská a christologická symbolika v alchymickém rukopise Kniha svaté trojice' [Symbolics of Virgin Mary and Christ in the Alchemy Tract *Das Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*], in: Ivo Purš and Jakub Hlaváček (eds.), *Alchymická mše: Sborník textů ke vztahům alchymie a křesťanství*, Prague 2008, p. 126.

[35] For example the edition from Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS 78 A 11. The manuscript is dated to around 1420 and was probably commissioned by the Prince-elector Friedrich VI of Zollern, or directly by the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg or his wife Barbara of Cilli, who was apparently a gifted alchemist. PURŠ, 'Mariánská a christologická symbolika', pp. 136-145.

[36] For Christ as the Philosopher's Stone, see Carl G. JUNG, *Psychology and Alchemy: The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 12, Princeton 1980, pp. 232-241.

[37] PURŠ, 'Mariánská a christologická symbolika', p. 143.

Figure 7. *Diabolic Hermaphrodite*, 1467. *Das Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 598, f. 106v. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hands full of abominations and the filth of her fornication [...].[38]

The golden cup in the whore's hand immediately reminds one of the image of the Woman of Sins in the *Metten Bible* against whom St Benedict fights with the Holy Cross. Another female figure stands in the upper part of the folio above the Woman of Sins. She is labelled as '*filia babilonis misera,*' according to the eighth verse of Psalm 137: '*O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.*' She, too, has her opposite in the female figure with crown on her head who, like the Daughter of Babylon, stands in two halo-like circles with inscriptions celebrating her as '*christi sponsa beata*'; i.e., the Bride of Christ, decorated by all the virtues, and the antithesis of the 'Daughter of Babylon'. The Bride of Christ stands above the head of St Benedict and thus illustrates the idea of the pure 'rational soul' (*anima rationalis*), a popular term in mystic literature, describing Christ's spiritual spouse.[39] In the *Metten Bible*, *sponsa* represents the visual attribute and spiritual aspect of St Benedict whose sinless, immaculate soul is the essential precondition for the exemplary and victorious combat against the Antichrist. It is the Daughter – Whore of Babylon who is emphasized as the true source of sin and temptation and whose sinful body (here depicted naked and sensually appealing), characteristically entwined by the snake, gave birth to the Antichrist (Figure 8).

In a similar way it is necessary to understand the complex image on folio 96r in the *Metten Bible* depicting the Tree of Vices growing out of the root-head with a diabolic face labelled as *Babilonia* bearing a crown out of which grows seven heads and ten 'horns' with crowns carrying the names of the seven deadly sins written in between them (Figure 9).[40] A trunk of Pride (*Superbia*) grows from the head, further branching into Wrath and Envy, higher up into Sloth (*Accidia*) and Greed (*Avaritia*) and at the very top grow leaves of Lust (*Luxuria*) and Gluttony (*Gula*). Leaves with further sins grow from each branch as satellites of the seven deadly sins. Standing next to the Head of Babylonia is St John accompanied by the text of the seventeenth chapter of Revelation, describing the Beast of Babylon '*[...] upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.*' John's finger is pointing to the word *blasphemia* in the text and in fact almost didactically demonstrating further meaning of this semantically complex image.

The aforementioned sin of the tongue is described in the treatise of Wilhelm Peraldus *Summa de vitiis* as the eighth deadly sin and as the parallel to the eighth king from the biblical text of St John's Revelation: '*And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.*'[41] In his treatise, Peraldus devotes the entire chapter *De peccato linguae* to the sin of the tongue. The chapter defines this deadly sin with a total of twenty-four terms,

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[38] Rev. 17:3-4. PURŠ, 'Mariánská a christologická symbolika', p. 137.

[39] The most famous example of this idea in the Czech context is demonstrated in the parable *De strenuo milite* written by Bohemian Dominican Kolda of Koldice for the Prague Benedictine abbes and Přemyslid princess Kunigunde in famous and lavishly illuminated spiritual compendium *Passional of Abbess Kunigunde* commissioned by her between c. 1314-1321 (Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XIV A 17). Dana MARTÍNKOVÁ (ed. and transl.), *Frater Colda. Ordinis praedicatorum. Tractatus mystici. Mystické traktáty* [Frater Colda. Ordinis praedicatorum. Tractatus mystici. Mystical Tracts], Praha 1997. The *Passional of Abbess Kunigunde* is one of the subject of the second chapter by Lenka Panušková and is also mentioned in the chapter by Renata Modráková, see pp. 20-39, 40-59.

[40] For the depiction, see SUCKALE, *Klosterreform und Buchkunst*, pp. 113-116.

[41] Rev. 17:11.

Figure 8. *Bride of Christ and Daughter of Babylon*, 1414. The Metten *Biblia pauperum*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 8201, f. 95r. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
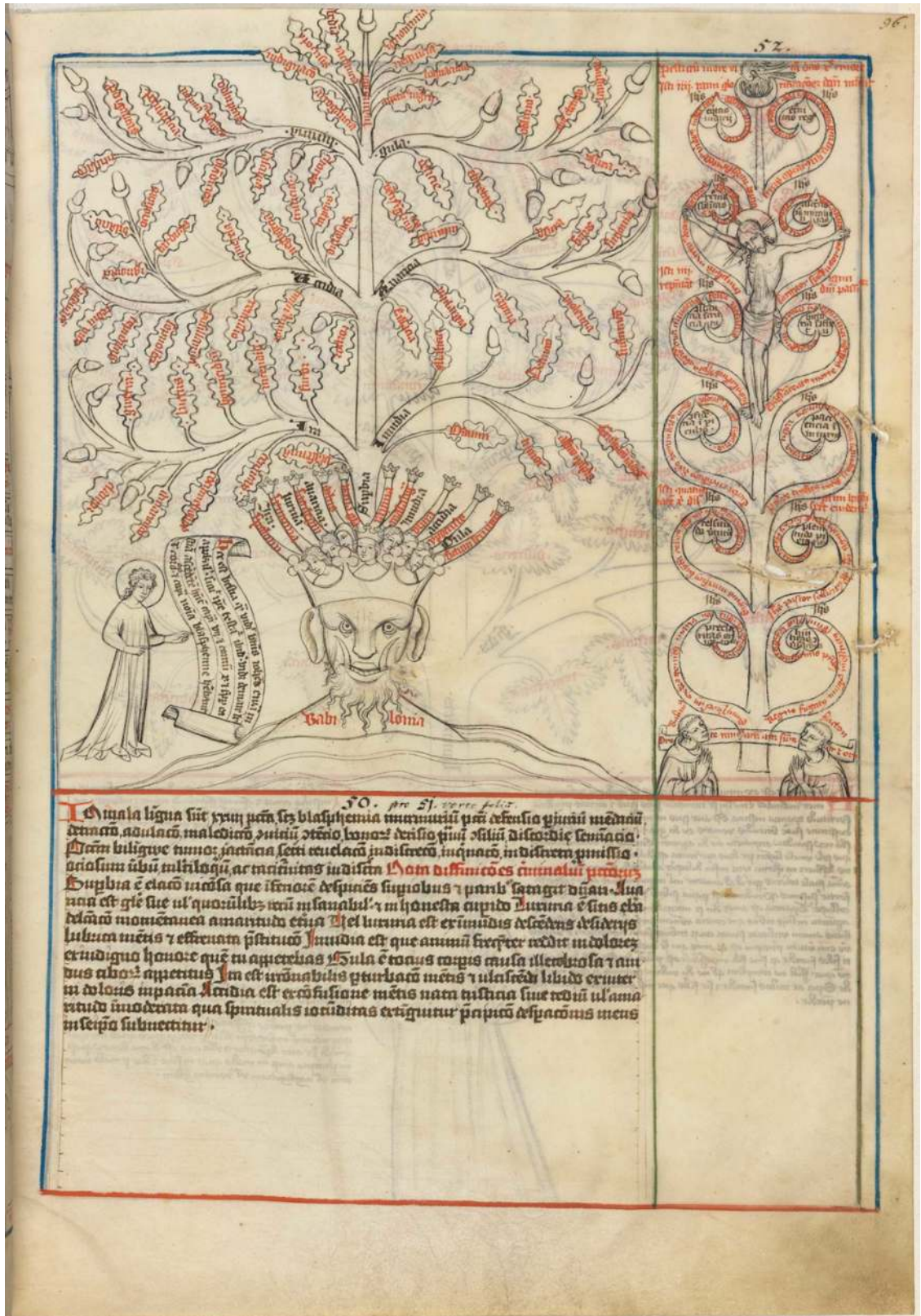
Figure 9. *Tree of Vices*, 1414. The Metten *Biblia pauperum*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 8201, f. 96r. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

analysed in separate sections.[42] Peraldus's terms defining the *mala lingua* are listed under the depictions of the Tree of Vices in the *Metten Bible*.[43] The sins of the body follow – i.e., a list of the seven deadly sins, arranged and described in accordance with Gregorian tradition in short summaries. Babylon was regarded as the source of absolutely all the vices a sinner could possibly commit and the sin of the tongue was particularly relevant to the monastic environment, since, according to Peraldus, *'[...] this sin remains after the other sins [...]'*[44] as monks and nuns who guard themselves against the vices of the body often omit the verbal sins.

I would argue that even though Peraldus's text on the sin of the tongue is not, unlike in the Metten Bible, quoted in *Liber depictus*, the eighth sin is visualized here in the form of a wolf's head with its tongue sticking out of the crotch of the Woman of sins. It clearly represents the 'bad tongue' (*mala lingua*); i.e., the impure language, empty talk and blasphemy leading to damnation, both in terms of the subject and form. Furthermore, the wolf's head connects the sins of the tongue, ergo 'intellectual impurity,' with fornication – the impurity of the body, with reference to the sinful conception of the Antichrist. It is not accidental that the wolf in marginal iconography of the Middle Ages often appears in a monastic robe as the false preacher who uses his impure tongue to lead Christians – sheep – onto the path of heresy and damnation,[45] whereas the she-wolf was, as mentioned above, the symbol of the prostitute, though medieval preachers considered every sexually active single woman (*mulier soluta*) a prostitute.[46]

The main moralizing theme in *Liber depictus* focuses predominantly on the antithesis of the Woman of the Apocalypse, representing the Church and the Woman of Sins as the Antichrist. Both images represent the antagonism between good and evil, salvation and damnation, virtue and sin, the cloister and the world. Antagonistic thinking based on scholastic education was characteristic for High and Late medieval religious practice and allows us to better understand the unusual iconography of the Woman of the Apocalypse whose sun-rayed disc with the Man of Sorrows represents the principal antithesis to the monstrous wolf's head, symbolizing the impure womb that gave birth to the Antichrist (Christ/Antichrist – salvation/damnation). Similarly, the crown made of twelve stars symbolizing the virtues of Purity and Humility is the antipode to the crown of all sins of peacock feathers – Pride, that *destruit omnia.* Thus the Woman of the Apocalypse, the immaculate Virgin Mary represents the perfect opposite of the

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[42] These are *'[...] blasphemia, murmur, peccati defensio, periurium, mendacium, falsum testimonium, detraction, adulatio, maledictio, convitium, contentio, bonorum derisio, pravum consilium, peccatum seminantium discordiae, bilinguium, rumor, iactantia, secretorum revelation, indiscreta commination, indiscreta promissio, verbum otiosum, multiloquium, turpiloquium, scurrilitas, indiscreta taciturnitas.'* BAIKA, *Lingua Indisciplinata*, pp. 19-20.

[43] It is worth mentioning that the *mala lingua* is also quoted in the Prologue of the Rule of St Benedict: *'Si vis habere veram et perpetuam vitam, prohibe linguam tuam a malo et labia tua ne loquantur dolum; devere a malo et fac bonum [...]'* ('If you want to have true and everlasting life, keep your tongue from speaking evil, and your lips from uttering deceit. Turn aside from evil and do good [...]'). *Sancti Benedicti, S. Benedicti Regula, Prologus* [on-line]„ caput 1, v. 17, Bibliotheca Benedictina IntraText. Internet Archive, [consulted 17 March, 2019], accessible from: http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0011/_P1.HTM.

[44] *'Ultimo inter peccata dicendum est de peccato linguae quia istud peccatum remanet postalia peccata [...]'.* Quoted according to BAIKA, *Lingua Indisciplinata*, p. 20.

[45] E.g., in the archivolt of the portal of the southern transept of the church of St Peter in Aulnay-de-Saintonge; for the image: CAMILLE, *Image on the Edge*, p. 71.

[46] Cordelia BEATTIE, *Medieval Single Women. The Politics of Social Classification in Late Medieval England*, Oxford 2007; Ruth M. KARRAS, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe. Doing Unto Others*, New York 2005, pp. 87-119. Karras has noted on the page 104 that medieval confession mirrors do not include *'[...] conceptual space [...] for sexually active single woman who was not a prostitute.'*

monstrous Woman of sins. She is the source of all virtues and goodness, the personification of the Church and Genitrix, the virgin mother of the Saviour who will defeat the Antichrist, 'the destroyer' and malevolent ruler of the fallen world filled with sin.[47]

The monstrosity of the Woman of Sins in *Liber depictus* thus predominantly expresses inhuman, amoral, asocial, and, in contemporary understanding therefore non-Christian qualities in their totality. Moreover, not only the attributes of the Antichrist but also the principles of the sinful world are often compared to biblical Babylon. It is important to understand that the monstrous Woman of Sins, the *Frau Welt* is a monastic, or more accurately, Benedictine concept. The infamous city of pride and idolatry was thus placed in contrast to the enclosed and secure cloister. This idea also corresponds with the perception of corporality reflected by the female monster. The physiognomic otherness, carnality, as well as sexual duality are an obvious demonstration of monstrous inhumanity defined by transgressions of all kinds: an absolute moral destruction, spiritual malformation, and bodily (sexual) ferocity.

The female body of our monster is, in fact, the deformed male body (along with the penis), which was true for the perception of the female body in a more general sense. According to medieval physiologists, all women were in fact monsters *per se,* misbegotten males, and so their bodies were and still are objects of manipulation and misuse. Even nowadays the female body is objectivized in commercials and product advertising and is frequently deformed into monstrous forms. Just as in the Middle Ages, the female body (often deformed and fragmented), still serves as a symbol of temptation, sexuality, and all possible pleasures in a western world where the ideology of sin has been replaced by the ideology of consumption driven by our 'superegos'.[48] *Mutatis mutandis* the post-modern 'malignant superego'[49] could, with bit of exaggerated fantasy, be easily symbolized by the medieval *Frau welt* with Pride and uncontrolled sex drive as her main attributes.

Through all possible means, the female monster in *Liber depictus* offers unique evidence of the medieval imagination and mentality, and possibly represents an example of an image used in female monastic pastoral practice (*cura monialium*) in Český Krumlov convent performed by the neighbouring Friars Minor. On the individual level, the image could well function as a visual and perhaps even emotion-triggering instrument for meditation on one's own sinfulness and spiritual journey to perfection, as well as for the collective education and disciplination of a female religious community, to which *Frau Welt* visualized the open, sinful and perhaps frightening world beyond the convent walls. It uniquely reflects the polysemantic complexity of relations between period theology, sexuality, alchemy, and Christian ethics, and last but not least it mirrors the monastic view of the world.

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[47] Schmidt has noted the semantic and iconographic similarity of the Woman of Sins in *Liber depictus* with *Frau Welt*, the personification of the sinful world. See SCHMIDT, *Krumauer bilderkodex*, p. 22, c.f. image 5.

[48] For the concept of *superego* in the ideology of consumption see Brian B. HANSEN, 'The Ideology of Consumption or, What does it mean to live in a tasteless world?' [on-line], *LIR.journal* 3, 2013, pp. 66-77, Internet archive, [consulted 27 May, 2018], accessible from: http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/LIRJ/article/view/2699. For the postmodern construction of superego in general see Slavoj ŽIŽEK, *The Parallax View*, Cambridge 2006.

[49] Brian B. HANSEN, 'The Ideology', p. 68.

Chapter II

Who Was the Reader of the Passional of the Abbess Kunigonde? Passion Imagery and Devotion in St George Monastery at the Prague Castle[*]

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Abstract

The sumptuously illuminated manuscript of the *Passional of the abbess Kunigunde*, which comprises only some 30 pages, belongs indisputably to the most famous medieval Bohemian manuscripts. There is a long tradition in the scholarship according to which the codex originated in the commission of Kunigunde, daughter of Přemysl Ottokar II and sister of Wenceslas II. However, scholars have not asked questions about the use of the manuscript. Therefore in my paper, I tackle the text-image relationship suggesting it worked as a tool in private devotion as well as in the education of medieval women. The variability of the use of the Passional manuscript begins to make sense as soon as we realise the principle of reading aloud as a common practice in the Middle Ages. Moreover, recent discoveries of the books made for the nunnery show that the Passion imagery does not concern only the visual depictions but appears in various rituals performed in St George's convent.

Keywords
female devotion; *arma Christi*; royal nunnery; Kolda of Koldice; abbess Kunigunde.

Introduction

The manuscript of the *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*[1] consists of some 30 pages. It opens with a donation scene (f. 1v, Figure 10), which depicts all the main characters involved in the production of the manuscript. In the centre, the abbess Kunigunde, enthroned and crowned by angels, receives the book from a kneeling Dominican friar Kolda of Koldice. The male figure behind Kolda presents canon Beneš, the scribe of the book. Right in the image, the whole convent is gathered. In the dedication that follows (ff. 2r-v), Kolda explains his motivation for composing the very first text in the manuscript, a parable about a brave knight (*De strenuo milite*, ff. 3v-9v), which Kunigunde asked him to write. He praises the abbess not only for her royal origin but first and foremost for her courage to fight daily against evil while using the weapons of Christ's sufferings, the *arma Christi*. The concluding lines of the preface establish the first *terminus post quem* for the production of the codex, the year 1312.[2] The second

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[1] Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17.

[2] *Dat(um) Pragae anno domini millesimo trecentesimo duodecimo.*

Figure 10. *Donation Scene*, after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 1v.

Figure 11. *Shield with Arma Christi*, after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 3r.

Figure 12. *Arma Christi*, after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 10r.

chronological point, 1314, is mentioned at the end of the tract *De mansionibus caelestibus* ('On Heavenly Residences', ff. 18r-31v). Here, Kolda recollects the first compilation as well.[3]

The parable *De strenuo milite* opens and concludes with two whole page depictions of *arma Christi* (Figures 11 and 12). The first one encloses the weapons into a shield with the Cross in the centre, whereas in the second one, Christ's torso and his side wound dominate the page. Moreover, the story is accompanied by illuminations in the right margin of each of the folios. The coherence of text and image indicates a careful planning in the layout of the codex, which implies close synergy of a scribe and an illuminator. Therefore, I suggest that the work on the Passional manuscript begun only after 1314, when Kolda had finished the second tract 'On Heavenly Residences'.

Questioning the Audience

Generally, it is believed that the codex was put in order by Kunigunde herself for the purpose of her private devotion.[4] In this paper, I do agree with the first part of the hypothesis. But, my question is, if the abbess was the only intended user of this book? In the paper, I focus on the possibility of a much wider audience that could access the manuscript in a process of communal devotion where the illuminations played a key role. Therefore, our attention has to shift from the enthroned abbess in the donation scene to the group of nuns standing behind her. Entitled with the Latin *Priorissa cum conventum*, they represent the vowed inhabitants of the convent. In addition, three nuns in the front row hold a book as does the figure of a dwarf nun at the rightmost side of the image.[5] Obviously, their presence in the donation scene plays a significant role for the meaning of the image as well as of the manuscript itself. They attest not only the handover of the finished book but simultaneously they witness the act of heavenly coronation of the abbess.

Heavenly Coronation

The motif of Kunigunde's heavenly coronation provides one of the key-arguments against the hypothesis that the codex was intended for her private use. In the Christian iconography, this motif symbolizes the posthumous honour for a saint or a to-be-saint person. Hitherto,

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[3] *Iam transacto biennio opuscupulum laboris triduani de strennuo milite, vestris pulsatus peticionibus, conposui, nunc vestris postulacionibus stimulatus opus de mansionibus celestibus quodam breviloquio infra biduum compilavi. Illud anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo duodecimo, sexto Kalendas Septembris edidi, istud anno eiusdem Domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo quarto, benedictionis vero vestre anno XIII° feria tercia et quarta infra octavas beati Dominici consumavi.* All the quotations from the Passional manuscript in this study are taken from the edition made by Dana MARTÍNKOVÁ (ed. and trans.), *Frater Kolda ordinis praedicatorum, Tractatus mystici, Mystické traktáty* [Frater Colda. Ordinis praedicatorum. Tractatus mystici. Mystical Tracts], Praha 1997, p. 86, lines 13-20. Between these two tracts, *De strenuo milite* and *De mansionibus celestibus*, the *Planctus Mariae* is embedded. With another *Planctus Mariae Magdalenae* preceded by a Sermon on Christ's Passion written by the Pope Leo I. the codex finishes. The last two texts remained not illustrated.

[4] For the discussion of the private aspects of devotion in the Middle Ages see Hans BELTING, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, Chicago 1994; Henk VAN OS – Hans NIEUWDORP – Bernhard RIDDERBOS – Eugène HONÉE, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe* (1300-1500), (exhibition catalogue), London 1994; Sixten RINGBOM, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, Davaco 1984; Joachim PLOTZEK, *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, (Katalog zur Ausstellung im Schnütgen-Museum), Köln 1987; Eamon DUFFY, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers (1240-1570)*, New Heaven 2006.

[5] In the research, the identity of this nun has been explained on the basis of the rubric: *Nonna Perchta domine abbatisse filie regis gnatta*. See Gia TOUSSAINT, *Das Passional der Kunigunde von Böhmen: Bildrhetorik und Spiritualität*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2003, pp. 44 with further readings.

Figure 13. *Donation Scene*, c. 1321. *Breviculum ex artibus Raimundi Lulli*, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St Peter perg. 92, f. 12r.

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Figure 14. *St Elisabeth with Beggar and a Donor*, c. 1330. Altenberg Altarpiece, Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum.

Kunigunde's coronation has always been explained with a reference to her royal origin, which is also stressed by the inscription in the upper left of the image.[6] However, Kunigunde's personal seal does not present the abbess crowned.

Gia Toussaint[7] quotes several examples of similar donation scenes in which the crowned addressee or beneficiary accepts a codex. First on the list is a tiny codex contemporaneous with the Passional manuscript that contains illuminated *vita* of Raymond of Lull (c. 1232-1315/1316) together with a brief exposition to Lull's *Ars Magna* written by his pupil and follower Thomas le Myésier (died 1336).[8] The codex known as *Breviculum ex artibus Raimundi Lulli* was composed for the French Queen Joan II, Countess of Burgundy (1316-1322, died 1330). A donation scene (f. 12r, Figure 13) concludes the prefatory set of 12 whole-page illuminations of Lull's life. In the image Queen Joan receives the book from le Myésier. Generally, the composition shares several motifs with the scene in the Kunigunde's Passional. It even includes the Latin *tituli* which comment on each of the characters or objects depicted. The *Breviculum* scene, however, lacks the motif of heavenly coronation; the queen is though similarly represented by the coats of arms in the four corners of the architectural framing. Behind her, another three women are standing. According to the coats of arms above the heads, they can be identified as Mahaut d'Artois, the Queen's mother, the Countess of Dreux (either Marie d'Enghién or Petronelle de Sully) and Marie de Saint-Pol. However, as Gia Toussaint points out, whereas in the *Breviculum* manuscript, the image focuses on the act of receiving the book, in the Passional, the enthroned and crowned abbess Kunigunde definitely dominates the scene. Kneeling figures of Kolda and Beneš are the smallest of all the characters witnessing the donation. In the *Breviculum*, the author of Lull's *vita* kneels before the Queen, but both le Myésier and Lull who stands behind him occupy a larger part of the image than the Queen with her entourage.

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[6] *Chunegundis abbatissa monasterii sancti Georgii in castro pregensi serenissimi boemie regis domini Ottacari secundi filia.*

[7] TOUSSAINT 2003.

[8] Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St Peter perg. 92, c. 1321. See Gerhard STAMM (ed.), *Electorium paruum seu Breuiculum: Handschrift BLB St. Peter perg. 92 der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe*, Wiesbaden 1988. For the edition see Charles LOHR – Theodor PINDL-BÜCHEL – Walburga BÜCHEL (eds.), *Brevicvlvm sev electorivm parvvm Thomae Migerii (Le Myésier)*, Tournhout 1990. For the digitised version of the manuscript see *Breviculum ex artibus Raimundi Lulli electum* [on-line], Badische Landesbibliothek, [consulted 3 January, 2019], accessible from: https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/105563.

The altarpiece of Altenberg[9] (Figure 14) presents another work of art to be compared with the Passional donation scene. The panel in question depicts St Elisabeth crowned by the angel on the left. The right angel presents her a yellow garment; the same one the saint gives to a beggar kneeling at her feet. Another figure, probably of a female donor of the altarpiece, kneels behind the saint. Nevertheless, as shown in other medieval images as well, it is always a saint figure being crowned by angels.

The Brave Knight: Text and Image

The content of the Passional manuscript presents another crucial argument for my hypothesis that the codex was from its very beginning intended for a wider audience. Medieval books made for private devotion usually comprise the Psalter, various penitential prayers, and typologically, they vary from psalters, breviaries to books of hours or prayer books. In fact, some of these books preserved from the library of the convent contain an owner's note according to which we can say that they were used by Kunigunde.[10]

As mentioned above, the Passional manuscript begins with the parable 'The Brave Knight'. The story develops a widespread *topos* of a knight, trying to save his beloved who was captivated by an evildoer. A model for this story can be traced back to the Old Testament's Song of Songs which became closely connected with the medieval *courtoisie* in the high medieval court culture.[11] Moreover, the many versions of the narrative are extensively preserved in the manuals for preachers as well.[12]

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[9]   Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, c. 1330, originally made for the Premonstratensian nunnery in Altenberg an der Lahn (near Wetzlar). For more details see Stefanie SEEBERG, 'The Imagery of the Altenberg High Altar: Function and Presentation', in: Jochen Sander (ed.), *Heaven on Display: The Altenberg Altar and Its Imagery*, (exhibition catalogue, Städel Museum), Frankfurt am Main 2016, pp. 142-148. For the altarpiece, with further bibliography see Stephan KEMPERDICK, 'Flügel des Altenberger Altares', in: Bodo Brinkmann – Stephan Kemperdick (eds.), *Deutsche Gemälde im Städel 1300-1500*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, pp. 3-32. See also Donald L. EHRESMANN, 'Some Observations on the Role of Liturgy in the Early Winged Altarpiece', *The Art Bulletin* 64/3, 1982, pp. 359-369; Donna SADLER, *Touching the Passion: Seeing Late Medieval Altarpieces through the Eyes of Faith*, Brill 2018, esp. pp. 40-41.

[10] Usually, the note says: *Iste liber pertinet ad dominam abbatissam de sancto Georgio Cunegundem filiam Ottacari*. It is, e.g., a breviary, Prague, National Library, MS VII G 17d or *Preces ad sanctos*, MS XII D 12. In another of the manuscripts belonging to the convent's library a brief introduction is included that claims the manuscript was produced in commission of Kunigunde (e.g., MS XIII.E.14c, MS XII D 13 and esp. MS XII D 10).

[11] For the motif of Christ as a Lover and a Knight in medieval literary tradition see Rosemary WOOLF, 'The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature', *The Review of English Studies* 13/49, 1962, pp. 1-16. For the medieval exegesis of Song of Songs see, e.g., Friedrich OHLY, *Hohelied-Studien: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes bis um* 1200, Wiesbaden 1958; Ann ASTELL, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca 1990; Rachel FULTON, 'Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs', *Viator* 27, 1996, pp. 85-116 with further bibliography; and also Dyan ELLIOTT, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women 200-1500*, Philadelphia 2012.

[12] The story appears in, e.g., *Gesta Romanorum* (as *De Constantia* or in medieval German *Waffen aufhängen*), a collection of moralized tales widely used in the preaching. For the Latin version of *De constantia amoris mutui* see Hermann OESTERLEY (ed.), *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin 1872, ch. 78, pp. 395-396; also Brigitte WEISKE, *Gesta Romanorum*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1992. For the use of *exempla* in medieval preaching see Walter HAUG – Burghart WACHINGER (eds.), *Exempel und Exempelsammlungen*, Tübingen 1991; also Gerald R. OWST, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of English People*, Oxford 1966; Siegfried WENZEL, *Verses in Sermons*: Fasciculum morus *and Its Middle English Poems*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978; Carolyn MUESSIG (ed.), *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998. For the use and adaptation of *Gesta Romanorum* in the medieval Germany see Brigitte WEISKE, *Gesta Romanorum: Untersuchungen zu Konzeption und Überlieferung*, Vol. 1, Tübingen 1992.
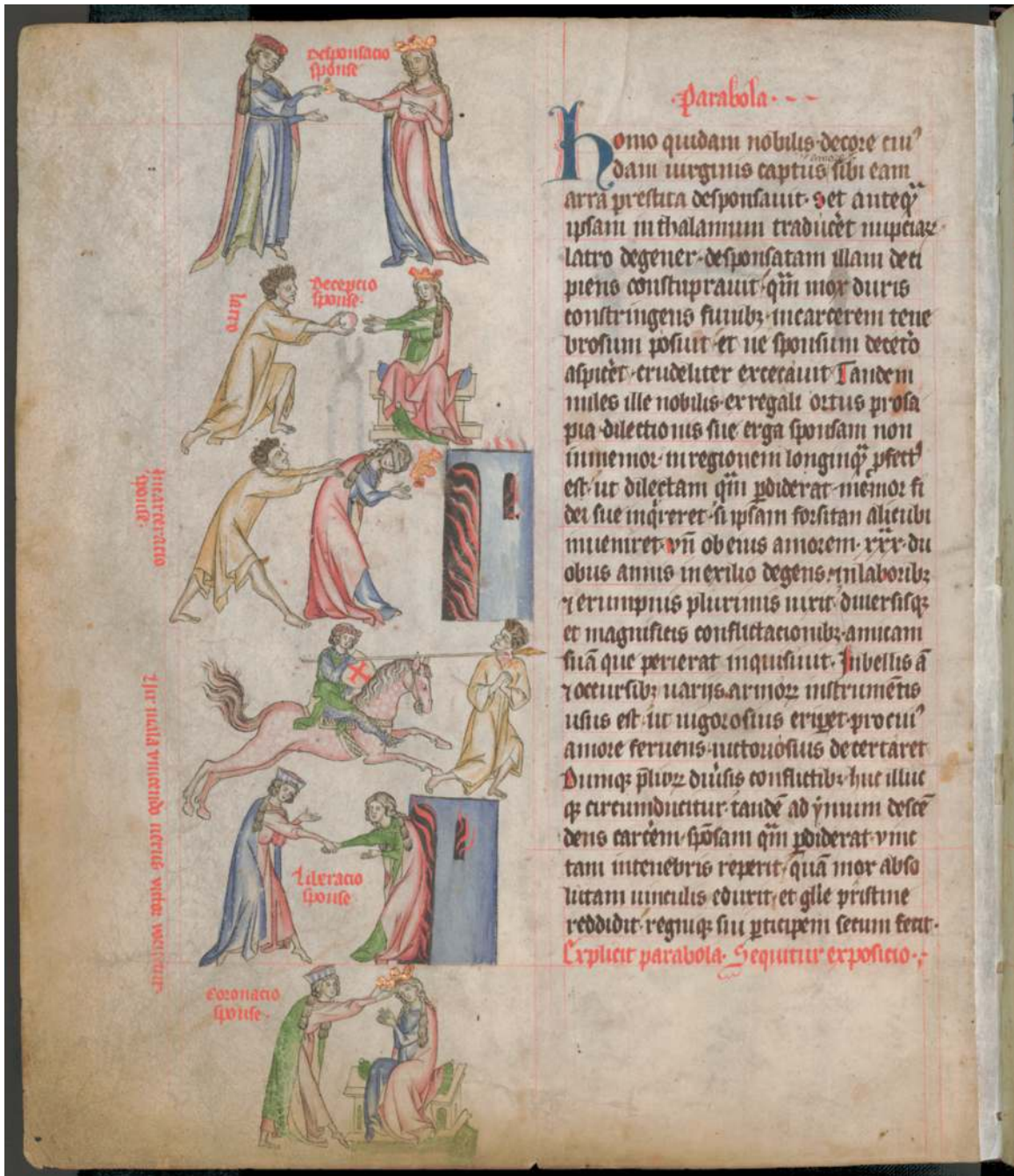
Figure 15. *Parable*, after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 3v.

In Kolda's version, a noble man of royal origin is betrothed to a beautiful virgin. In the illuminations, she wears a crown on the head, although Kolda's version contains no mention about her royal origin. In the first scene (f. 3v, Figure 15), the virgin accepts a ring given to her by the knight (*desponsacio sponse*). However, in the next sequence, she is deceived by a mercenary (*latro*) who offers her another gift. Apparently, it is the apple with which the snake (with female head wearing little crown) approaches Eve in the scene of temptation on f. 4v. In the third image of the parable, the consequences of the *decepcio sponse* are shown: the evildoer throws the blinded princess, who loses her crown, into the fiery building which reminds us again of the architecture in the Expulsion from Paradise (f. 5r, Figure 16) and in the Harrowing of Hell (f. 9r, Figure 17) as well.

In the parable, Kolda describes how the knight spent thirty-two years looking for his beloved while he had to suffer and fight with many weapons. In the image sequences, this part is omitted. Instead, it continues with piercing the fiend's neck. The victorious knight riding on a horse refers back to the figure of St George in the shield above Kunigunde's head in the donation scene. I assume that the similarity is not accidental. The cult of St George as the patron saint of the monastery played an important role in the religious life of the nuns.[13] Moreover, according to the legend, St George killed the dragon to save a princess, story that shares the very same motif of conquering the devil in order to save the deceived soul.

Finally, the last illustration accompanying Kolda's parable shows the coronation of the fiancé with the crown she lost while being thrown to the hell. The motif is immanent in the text as well, but not explicitly formulated.

In the exposition that follows the parable, Kolda explains that it was Christ, who fights for the human soul seduced by Satan to live sinful life. In the allegorical meaning, the battle with the deceiver communicates Christ's suffering, when his human body was wounded and his blood was shed. The names of weapons which made him suffer, are highlighted in the text column. This might have been an instruction for illuminator what to depict in the margin. In fact, the images match the happening as described in the adjacent text portion (f. 6r, Figure 18).[14] At the same time, the highlighted parts enable a reader to get oriented in the text. Nevertheless, the images could be meditated directly without reading the text. Each of them is provided by a short rubric that resumes what is going on in the scene. Thus, e.g., the Circumcision is accompanied by the verse: *Hic circumcisus per legem. Sanctificatus / eorum mundare mundatum non viciare.* In fact, the visual programme is deliberately intertwined with the textual narrative which attests a close interaction between a scribe and an illuminator.

While browsing the text, the name of the abbess Kunigunde finds no other mention. Instead, in the exposition, Kolda addresses his beloved brothers, *fratres mei*. Besides, he uses words as though speaking to a group of listeners. Whilst these connotations appear commonly in medieval writings, I find surprising the fact that apart from the prefatory text as well as the conclusion to the second tract 'On Heavenly Residences', there is no other hint suggesting

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[13] In 921, the founder Vratislav I donated to the monastery the relic of the saint's arm. In the 1270s, a new reliquary originated to carry the precious relic. For presentation of the relic on feast days, and the description of the artwork see Dana STEHLÍKOVÁ, in: Klára Benešovská (ed.), *A Royal Marriage: Elisabeth Premyslid and John of Luxembourg, 1310,* (exhibition catalogue no. VI.1.1K), Prague 2011, pp. 460-461 with further bibliography.

[14] The weapon used to circumcise Christ Child is inscribed in the red tint as follows: *Primum genus armorum cultrum.*

Figure 16. *Expulsion from Paradise* (below), after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 5r.
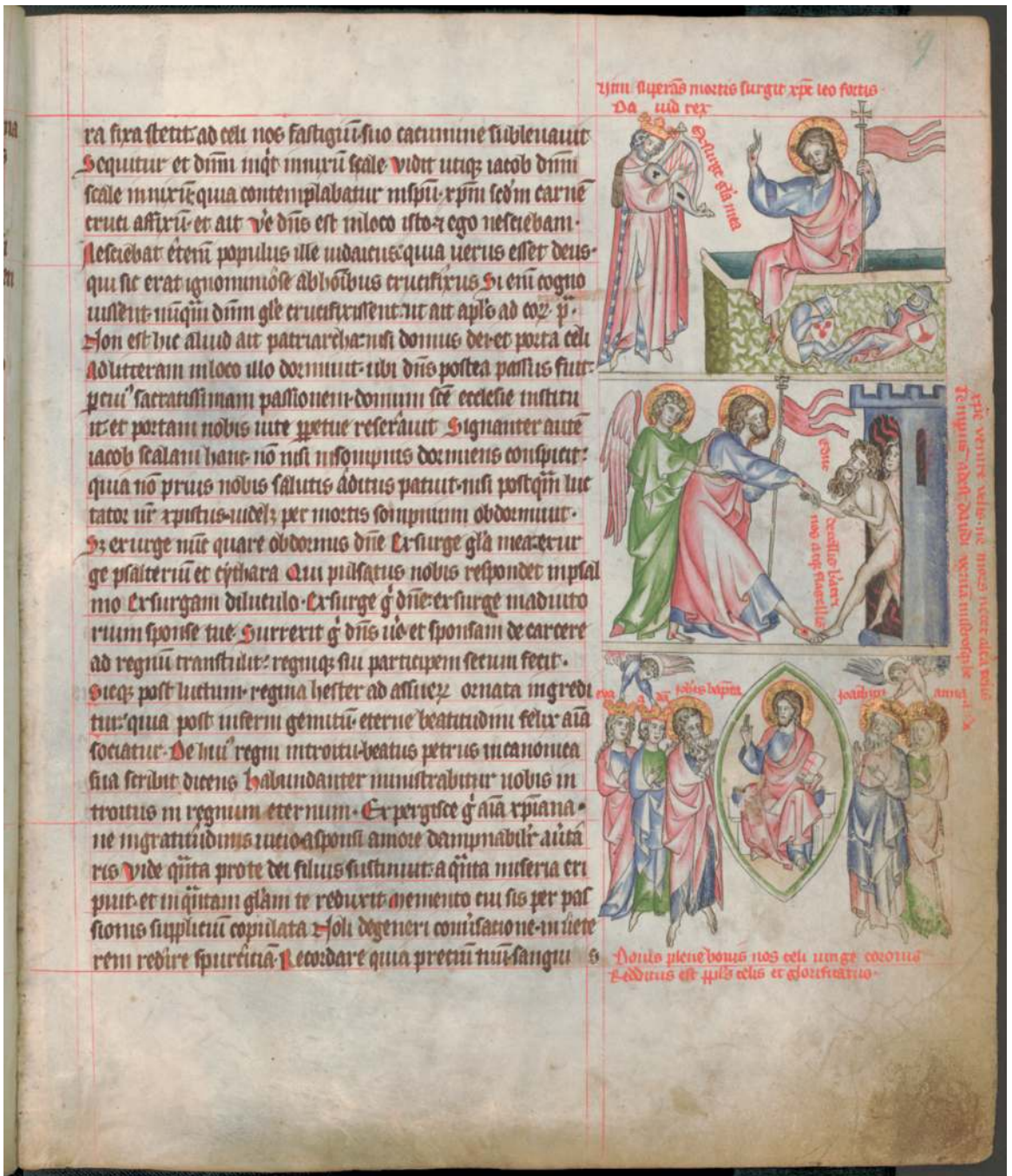
Figure 17. *Harrowing of the Hell* (scene in the centre), after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 9r.

Figure 18. *Circumcision of the Lord* (above), after 1314. *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, Prague, National Library, MS XIV A 17, f. 6r.

that Kolda was writing for Kunigunde. Therefore, I suppose that both the texts, the Parable with its Exposition as well as the Pseudodionysiac tract, were originally compiled by Kolda with the intent to be preached publicly. Sources attest that he was active as a preacher at the St Clement Church in Prague. Furthermore, in his preface Kolda appreciates the benefits he received from the king Wenceslas II. This implies that Kolda had access to the royal court, where he could act as a preacher as well. That provokes a question, if Kunigunde heard Kolda's preaching first at the royal court and it appealed to her as much that she entrusted Kolda with the task to write it down for her?

Books for Private Devotion and Reading Practices in the Middle Ages

Herewith, we return to the question if the Passional manuscript was really intended only for Kunigunde's private use. It is obvious that the texts in the manuscript were originally composed for preaching or for communal performance (e.g., *Planctus Mariae*, ff. 11r-17v). Additionally, the dimensions of the codex (300 x 250 mm) do not fit with those books provably used for private devotion.[15] The Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg,[16] a private prayer book connected with Bonne, daughter of John of Luxembourg and Elisabeth of Přemyslid, measures only 126 x 88 mm. A Psalter and Book of Hours made for Yolande de Soissons[17] is a larger manuscript measuring 182 x 134 mm.[18] *La Somme de Roi* compiled for Jeanne d'Eu[19] who is depicted on the very first leave of the manuscript in a humble prayer to the Virgin Mary with Child (f. 1v, Figure 19), has 215 x 150 mm. Another Book of Hours[20] which incorporates a very similar depiction of the shield with *arma Christi* (f. 15r, Figure 20) like the one in the Passional on the f. 3r measures only 144 x 103 mm. All the manuscripts are more or less contemporaneous with the Prague codex, and include a representative depiction of a commissioner in prayer.

Hence, the Passional manuscript differs significantly from these private books both with its size and content. Therefore, I propose the manuscript was from its beginning on intended for the convent as represented by nuns in the donation scene. It was used for devotional instruction of the nuns as well as other female inhabitants from noble families sent to the monastery to receive basic education. In this context, it is inevitable to consider that 'reading a medieval devotional book was never simply a matter of sitting down in a well-lit spot and letting one's eyes proceed in an orderly fashion through the words.'[21] Helen Solterer points out that the medieval conception of reading was fundamentally sensual and bodily. As a multimedia-performance, reading aloud activated all five senses. It involved silent meditation on pictures, vocal participation in communal recitations, and physical actions such as kissing

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[15] I studied the manuscript with my colleague, and we were able to approach the text simultaneously when standing over it. The so-called Franciscan Bible, another Bohemian manuscript from the 1270s (Prague, Library of the National Museum, MS XII B 13) measures 350 x 270 mm. It was used as a lectern Bible kept on a pulpit or lectern in the church or refectory, and thus ready for reading to a larger audience.

[16] New York, The Cloisters, Inv. 69. 86., c. 1348-1349.

[17] New York, PML, MS M. 729, c. 1290-1297.

[18] For the digitised version of the manuscript see *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy* [on-line], 2000–2022 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [consulted 3 January, 2019], accessible from: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883.

[19] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6329, 1311.

[20] Idem, MS 288, early 14th century.

[21] Alexa SAND, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*, Cambridge 2014, p. 15 ff.; see also DUFFY 2006, pp. 53-64.

Figure 19. *Jeanne d'Eu before Virgin Mary with Child*, 1311. *La Somme le Roi*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6329, f. 1v.
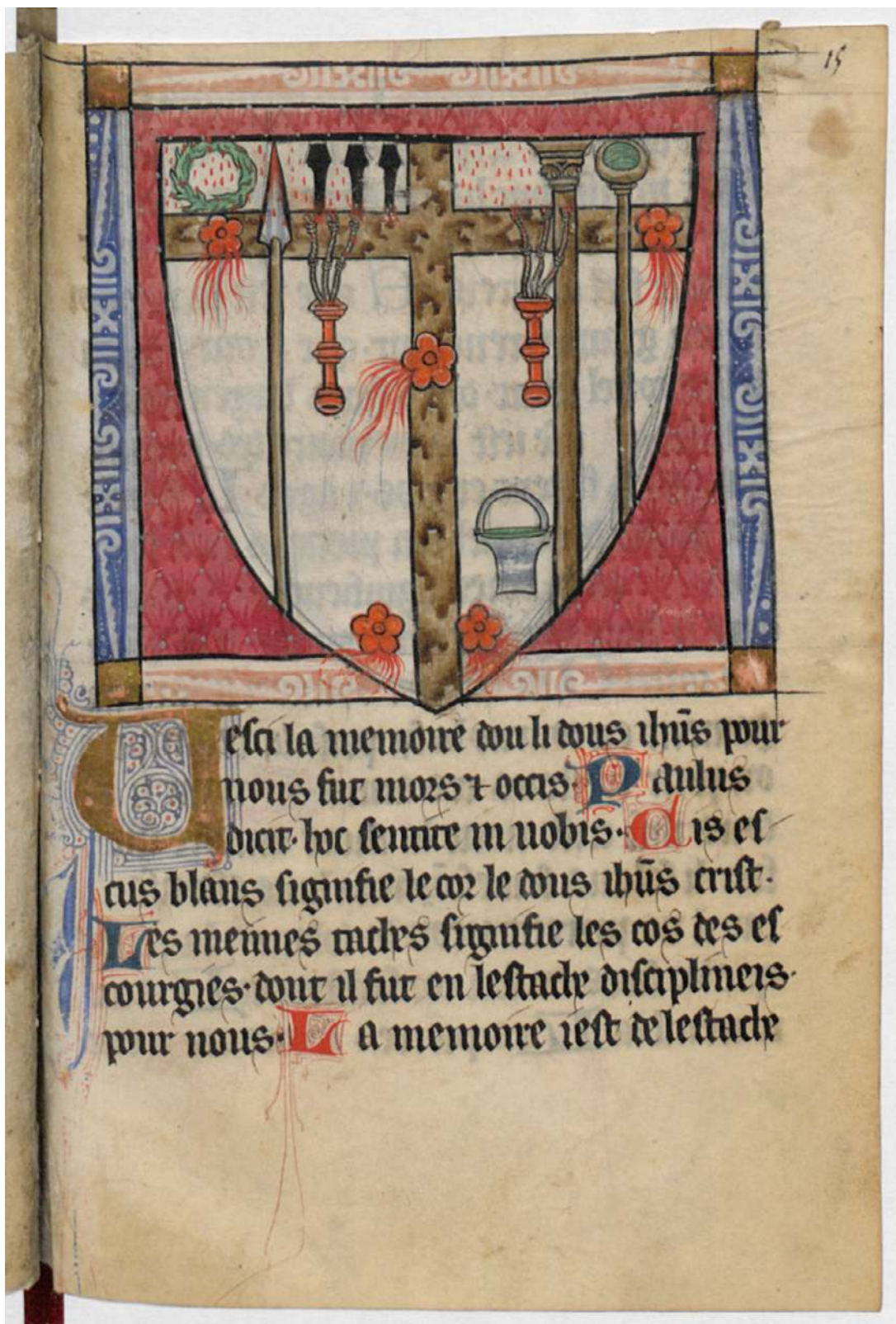
Figure 20. *Shield with Arma Christi*, early 14th century. *Book of Hours*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 288, f. 15r.

the images.[22] Hence, the Passional manuscript was used in the same way. More particularly, it concerns the folio 10r with *arma Christi*. The side wound that is circumscribed by short exhortation shows abrasion caused by touching and kissing the parchment.[23]

St George's Monastery and Its Inhabitants

The Benedictine convent at the Prague Castle presented a place for unmarried or widowed women either from the royal family or high nobility. Allegedly, they understood Latin, and were able to reflect on more sophisticated devotional texts.[24]

Moreover, also young girls of noble origin received their education in the convent as it is attested in the written sources. Particularly convent's processionals mention *puellae* present to the rituals in the enclosure. According to the historical evidence, young Kunigunde lived a couple of years at the Poor Clare Convent in Prague before she was married to Boleslaus II of Masovia in 1291. Also Eliška, a daughter of Wenceslas II, and later wife of John of Luxembourg, spent her formative years in the St George's convent. However, when Kunigunde entered the monastery as its new abbess in 1302, she was neither virgin nor widow.[25] Moreover, she was installed there by the power of the convent's royal patron Wenceslas II, whereas the then abbess Sophia was forced to retreat from her post in favour of the royal daughter and sister. Within these circumstances we have to look for the motivation that led to the origination of Kolda's eulogy of Kunigunde, her eagerness for wisdom and knowledge as stated in the introduction to the parable. In the conclusion of the 'On Heavenly Residences', he compares Kunigunde to Paula and her daughter Eustochium, Roman matrons and early Desert Mothers who supported St Jerome after his arrival to Rome.[26] The same role Kolda ascribes to Kunigunde; she asked him to compose both the tracts, and commissioned many liturgical and non-liturgical manuscripts to be kept in the convent library including a copy of Jerome's famous letter to Eustochium, *De custodia virginitatis*.[27]

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[22] Helen SOLTERER, 'Seeing, Hearing, Tasting Woman: Medieval Senses of Reading', *Comparative Literature* 46/2, 1994, pp. 129-145. On the reading in the Middle Ages see also Paul SAENGER, 'Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages', in: Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, Princeton 1989, pp. 141-173; idem, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact On Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator* 13/1, 1982, pp. 367-414.

[23] Kathryn M. RUDY, 'Touching the Book Again: The Passional of Abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia', in: Patrizia Carmassi – Gia Toussaint (eds.), *Codex und Material*, Wiesbaden 2018, pp. 247-258. Currently, I am working on an article in which I discuss both the depictions of *arma Christi* (ff. 3r and 10r) regarding their different function in the codex. Part of this article I presented at the IMC Leeds 2019 under the title 'Picturing the Passion: Devotional Strategies in the Passional of Abbess Cunigunde'.

[24] Older scholarship on education of medieval women has been significantly revised in the recent period. Previously, only manuscripts with vernacular texts used to be connected with a female audience supposing thus that women were not able to read Latin. Nowadays, there is a whole bulk of publications dealing with this issue, the authors of which prove that medieval women had a very fair knowledge of Latin as well as of some theological issues. Yet, the female Benedictine convents in Anglo-Saxon England served as first educational institutes for aristocratic young men.

[25] Some scholars suggest the marriage was divorced, however, without any written sources.

[26] *Nunc sermo michi ad Te, o regis excellentissima filia, convertendus est, que sancte Paule et Eustochium imitatrix facta es in studiis scripturarum.* MARTÍNKOVÁ 1997, p. 82, ll. 13-15.

[27] Prague, National Library, MS XII D 10, 1319, ff. 201r-283v. A short introduction claims that the codex originated in 1319, the 18th year after Kunigunde's benediction. Apart from the Jerome's letter it includes also two texts by Anselm of Canterbury – *Dialogus beatae Mariae virginis et Anselmi de Passione Domini* (ff. 1v-29v) and *Planctus beatae Mariae virginis* (ff. 29v-34r) – that develop the very same religious topic as Kolda in his compilations. Nevertheless, it seems that the MS XII D 10 introduces another and in the Middle Ages more common redaction of the *Planctus* than the one in the

Nevertheless, it was not only Kunigunde, who cared for the spiritual education of the nuns. Already in times of the previous abbess Sophia (1294-1302), the monastery experienced a flourishing period. It was at the end of the 13th century, when the scriptorium must have been established to copy books for the needs of the convent.[28] Also the first old-Czech prayer *Vítej králu* (Welcome, O Lord Almighty), and the tradition of performing Eastern liturgical plays[29] date back to the last years of Sophia's reign. Despite the fact that the convent proliferated liturgically, economically, and culturally, the reigning abbess yielded up as soon as Kunigunde abandoned the Masovian court and returned to Prague. None of the historical sources informs us about the circumstances of the exchange. However, we cannot be mistaken to assume that at least some members of the convent dissented to Kunigunde's arrival into the enclosure. Such interference into the monastic life of the Benedictine convent must have called for justification. Therefore, the Passional manuscript both in words and images praises Kunigunde for her devotion and theological education with the stress on her royal origin. More particularly, after the assassination of Wenceslas III in 1306, the House of Přemyslids died out, and a new dynasty succeeded the Bohemian throne. The above mentioned daughter of the king Wenceslas II Eliška played a key role in political negotiations as a future wife for the new king John of Luxembourg. In February 1311, the royal coronations of the young couple took place. In fact, the coronation *ordo* for the Queen coincided with the ceremony of investing an abbess in the St George's monastery.

Conclusion

The Passional manuscript thus presents a powerful memory of Kunigunde as well as of the Přemyslid's house. Therefore, I argue that the codex was from the beginning on meant for the use by the convent as a whole to be read aloud while the listeners pondered over the images. In the margin of f. 13r, an additional note informs about a changeover in the text: *Explicit collacio in parasceve. Incipit collacio in vigilia pasche.* Here, the Latin *collatio* refers to spiritual lesson during the common supper in refectory. On that account, Toussaint[30] claims it demonstrates the practice that evolved after Kunigunde's death, when the codex was adapted for the communal use. I believe, though, that Kunigunde could not see the completed manuscript in her lifetime. Although in the conclusion of the 'On Heavenly Residences' Kolda asserts he finished it in 1314, this does not imply that the work on the codex immediately took up. In fact, the binding is slightly later than the codex but still from the 14th century.

Passional of Abbess Kunigunde. See Sandro STICCA, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, Athens, GA 1988; idem, 'The *Planctus Mariae* and the Passion Plays', *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures* 15/1, 1961, pp. 41-48.

[28] HLEDÍKOVÁ 1990. See also Milada SVOBODOVÁ, "Zapomenuté' breviáře z kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě a jejich kalendáře: Rukopisy NK ČR XXIII D 156, XXIII D 142, XXIII D 155 a XXIII D 138' ['Forgotten' Breviaries from the Benedictine Convent of St George at the Prague Castle and Their Calendar Entries: Mss. NK ČR XXIII D 156, XXIII D 142, XXIII D 155 and XXIII D 138], *Studie o rukopisech* 36, 2005-2006, pp. 3-56, esp. the introduction on pp. 3-8.

[29] Václav PLOCEK, *Melodie velikonočních slavností a her ze středověkých pramenů v Čechách* [The Melodies of Easter Celebrations and Plays from Medieval Sources in Bohemia], vols. 1-3, Praha 1989, here esp. vol. 1, p. 48 ff. More recently Petr ULIČNÝ, 'Prostor a rituál: Velikonoční slavnosti v bazilice sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě' [Space and Ritual: Easter Plays in the St George's Basilica at the Prague Castle], *Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica* 4/2, 2012, pp. 7-33 with further bibliography. Most recently idem, *St Vitus' Cathedral in Prague: Liturgy, Symbolism, and Architectural Imitation in Medieval Bohemia* [on-line], (PhD. Thesis), Prague 2020, Digitální depozitář Univerzity Karlovy, [consulted 31 December, 2020], accessible from: https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/122100.

[30] TOUSSAINT 2003, p. 16, ft. 6.

Figure 21. *Queen reading to the nuns*, 1317. *Psalter of Elisabeth Rejčka*, Brno, MZA, MS R 355, f. 8r.

Also the donation scene provides another argument for the dating after 1321. Only then the heavenly coronation of the abbess becomes significant. Despite the missing evidence that the canonization of Kunigunde was ever attempted in the Middle Ages, the codex with the donation scene provides a strong reminder of the wisdom and penitence of the abbess who considerably contributed to the prosperity of the convent. In my opinion, the Passional manuscript served to all members of the monastery as a tool for theological instruction and pious meditation. The abbess or a *lectrix* (a nun entrusted with reading) could recite the texts during the common meals or within Eastern rituals.[31] Such a practice is very well attested in manuscript illuminations as well. In the Psalter manuscript contemporaneous to the Passional, the widowed Queen Elisabeth Rejčka sits at a pulpit with a book open (f. 8r, Figure 21).[32] In front of the pulpit, two nuns kneel in a prayer and listen to the reading.

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[31] For Easter rituals in St George Monastery see Anna ŽÁKOVÁ, 'Performatívnosť stredovekého rituálu *Mandatum*', *Theatralia* 21/1, 2018, pp. 71-88. The article is a part of an unpublished Master Thesis of the same title defended by Žáková at the Université de Paris IV, UFR de Musique et Musicologie in 2016 (supervised by Isabelle Ragnard). For the pdf version see idem, *La Performativité de la cérémonie du MANDATUM dans les manuscrits de Saint-Georges de Prague* [on-line], (Master Thesis), Academia.edu, [consulted 21 August, 2019], accessible from: https://www.academia.edu/30928125/La_Performativité_de_la_cérémonie_du_MANDATUM_dans_les_manuscrits_de_Saint-Georges_de_Prague.

[32] Brno, MZA, MS R 355. Elisabeth Rejčka was the second wife of the king Wenceslas II. After his death, she moved to Brno where she founded a Cistercian convent in Old Brno in 1323. The quoted manuscript belongs to her donation of seven illuminated codices. In the manuscript, Rejčka appears several times in a humble prayer.

<p style="text-align:center">Chapter III</p>

Benedictine St George's Monastery at the Prague Castle as a Crossroad of Medieval Cultural Trends and Ideas

<p style="text-align:center">Renáta Modráková</p>

<p style="text-align:center">(National Library, Prague)</p>

Abstract

Benedictine St George's Convent at the Prague Castle was not only the most powerful convent of the Czech lands, but also the center of cultural development. It was built and continuously influenced not only by well-educated nuns, but also by specific groups of persons standing inside monastery (*matronae*, canons, *puallae*) and outside (founders, donators, laics). The convent produced many manuscripts and supported a circulation of texts, especially in Latin and Czech language. For almost one century, the convent had its own scriptorium with a larger production of liturgical manuscripts. St George's abbesses and nuns were in permanent contacts with other Czech Benedictine convents and monasteries.

Keywords

St George's Benedictine convents; Benedictine abbesses; Benedictine nuns; St George's canons, St George's scriptorium; Convent in Pustiměř, Convent in Teplice, Convent of Holy Spirit; *matronae*; *puallae*; female education; manuscripts; medieval library, monastic library.

Introduction

This article reviews my last research about cultural history of medieval Benedictine nunneries in Czech lands. Transmissions of cultural ideas and thoughts from outside and inside are the main point of view decoding colorful world of medieval religious society.[1] The main focus is based on medieval manuscripts from female Benedictine convents' libraries. Then, it goes closer to specific social groups, creating and/or influencing medieval Benedictine female convents.

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[1] The contribution was created on the basis of institutional support of long-term conceptual development of the National library of the Czech Republic as a research organization provided by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic.

Benedictine male monasteries[2] were known as important centers of cultural development, 'cultural mediators'. They had leading roles in educational processes,[3] especially before the establishment of a nest of European universities. They also served as 'scientific hatcheries' standing on beginnings of many sciences. They positioned themselves as crossroads of investigation. The female Benedictine monasteries[4] had another positions and possibilities for their cultural development and activities. According the enclosure[5] they were more isolated in medieval society with comparison of their male counterparts. As well, they served especially as educational centers for girls from higher social levels.[6] They were 'cultural mediators' for women. The circulation of ideas and new trends was active and living.[7]

[2]   Franz QUARTHAL, 'Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg', *Germania Benedictina* 5, Augsburg 1975, pp. 454-464; Ulrich FAUST – Franz QUARTHAL (eds.), *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum,* St Ottilien 1999; Julie KERR, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070-1250,* Woodbridge 2007; Johannes Nepomuk ZESCHICK, *Benediktini a benediktinky v Čechách a na Moravě* [Benedictines and Benedictines in Bohemia and Moravia]*,* Praha 2007; Franz MUSILEK, 'Monastische Beziehungen und Reformbestrebungen der Benediktiner in den böhmischen Ländern bis zum Beginn der hussitischen Revolution', in: Norbert Jung - Franz Machilek – Stefan Seit (eds.), *Fides – Theologia – Ecclesia. Festgabe für Ernst Ludwig Grasmück,* Frankfurt am Main 2012, pp. 123-163; Dušan FOLTÝN – Jan KLÍPA – Pavlína MAŠKOVÁ – Petr SOMMER (eds.), *Open the Gates of Paradise. The Benedictines in the Heart of Europe 800–1300,* Prague 2015.

[3]   Odilo RINGHOLZ, 'Schüler und Lehrer aus dem Benediktinerstifte Einsiedeln an aus wärtigen Schulen', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens N.F. 2,* 1912, pp. 493-524; Andreas Christoph DETTE, 'Schüler im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Die St Galler Klosterschule des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 105, 1994, pp. 7-64; Andreas ALBERT, 'Vom Kloster als dominici scola seruitii (RB Prol. 45) zur benediktinischen Klosterschule', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 107, 1996, pp. 319-338; George FERZOCO – Carolyn MUESSIG (eds.), *Medieval Monastic Education*, London 2000; Nathalie KRUPPA – Jürgen WILKE (eds.), *Kloster und Bildung im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 2006.

[4]   Joseph RENGLOVICS, *Geschichte des Benedictiner-Nonnenklosters von Erla bei St. Valentin*, (Phil. Diss.), Wien 1931; Karl Siegfried BADER, *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Friedenweiler und die Erschließung des südöstlichen Schwarzwaldes*, Donaueschingen 1938; Stephanus HILPISCH, *Geschichte der Benediktinerinnen,* St Ottilien 1951; Michael HARTIG, *Die ehemalige Benediktinerinnen-Abteikirche Holzen bei Nordendorf, Bistum Augsburg, Landkreis Donauwörth,* München 1956; Karl AMON, *Geschichte des Benediktinerinnenklosters Traunkirchen im Salzkammergut*, Graz 1959; Paschasia STUMPF (ed.) *Benediktinerinnen-Abtei Kloster Engelthal. Aus der Geschichte von Kloster Engelthal in der Wetterau: Zur 700-Jahr-Feier des Klosters (1268-1968)*, Engelthal 1968; Immo EBERL, *Geschichte des Benediktinerinnenklosters Urspring bei Schelklingen 1127-1806*, Stuttgart 1978; Johann Gualbert GEISTBECK – Max Joseph HUFNAGEL, *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Geisenfeld*, Pfaffenhofen 1979; Ulrich FAUST (ed.) *Die Frauenklöster in Niedersachsen, Schleswig-Holstein und Bremen,* St Ottilien 1984; Edeltraud KLUETING, *Das Kanonissenstift und Benediktinerinnenkloster Herzebrock*, Berlin – New York, 1986; Elizabeth LIPSMEYER, 'The imperial Abbey and the Town of Zürich. The Benedictine Nuns and the Price of Ritual in Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Switzerland', *Vox benedictina* 5, 1988, pp. 175-189; Rolf de KEGEL (ed.), *Bewegung in der Beständigkeit. Zu Geschichte und Wirken der Benediktinerinnen von St. Andreas/Samen Obwalden*, Alpnach 2000; Walter BRUGGER - Manfred WEITLAUFF (eds.) *Kloster Frauenchiemsee 782-2003. Geschichte, Kunst, Wirtschaft und Kultur einer altbayerischen Benediktinerinnenabtei*, Weißenhom 2003; Helmar HÄRTEL, *Geschrieben und gemalt: gelehrte Bücher aus Frauenhand: eine Klosterbibliothek sächsischer Benediktinerinnen des 12. Jahrhunderts,* Wiesbaden 2006; Jeffrey HAMBURGER - Susan MARTI (eds.), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries,* New York 2008; Britta-Juliane KRUSE (ed.), *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern*, Wiesbaden 2013.

[5]   See, especially, Shari HORNER, *The Discourse of Enclosure*, New York 2001; Heike UFFMANN, 'Inside and Outside the Convent Walls: The Norm and Practice of Enclosure in the Reformed Nunneries of Late Medieval Germany', *Medieval History Journal* 4, 2001, pp. 83-108; Mary LAVEN, *Virgins of Venice. Enclosed Lives and Broken Vows in the Renaissance Convent,* London – New York 2002; Constance H. BERMAN, 'Beyond the Rule of Saint Benedict: Imposition of Cistercian Customs and Enclosure on Nuns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Magistra* 13, 2007, pp. 3-41.

[6]   See, especially, Eva SCHLOTHEUBER, *Klostereintritt und Bildung. Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des Konventsgebuchs einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig, 1484-1507,* Tübingen 2004, pp. 156-174.

[7]   See, especially, Christine KLEINJUNG, *Frauenklöster als Kommunikationszentren und soziale Räume: das Beispiel Worms vom 13. bis zum Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts,* Korb 2008; Gabriela SIGNORI, 'Wanderers Between Worlds: Visitors, Letters, Wills and Gifts as Means of Communication in Exchanges Between Cloister and the World', in: Hamburger – Marti (eds.), *Crown and Veil, pp.* 359-274.

Renáta Modráková

History of St George's Convent

I chose the St George's Convent at the Prague Castle (Bohemia) as an example.[8] This oldest and most powerful female monastery in medieval Bohemia inhabited by well-born women who created a challenging milieu for ideas, cultural transfers and transmissions. There was a higher number of persons collected around these religious women. Some of them took devotional care over nuns (priests, group of canons). Another ones helped them with practical issues. Next group served them as staff. Members of their former families, being in various contacts with them, influenced lives of enclosed women. Many of them brought new ideas outside and inside the cloister and let them circulate in closed convent spaces, as well as in Bohemian medieval society. It has been usual to use diplomatic sources (especially charters etc.).[9] In this case, the main source is the manuscript corpus from this former monastery, nowadays deposited in the historical collections of the National Library of the Czech Republic.

Transfers of ideas were supported in many ways, through political actions and people directly involved in them. First important moment for each male and female monastery was the act of foundation.[10] The foundation of the St George's Convent 973-976 by the ruling Přemyslid family played the prime role,[11] representing by the Bohemian duke Boleslaus II [in Czech,

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[8] This article is an output from my long-life research of St George's library, scriptorium and convent especially in medieval times. I am finishing a book *Knižní kultura kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě* (The Book Culture of the Benedictine St George´s Convent at the Prague Castle), Praha 2022. I used many my older outputs, Renáta SÁDLOVÁ, *Svatojiřský klášter ve světle jeho nekrologických přípisků. Jeden z méně užívaných pramenů ke klášterním dějinám* [The St George's Convent in Reflexions of its Necrological Glosses. One of less used sources to the History of St George's Convent], (Master Thesis), Praha 2004; idem, 'The Uniformity and Variability of the Book Culture of Women's Medieval Order Institutions in Central European Lands', in: *REDISCOVER: Final Conference Proceedings*, Prague 2010, pp. 45-64; Renáta MODRÁKOVÁ, 'Středověké rukopisy v soukromém vlastnictví benediktinek z kláštera sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě' [Medieval Manuscripts in the Private Ownership of the Benedictine Nuns from St George's Convent at Prague Castle], in: Jitka Radimská (ed.), *Kniha v proměnách času* [Book in the Changes of Time], (=Opera románica 16), České Budějovice 2015, pp. 337-354; especially idem, 'The Change of Historical Periods. Manuscripts and Scribes from St George's Convent at Prague Castle in the 13th and 14th Centuries', in: Eef Overgaauw – Martin Schubert (eds.), *'Change' in Medieval and Renaissance Script sand Manuscripts. Proceedings of the 19th Colloquium of the Comité international de palégraphie latine (Berlin, 16-18 September, 2015)*, Turnhout 2019, pp. 278-288. Complex information about St George's history see especially in Jan Florián HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Historia in qua primaeva fundatio Et Institutio Regiorum Ac Antiquissimorum Monasterium Sancti Georgii In Castro Pragensi, sancti Spiritus Vulgo ad Misericordias Dei In antiqua Urbe pragensi Ordinis Sancti patri Benedicti Sancti-Monialium, Cum omnibus Pontificiis quam Caesaro-Regiis et Ducalibus Privilegiis, Exemptionibus, Immunitatibus, Concessionibus, per distinctos Paragraphos recensentur*, Prague 1715.

[9] See, for example, Milada ŠOLTYSOVÁ, 'Problémy listin kláštera sv. Jiří v době přemyslovské' [Problems of Charters from St George's Convent in the Přemyslid Period], *Folia diplomatica* 14, Brno 1966, pp. 8-13, Marc A. MEYER, 'Land Charters and the Legal Position of Anglo-Saxon Women', in: Barbara Kanner (ed.), *The Women of England from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present: Interpretative Bibliographical Essays*, Hamden, Conn. 1979, pp. 57-82.

[10] Sally THOMPSON, *Religious Women: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest,* Oxford 1991; Amy REMENSNYDER, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France*, Ithaca 1995; Constance H. BERMAN, 'Abbeys for Cistercian Nuns in the Ecclesiastical Province of Sens: Foundation, Endowment and Economic Activities of the Earlier Foundations', *Revue Mabillon* 69, 1997, pp. 83-113; Jan GERCHOW – Katrinette BODARWÉ – Susan MARTI – Hedwig RÖCKELEIN, 'Early Monasteries and Foundations (500-1200): An Introduction', in: Hamburger – Marti (eds.), *Crown and Veil*, pp. 13-40; Guido CARIBONI, 'Cistercian Nuns in Northern Italy: Variety of Foundations and Construction of an Identity', in: Janet Burton – Karen Stöber (eds.), *Women in the Medieval Monastic World*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 53-74.

[11] Robert BARTLETT [ed.], *Přemyslovci: budování českého státu* [Přemysliden: The Formation of the Czech State], Praha 2009; Dušan TŘEŠTÍK – Luboš POLANSKÝ – Jiří SLÁMA (eds.), *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000: na paměť knížete Boleslava II. (+ 7. února 999)* [Přemysliden State around the year 1000: in the memory of the Duke Boleslaus II (+ 7th February 999)], Praha: 2000.

Boleslav][12] and his sister Mlada, the first St George's abbess.[13] The Přemyslid dynasty was influencing the convent directly until 1306, i.e., until the death of the last male Přemyslid Wenceslaus III (in Czech, Václav, 1289-1306).[14] Educated and well-behaved Přemyslid women entered the convent (Agnes [in Czech, Anežka] died 1228,[15] Hedwig [in Czech, Hedvika] died around 1254,[16] Kunigunde of Bohemia [in Czech, Kunhuta Přemyslovna], died 1321[17]). They brought inside cultural trends known on Přemyslid courts and actively applied new trends within the nun's community.[18]

It is possible to follow the model case of Agnes [in Czech, Anežka], abbess from the beginning of 13th century and sister of the Bohemian King Ottokar I [in Czech, Přemysl Otakar I., 1155-1230].[19] She was the main and extraordinary active supporter of St Ludmila's cult,[20] i.e., the main patroness of Czech lands. She took an active position in the royal diplomacy of her brother (see especially manuscript VI E 4c[21] and/or the splendid stone monument depicting abbesses Berta and Agnes [in Czech, Anežka] and Bohemian King Ottakar I. [in Czech, Přemysl Otakar]). We focus on this fact on folios of illuminated manuscripts (Figure 22), but also unique works of art beyond the horizon of their time (as for example Hermet of St Ludmila, Crosier of St George's abbesses, Seal of Abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia [in Czech, Kunhuta] and many others). This is explicitly presented in the extraordinary manuscript *Passional of Abbess Kunigunde* of Bohemia (*Quod dicitur Passionale Abbatissae Cunegundis*, XIV A 17)[22] from the

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[12] Marie BLÁHOVÁ – Jan FROLÍK – Naďa PROFANTOVÁ (eds.), *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české I* [The Great History of lands in the Czech Crown I], Praha 1999, pp. 295, 301, 303, 307, 310-324, 362, 406; Petr CHARVÁT, *Boleslav II.,* Praha 2004; Joanna Aleksandra SOBESIAK, *Boleslav II. († 999),* České Budějovice 2014.

[13] Běla DLOUHÁ, *Ctihodná Mlada Přemyslovna* [The Venerable Mlada Přemyslid], Praha 1934; Václav RYNEŠ, *Mlada Přemyslovna* [Mlada Přemyslid], Praha 1944; Rudolf TUREK, 'Ctihodná Mlada-Marie' [The Venerable Mlada-Marie], in: Jaroslav Kadlec (ed.), *Bohemia Sancta. Životopisy českých světců a přátel božích* [Biographies of Czech Saints and Friends of God], Praha 1989, pp. 78-84; BLÁHOVÁ – FROLÍK – PROFANTOVÁ, *Velké dějiny*, pp. 301, 368, 464.

[14] Karel MARÁZ, *Václav III.: (1289-1306): poslední Přemyslovec na českém trůně* [Wenceslaus III (1289-1306): The last Přemyslid on the Czech Throne], České Budějovice 2007.

[15] BLÁHOVÁ – FROLÍK – PROFANTOVÁ 1999, *Velké dějiny*, p. 583; Vratislav VANÍČEK (ed.) *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české II* [The Great History of lands in the Czech Crown], Praha 2000, pp. 137, 139, 261, 296, 313.

[16] Ibidem, pp. 88, 91-92,100-101, 104, 107.

[17] About her see more bellow.

[18] Renáta MODRÁKOVÁ, 'Odraz dvorského prostředí v klášteře benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě v 13.-14. století' [Reflexion of the Court-Niveau in the St George Cloister of Benedictine Order at the Prague Castle in 13th – 14th Centuries], in: Dana Dvořáčková-Malá – Jan Zelenka (ed.), *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku II, Skladba a kultura dvorské společnosti* [Courts and Residences in the Middle Ages II Composition and Culture of Courst Society], Praha 2008, pp. 459-474. Kunigunde of Bohemia is also the subject of the second chapter by Lenka Panušková of this book, see pp. 20-39.

[19] Jonathan R. LYON, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250*, Ithaca 2013.

[20] Naďa PROFANTOVÁ, *Kněžna Ludmila: vládkyně a světice, zakladatelka rodu* [Princess Ludmila: ruler and saint, founder of the dynasty], Praha 1996.

[21] For further information, see *Breviarium* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from:http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__VI_E_4C____2MLZXXD-cs; and more literature: Jan BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách' [About Bohemian Miniatures], *Památky archeologické a místopisné* 15/1-3, 5, 1890-1892, pp. 15-22, 85-94, 145-148, 275-280, especially p. 22; Josef TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur* I, Pragae 1905, no. 1119, p. 454; Dobroslav OREL, *Hudební prvky svatováclavské* [Musical St Wenceslaus' Issues], Praha 1937, pp. 65, 310-311, 359-360, 384-386, 389-396; Dominique PATIER, 'Un office rythmique tchèque du XIVème siècle', *Studia Musicologica Scientiarum Hungaricae* 12, 1970, pp. 41-129; Václav PLOCEK, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur* II, Prague 1973, no. 50, pp. 194-196.

[22] *Passionale quod dicitur abbatissae Cunigundae,* NLP XIV A 17, for further information, see *Passionale quod dicitur abbatissae Cunigundae* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIV_A_17___2GWPZB8-cs;

Figure 22. *Heavenly hierarchy*, c. 1313-1400. *Passionale quod dicitur Cunegundis abbatissae*, National Library of the Czech Republic, XIV A 17, f. 22v.

beginning of 14th century. The older antiphonary I H 7[23] (psaltery) from the later 13th century has a high reporting value for research of convent history in this period. The late medieval breviary XIII E 14e[24] with lively and beautiful small images reflects the late medieval history of St George's convent. The influences from higher cultural milieu are reflected in the *praeces* XII D 11[25] and *praeces* XII D 12[26] with private prayers for abbess Kunigunde. We know St Georges abbesses visited actively the court of Přemyslid kings and kept in touch with their female relatives. No doubt they met here the important thinkers (see, especially, abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia from the beginning of 14th century, sister of the Bohemian King Wenceslaus II [in Czech, Václav, 1271-1305],[27] and her cooperation with the Dominican Kolda of Koldice[28]).

The next important reason was the location of the convent's buildings inside Prague Castle, in a neighborhood of two political and cultural centers of the Czech lands, i.e., Přemyslid Palace and the St Vitus Basilica as the bishopric basilica and later archbishopric cathedral. Both of them predetermined this monastery as the next cultural center. Anyway, the St George's

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and from broader literature see especially BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách', p. 90; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, 1906, no. 2430, p. 280; Antonín MATĚJČEK, *Pasionál abatyše Kunhuty* [The Passional of the Abbess Kunhuta], Praha 1922; Blažena RYNEŠOVÁ, 'Beneš kanovník svatojiřský a 'Pasionál abatyše Kunhuty' [Beneš, St George's Canon and the Passional of Abbess Kunigunde], *Časopis archivní školy* III, 1926, pp. 13-35; Emma URBÁNKOVÁ – Karel STEJSKAL, *Pasionál Přemyslovny Kunhuty* [The Passional of the Přemyslid Kunhuta], Praha 1957; Dagmar HEJDOVÁ, 'K původu románských rukopisů z kláštera sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě' [About the Origin of Romanesque Manuscripts from the St George's Convent at the Prague Castle], *Umění* IX, 1961, pp. 221-235, especially p. 232; Jaromír HOMOLKA, 'Passionale der Äbtissin Kunigunde und die Kunst des 14. Jahrhunders in Böhmen', in: Klára Benešovská (ed.), *King John of Luxembourg, (1296-1346) and the Art of his Era*, Prague 1998, pp. 5-19; Tomáš ČERNUŠÁK – Augustin PROKOP – Damián NĚMEC, *Historie dominikánů v českých zemích* [The History of the Dominican Order in Czech lands], Praha 2001, pp. 64-65; Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Das Passionale der Äbtissin Kunigunde', in: Herrad Spilling (ed.), *La collaboration dans la production de l'écrit médiéval. Actes du XIIIᵉ Colloque international de paléographie latine (Weingarten, 22-25 septembre 2000)*, Paris 2003, pp. 169-182; Gia TOUSSAINT, *Das Passional der Kunigunde von Böhmen. Bildrhetorik und Spiritualität*, Padeborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2003; Jana NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen*, Köln 2007, pp. 234, 240-244; Klára BENEŠOVSKÁ (ed.), *Královský sňatek: Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský - 1310* [Royal Marriage: Eliška Přemysliden and John of Luxembourg], Praha 2010, pp. 475-486; OPEN V/34, 2015, pp. 250-251.

[23] For further information, see *Breviarium* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIII_E_14E__1N6J024-cs; and literature BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách', p. 94; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 332, p. 337; Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Poznámka ke svatojiřskému skriptoriu kolem roku 1300' [A Note on the St George's Scriptorium around the Year 1300], *Documenta Pragensia* X, 1990, pp. 31-49.

[24] For further information, see *Breviarium* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from:http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XII_D_11___2TCLOZ1-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus,* No. 2337, p. 243; Antonín MATĚJČEK, 'Iluminované rukopisy svatojiřské XIV. a XV. věků v univerzitní knihovně pražské' [Illuminated St George's Manuscripts from 14th and 15th centuries in the University Library in Prague], *Památky archeologické* XXXIV, 1924-1925, pp. 15-22; OREL, *Hudební prvky*, 1937, p. 322, 505, 518; Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře rukopisů kláštera sv. Jiří' [Calendars in Manuscripts of St George's Convent], *Acta universitatis Carolina-Philosophica et Historica. Z pomocných věd historických* VIII/2, 1988, pp. 47-48.

[25] For further information, see *Orationes (praecipue suffragia sanctorum et pro defunctis)* [on-line], Manuscriptorium. com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index. php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XII_D_11___2TCLOZ1-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2157, p. 189.

[26] For further information, see *Preces ad sanctos usui Cunegundis abbatissae monasterii sancti Georgii in castro Pragensi destinatae* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www. manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XII_D_12___112AX4B-cs; and literature Guido Maria DREVES, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 2*, Leipzig 1888, pp. 93-94; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 23*, Leipzig 1896; p. 255; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 49*, Leipzig 1907, p. 287; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2158, pp. 189-190.

[27] Libor JAN, *Václav II. Král na stříbrném trůnu* [Wenceslaus II. King on the silver throne], Praha 2015.

[28] František TICHÝ, 'Frater Colda O.P.' [Frater Colda O.P.], *Časopis Národního muzea* 113, 1939, pp. 81-88; Augustinus SCHERZER, 'Der Prager Lektor Fr. Lektor und seine mystischen Traktate', *Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum* XVIII, 1948, pp. 337-396.
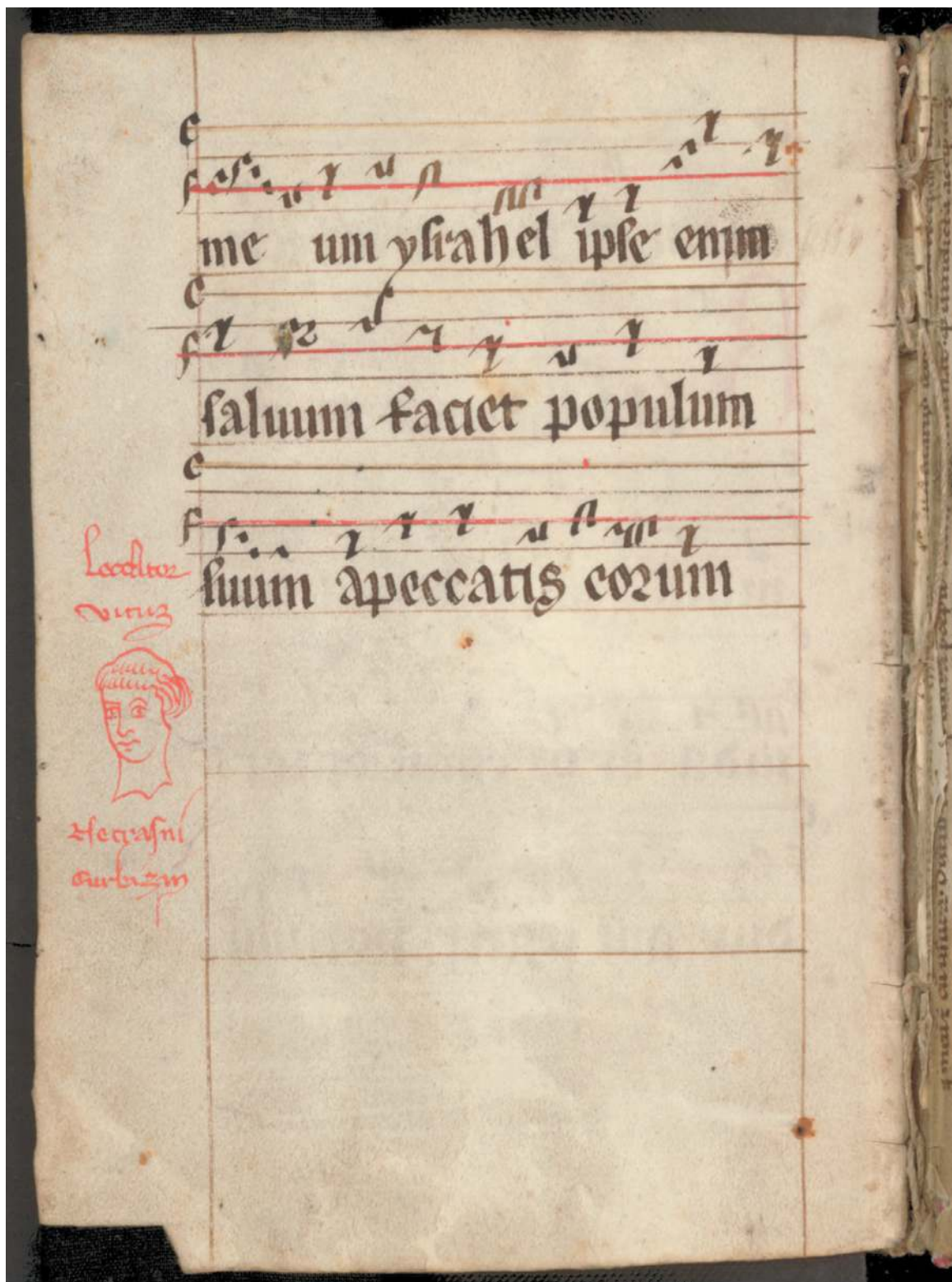
Figure 23. *A short Czech gloss written by student of St Vitus*, c. 1265-1300. Hildebertus Cenomanensis (partim ?), *Processionale*, National Library of the Czech Republic, VI G 15, f. 145v, Cathedral School.

basilica[29] was a place opened to wider community of laical people from the court and canons from the St Vitus Basilica. There are apparent handwritten glosses of well-educated members of St Vitus cathedral school on manuscript folios. (Figure 23) Some of St George's manuscripts reflect these closer connections to both institutions. They are explicitly noticeable in the St George's processional NLP VI G 15 written for nuns in the 13th century. This manuscript was used in St Vitus Cathedral school and unknown student glossed his teachers and colleagues (Vitus, Aldik, Berhel)[30] with not so pleasant words. It is important to point out that these glosses are the oldest ones in Czech language. Para-liturgical and devotional texts (especially in the *praeces* XII D 11, *praeces* XII D 12, *Quod dicitur Passionale* XIV A 17) demonstrates strong influences of Dominican order, whose members were active on the court of the king Wenceslaus II [in Czech, Václav].

The third moment representing St George's convent as an active center was scenic Eastern Dramas in St George's Convent.[31] (Figure 24) They were performed in the space of the St George's Basilica. The abbess, prioress and older nun took roles of three Marias. Priests (from the group of St Georges canons) played angels. Singing nuns acted as the chorus. These plays were watched not only by other women from the convent and cloister's staff, but presumably also by nuns' original family members and residents of the Prague Castle. These dramas were developing during the end of the 13th century, as well as the whole 14th century. The oldest known written version is in the breviary VI E 13[32] from the second half of 12th century. Typical text of these dramas reflects the processional VII G 16[33] and fully notated version in the

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[29] Anežka MERHAUTOVÁ, *Bazilika svatého Jiří na Pražském hradě* [Basilica of St George at the Prague Castle], Praha 1966; Ivan BORKOVSKÝ, *Svatojiřská bazilika a klášter na Pražském hradě* [St George's Basilica and Convent at the Prague Castle], Praha 1975; Anežka MERHAUTOVÁ – Karel STEJSKAL, *St. Georgs-Stift auf der Prager Burg*, Praha 1991.

[30] Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Lector Vitus, Berhel a Aldík' [Lector Vitus, Berhel and Aldík], in: Zdeněk Hojda – Jiří Pešek – Blanka Zilynská, *Seminář a jeho hosté, Sborník k 60. narozeninám doc. dr. Rostislava Nového*, Praha 1992, pp. 42-52.

[31] Carl LANGE, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern. Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der liturgisch-dramatischen Auferstehungsfeier*, München 1887; Karl YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, Oxford 1933; Helmut de BOOR, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Tübingen 1967; Walther LIPPHARDT, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele* 1-9, Berlin – New York 1975-1990; Václav PLOCEK, *Melodie velikonočních slavností a her ze středověkých pramenů v Čechách* [The Melodies of Easter Celebrations and Plays from Medieval Sources in Bohemia], Praha 1989.

[32] For further information, see Lucianus presbyter Caphamargalae, *Breviarium* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__VI_E_13____38QNVM4-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 1128, p. 456; MATĚJČEK, 'Iluminované rukopisy', pp. 15-22; YOUNG, *The Drama*, p. 664; OREL, *Hudební prvky*, pp. 65, 111, 323, 333-336, 358-359, 361, 368, 428, 436, 438, 450-451, 457, 503, 522; Václav CHALOUPECKÝ – Bohumil RYBA, *Středověké legendy prokopské* [Medieval St Procop's Legends], Praha 1953, pp. 70, 121, 126-127; PLOCEK, *Catalogus*, No. 51, p. 196; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře', pp. 35-78, Michal DRAGOUN, *Česká středověká kalendária* [Bohemian Medieval Calendars], (Master Thesis), Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2000, pp. 36; SÁDLOVÁ, 'Svatojiřský klášter', pp. 32-33, 98-100, 152.

[33] For further information, see *Processionale monialium s. Georgii in castro Pragensi* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__VII_G_16____10V51WE-cs; and literature Philipp WACKERNAGEL, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* I, Leipzig 1864, pp. 218, 234-236; Guido Maria DREVES, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 1*, Leipzig 1886, pp. 117-118, 121, 123-124, 150, 156, 159-160, 163, 230; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 9*, Leipzig 1890, p. 102; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 20*, Leipzig 1895, p. 66; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 23*, Leipzig 1896, p. 57; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 34*, Leipzig 1906, p. 11; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 37*, Leipzig 1901, p. 10; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 49*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 321-322; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 50*, Leipzig 1907, p. 71-73, 79-80, 160-163, 237-239, 253-256, 281; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 51*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 110-112; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 54*, Leipzig 1915, pp. 27-29, 31-32, 214-218, 231-239; LANGE, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, pp. 151-154, No. 215; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 1363, p. 516; YOUNG, *The Drama*, pp. 674-676; Antonín ŠKARKA, 'Dominikán Domaslav a čeští hymnografové jeho směru: k charakteristice latinského básnictví za posledních Přemyslovců' [Dominican Domaslav and Bohemian Hymnografs of his Direction], *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk, třída filologicky-historicky-filozofická* 4/6, 1950, pp. 19, 21-22, 25, 29-30; Timo MÄKINEN, *Die aus frühen böhmischen*

Figure 24. *Three Marys at the Tomb*, c. XXXX, *Breviarium Monasterii s. Georgii*,
National Library of the Czech Republic, XIII C 1a, f. 7r.

processional VI G 3b[34], both closely connected to abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia. An younger *Liber ordinarius* XIII E 14d[35] presents the fully codified text of these festive dramas.

These all above presented facts influenced cultural transmissions of Bohemian female Benedictine monasteries. Now I focus on detailed specifications of cultural transfers according to specific groups of people. These groups were standing in closer connections to the group of nuns, novices, girls and widows living in female monasteries. Individual nuns are then basic stones presenting this theme.

Persons Involved in Transmission Flow

It has been necessary to define two main circles of these persons which enable more detailed specifications of cultural transfers intermitted by individual groups of people. The first one is an 'outer' circle of persons living outside the monastery. The second one is an 'inner' circle of people living directly in the cloister. The 'outer' circle includes following groups: founders, donators, members of nuns' original families, laics (St George's staff). The second group includes abbesses, nuns, canons and novices. Widows (*matronae*) living in the cloister and girls (*puellae*) to be educated here belong to both circles. Forms of exchanges were variable and will be discussed in next chapters.

Two groups of donators and founders are the most variable and fluid. First, the convent was connected closely to the founded Přemyslid family. (Figure 25) The group of founders, i.e., the ruling Přemyslid family, consists of men and women belonging to this ruling family and having closer relationships to the St George's monastery. The oldest St George's calendars reflect names of three founders – Mlada (Maria), Wratislaus I [in Czech, Vratislav],[36] Boleslaus II [in Czech, Boleslav] especially in the breviary XII F 5[37] from the later 13th century, breviary

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Quellen überlieferten Piae Cantiones – Melodien, Jyväskylä 1964, pp. 25, 93-100; LIPPHARDT, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*, pp. 1598-1602, No. 805; Václav PLOCEK, 'Svatojiřské scriptorium' [St George's Scriptorium], *Documenta Pragensia* X, 1990, pp. 23-29; Veronika MRÁČKOVÁ, *Chorální notace v pramenech kláštera sv. Jiří v Praze* [Staff-Notation in Sources from St George's Convent at the Prague Castle], (PhD. Thesis), Praha 2008, p. 41.

[34] For further information, see *Processionale cum orationibus,* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__VI_G_3B_____03LI3C7-cs; and literature LANGE, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, pp. 148-151; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 1167, p. 469; YOUNG, *The Drama*, pp. 402-404; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Poznámka', pp. 31-49; LIPPHARDT, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*, pp. 1593-1596.

[35] For further information, see *Liber ordinarius divini officii ('Ordo servicii Dei')* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIII_E_14D__0Q3AUZ2-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2336, p. 242; PLOCEK, *Catalogus*, No. 164, pp. 563-564; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Poznámka', pp. 31-49; LIPPHARDT, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*, pp. 1590-1592, No. 802; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Svatojiřské kalendáře', pp. 46-47; MRÁČKOVÁ, *Chorální notace*, pp. 43-44, 49, 64-65.

[36] Dušan TŘEŠTÍK, *Počátky Přemyslovců* [Beginnings of Přemyslids], Praha 1997, pp. 109, 114, 137, 176-178, 193-198, 200-205, 220, 258, 449, 451, 453-456, 463, 468-469, 471-474; BLÁHOVÁ – FROLÍK – PROFANTOVÁ, *Velké dějiny,* pp. 179, 266-270, 279.

[37] For further information, see *Breviarium* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XII_F_5_____10Y52S3-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2191, p. 200; OREL, *Hudební prvky*, pp. 65, 322, 324, 331-333, 336, 358, 364, 383, 384-389, 395-407, 435-436, 440, 450, 457, 503, 527-528; PLOCEK, *Catalogus*, No. 133, pp. 489-490; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře', pp. 40-44; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Poznámka', pp. 35, 37, 43.
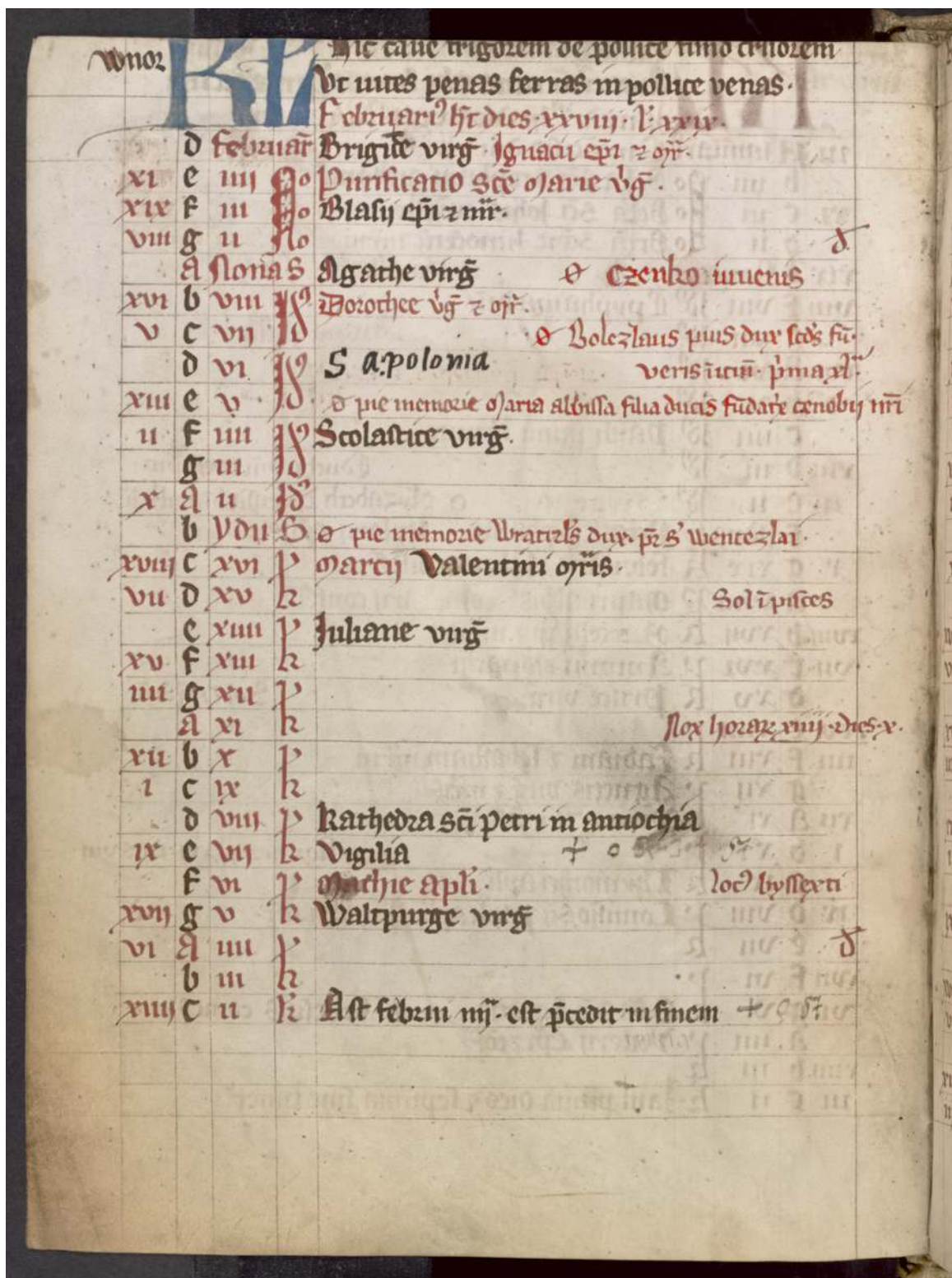
Figure 25. *Names of founders and donators in a calendar (month February)*, c. 1300-1400. *Breviarium*, National Library of the Czech Republic, XIII E 14f, f. 7v.

XII D 9[38] from the beginning of 14th century, breviary XII G 20a[39] from the middle of 14th century, breviary XIII C 1a[40] from the later 14th century. Private manuscripts of the abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia have in calendars names of important Přemysliden kings and women who donated St George's Convent with many gifts (as for example queen Jitka,[41] known as Gutta too, wife of Wenceslaus II in the *praeces pro infirmis* VI G 16b,[42] Wenceslaus II in the breviary XII D 9 or last Přemyslid King Wenceslaus III [in Czech, Václav][43] in the same manuscript).

After the disappearance of the male Přemyslids in the year 1306, as well as female lineage during the 14th century, the donators recruited mainly from noble families (see especially the breviary XIII E 1 from later 14th century, ordered by Kunigunde [in Czech, Kunhuta] of Kolovraty family[44]). Actually, we do not follow the same situation in younger female Benedictine monastery in Teplice (North-Eastern Bohemia),[45] i.e., the second oldest Benedictine female

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[38] For further information, see *Breviarium Cunegundis abbatissae* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XII_D_9____0UNV746-cs; and literature Guido Maria DREVES, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 4, Leipzig 1888, p. 258; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 5, Leipzig 1892, p. 263; idem, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 52, Leipzig 1909; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2155, p. 189; MATĚJČEK, 'Iluminované rukopisy', pp. 15-22; PLOCEK, *Catalogus*, No. 126, pp. 460-461; MRÁČKOVÁ, *Chorální notace*, p. 42.

[39] For further information, see *Breviarium* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XII_G_20A__3UT4224-cs; and literature BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách', p. 22; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2232, p. 209; RYNEŠOVÁ, 'Beneš', p. 30; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře', p. 47.

[40] For further information, see *Breviarium monasterii s. Georgii* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIII_C_1A__0FD4P34-cs; and literature BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách', p. 94; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2275, p. 219; MATĚJČEK, 'Iluminované rukopisy', pp. 19-20; OREL, *Hudební prvky*, p. 428; PATIER, 'Un office', pp. 58-59; Karel STEJSKAL – Mojmír ŠVÁBENSKÝ, 'Iluminátor cerroniánského rukopisu Pulkavy a jeho dílo' [The Illuminator of the Cerronian Manuscript by Pulkava and his Work], *Umění* 36, 1986, pp. 340-365; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře', p. 49; MERHAUTOVÁ – STEJSKAL, *St. Georgs-Stift*, pp. 64; 68; Karel STEJSKAL – Petr VOIT, *Iluminované rukopisy doby husitské* [Illuminated Manuscripts from Hussite Period], Praha 1991, p. 45.

[41] Irena PROKOPOVÁ, 'Guta Habsburská – česká královna a její dvůr' [Guta from Habsburg – Bohemian Queen and her Court], *Muzejní a vlastivědná práce. Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 43/113, No. 4, 2005, pp. 189-211; JAN, *Václav II.*, pp. 32-33, 72, 89-90, 104, 113,125, 133, 149-150, 180-182, 226-227, 229-230, 242-245, 402-403, 435.

[42] For further information, see *Preces pro infirmis et mortuis cum kalendario* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__VI_G_16B____1Z35SZ3-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 1183, p. 472; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře', pp. 53-54; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Poznámka', p. 45; Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Svatojiřské kalendáře doby abatyše Kunhuty', *Acta universitatis Carolina-Philosophica et Historica. Z pomocných věd historických* IX/2, Praha 1991, pp. 61-81.

[43] Karel MARÁZ, *Václav III (1289-1306): poslední Přemyslovec na českém trůně. České Budějovice* [Wenceslaus III (1289-1306): last Přemyslid on the Czech throne], České Budějovice 2007.

[44] For further information, see *Breviarium Cunegundis de Kolovraty* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIII_E_1____0K20342-cs; and literature BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách', pp. 21, 147; Václav Vladivoj TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy* V [The History of the Town Prague], Praha 1905, pp. 319-320; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2320, p. 235; MATĚJČEK, 'Iluminované rukopisy', pp. 19-20; OREL, *Hudební prvky*, pp. 322-324, 384, 389, 395, 435, 457, 527; HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Kalendáře', p. 49; MERHAUTOVÁ – STEJSKAL, *St. Georgs-Stift*, p. 63.

[45] Teplice Convent in Northern Bohemia was founded around 1164 by Judith of Thüringen (1135-1174), daughter of the Ludwig I. of Thüringen and second wife of Czech king Vladislav II. After her death, the monastery transformed from the royal convent to the local female monastery, opposite to the St George's monastery. This one kept connections (albeit up to time weaker) to ruling families, no matter if Luxembourger, Jagellonian or Habsburger. The nuns originally came from local noble-families. See more in Antonín HEJNA, 'Basilika v Teplicích' [The Basilica in Teplice], *Umění* VIII, 1960, pp. 217-230; Sylvia OSTROVSKÁ – Emanuel VLČEK – Jitka BUDINSKÁ, *Návrat královny Judity* [Return of the Queen Judita], Teplice 2003; Michal B. SOUKUP, 'K počátkům kláštera v Teplicích', in: Michal Mašek – Peter Sommer – Josef Žemlička et al., *Vladislav II., druhý král z Přemyslova rodu. K 850. výročí jeho korunovace* [To Beginnings of the Monastery in Teplice], Praha 2009, pp. 83-90.

monastery. Connections to the founding Přemyslid family were active only for one generation. Thereafter, the donators came from rural noble-families. We focus on another situation in the case of other Benedictine female convents, i.e., the monastery of Holy Infant in Pustiměř (Moravia)[46] and Holy Spirit at the Old Town in Prague.[47] The first one reflects higher activity of Moravian noble-families. The second one was from its foundation the bourgeoisies monastery with strong activities of rich and powerful Prague bourgeois families (especially Rokczaner family).

Donators were next important channel of cultural exchanges.[48] Their gifts were various, from great donations (as for example whole villages or their parts[49]) to smaller gifts (as for example manuscripts[50]), from most powerful to lower noblemen (family of Pětichvosty with abbess Sophia or famous Bohemian noble family of Kolovraty with abbess Kunigunde) or wealthy burghers (for example Rokczaner family of Old Town in Prague). Each gift served for transmitting of information. Nuns could collect new information from folios of donated manuscripts (especially the 'narrative' *Regula s. Benedicti* I F 29[51] with the Rule of St Benedict and many commentaries, the breviary XIII E 14e with various instruction about economy and administration in convent and many others). They touched the 'real' life behind monastic walls mirroring in illuminations (see especially the *Quod dicitur Passionale* XIV A 17, the breviary XIII C 1a, the book of hours XVII G 3[52] from later 15th century). On the other hand, donations of nuns transferred knowledge outside (mainly precious embroidery work[53] and manuscripts from St George's scriptorium, as for example the *Psaltery of Karlštejn*, made in St George's Convent, Library of the National Museum, XVI A 18[54]).

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[46] Convent in Pustiměř was founded in 1340 by the bishop Jan Volek (1290-1351) and St George's Abbess Agnes (in Czech, Anežka) of Vřešťov (as abbess 1345-1358). Its first abbess was Elisabeth (in Czech, Alžběta), an unlegitimal Přemysliden princess. See more in Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Alžběta, dcera Václava III.' [Elisabeth, the Daughter of Wenceslaus III], *Mediaevalia historica Bohemica* 8, Praha 2001, pp. 43-50.

[47] Convent of Holy Spirit was founded in forties of 14th century by the Moravian bishop Jan Volek and St George's abbess Anežka of Vřešťov. Nuns, as well as the first abbess, came primarily from rich bourgeoise patriciates. See more in Václav MENCL, 'Kostel sv. Ducha v Praze' [Church of Holy Spirit in Prague], *Zprávy památkové péče*, 1939, pp. 119-121.

[48] See names in calendars in many St George's manuscripts.

[49] See for example Bohuslaus of Pětichvosty, father of St George's abbess Sophia. He donated an annual payment from village Miletice.

[50] See for example the breviary XII F 9, used by St George's nun Mana.

[51] For further information, see *Formula noviciarum, Speculum monacharum, Regula s. Benedicti monialibus adaptata* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__I_F_29_____3UZLLA6-cs; and literature TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 261, pp. 107-108; PLOCEK, *Catalogus*, p. 29.

[52] For further information, see *Hodinky, modlitby* [The Book of Hours, Prayers] [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XVII_G_3___1LKYNA7-cs; and literature BERINGER, 'O českých miniaturách', p. 91; Josef TRUHLÁŘ, *Katalog českých rukopisů C. k. veřejné a universitní knihovny pražské* [Catalogue of Czech Manuscripts of the I. R. Public and University Library in Prague], Praha 1906, No. 290, p. 289; MERHAUTOVÁ – STEJSKAL, *St. Georgs-Stift*, p. 64.

[53] Susan L. SMITH, 'The Power of Women Topos on a Fourteenth-Century Embroidery', *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21, 1990, pp. 203-228.

[54] For further information, see *Žaltář karlštejnské kapituly* [Psaltery of Karlštejn] [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NMP__XVI_A_18___1W6DDX6-cs; and literature František Michálek BARTOŠ, *Soupis rukopisů Národního musea v Praze* II [The List of Manuscripts from the National Museum in Prague II], Praha 1927, No. 3648, p. 342; Pavel BRODSKÝ, *Katalog iluminovaných rukopisů knihovny Národního muzea v Praze* [Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of the National Museum in Prague], Praha 2000, pp. 249-250; Pavel BRODSKÝ, 'Neznámá miniatura Mistra Křížovnického breviáře' [Unknown Miniature by Master of The Knights of the

Next group includes members of original nuns' families, very often combined with the donators' circle. Nuns could get correspondence by their families, although we have no evidence for medieval Bohemian convents. It is necessary to use parallels from German and Austrian territories.[55] News were shared during visits of women from original families in the cloister allowed in Benedictine monasteries only in special and allowed spaces. Although it has not yet been identified in the St George's Convent, we explicitly know that these visits were sometimes quite often, included especially women, but occasionally men too.

The last group from outer circle consists from staff, all persons, no matter if male or female, ensuring the function of the enclosure convent. Unfortunately, the research of this group has not yet been finished.

Mainly two groups of persons, fluid between both circles, were real mediators of new information and cultural transfers. Canons, assigned to the newly founded convent from the original St George's church, took devotional care of female convent. Their roles were really complex. We struggle with a lack of sources about them for 11th and 12th century. We acknowledge only concrete names of some St George's priests (as for example Paul [In Czech, Pavel], the 12th century). Abbess Gutta [in Czech, Jitka] or her follower Sophia [in Czech, Žofie] in the eighties of 13th century established or – better said – reestablished the canon chapter. The primary tasks of canons were a spiritual administration, devotional services, spiritual nuns' leading and administration of parishes under abbesses' ruling. The unique manuscript *Fragmenta praebendarum* XIII A 2[56] presents their powers and duties. (Figure 26) They transferred knowledge from Prague educational centers (probably from St Vitus Cathedral's school) to nuns and novices. They created a higher number of manuscripts in St George's scriptorium.[57] This scriptorium built by canons was being active only during 14th century. Influences of the Hussite revolution finished its activities. The canons conveyed to nuns their knowledge forbidden for women (see the next, i.e., third and fourth parts of the *Quod dicitur Passionale* XIV A 17 written by the St George's canon Beneš[58]). Otherwise, the nuns

Cross with the Red Star' Breviary], *Časopis národního muzea* 154, 1985, pp. 121-125; Robert GIBBS, 'Bolognese Influences on Bohemian Art of the 14th and Early 15th Century', *Umění* 40, 1992, pp. 281-283; Antonín MATĚJČEK, 'Svatojiřský žaltář ze XIV. století v knihovně Národního musea v Praze' [The St George's Psalter from 14th Century in the Library of the National Museum in Prague], *Památky archeologické* 34, 1924-1925, pp. 239-241; Antonín FRIEDL, *Česká a moravská knižní malba XI.-XVI. století* [Czech and Moravian Book Art 11th-16th Centuries], Praha 1955-1956, No. 49, p. 20; Antonín FRIEDL, *Počátky mistra Theodorika* [Beginnings of Master Theodoricus], Praha 1963, pp. 32-34; Josef KRÁSA, 'Knižní malba' [Book Art], in: *České umění gotické 1350-1420*, Praha 1970, pp. 247, 261-262, č. 343; MERHAUTOVÁ – STEJSKAL, *St-Georgs-Stift*, p. 61; OREL, *Hudební prvky*, p. 110; STEJSKAL – URBÁNKOVÁ, *Pasionál*, pp. 121-123.

[55] See Andreas RÜTHER, 'Schreibbetrieb, Bücheraustausch und Briefwechsel: Der Konvent St Katharina in St Gallen während der Reform', *Vita religiosa*, 1999, pp. 653-677; Britta-Juliane KRUSE, 'Eine Witwe als Mäzenin: Briefe und Urkunden zum Aufenthalt Nürnberger Patrizierin Katharina Lemlin im Birgittenkloster Maria Mai (Maihingen)', in: Matthias Meyer Geburtstag – Schiewtl Hans-Jochen (eds.), *Literarisches Leben: Rollenentwürfe in der Literatur des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters: FS Volker Mertens zum* 65, Tübingen 2002, pp. 465-506; Anja OSTROWITZKI, 'Klösterliche Lebenswelt im Spiegel von Briefen des 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Benediktinerinnenkloster Oberwerth bei Koblenz', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 124, 2013, pp. 167-206.

[56] For further information, see *Fragmentum praebendarum, distributionum et officiorum in ecclesia sancti Georgii castri Pragensis* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIII_A_2____3AP2LI4-cs; and literature MATĚJČEK, 'Iluminované rukopisy', pp. 15-22; TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, No. 2245, p. 212.

[57] Nowadays they are deposited mainly in the National Library of the Czech Republic.

[58] See more Karel STEJSKAL, 'Le chanoine Beneš, scribe et enlumineur du Passionaire de l'abbesse Cunégonde', *Scriptorium* 23, 1969, pp. 52-68.
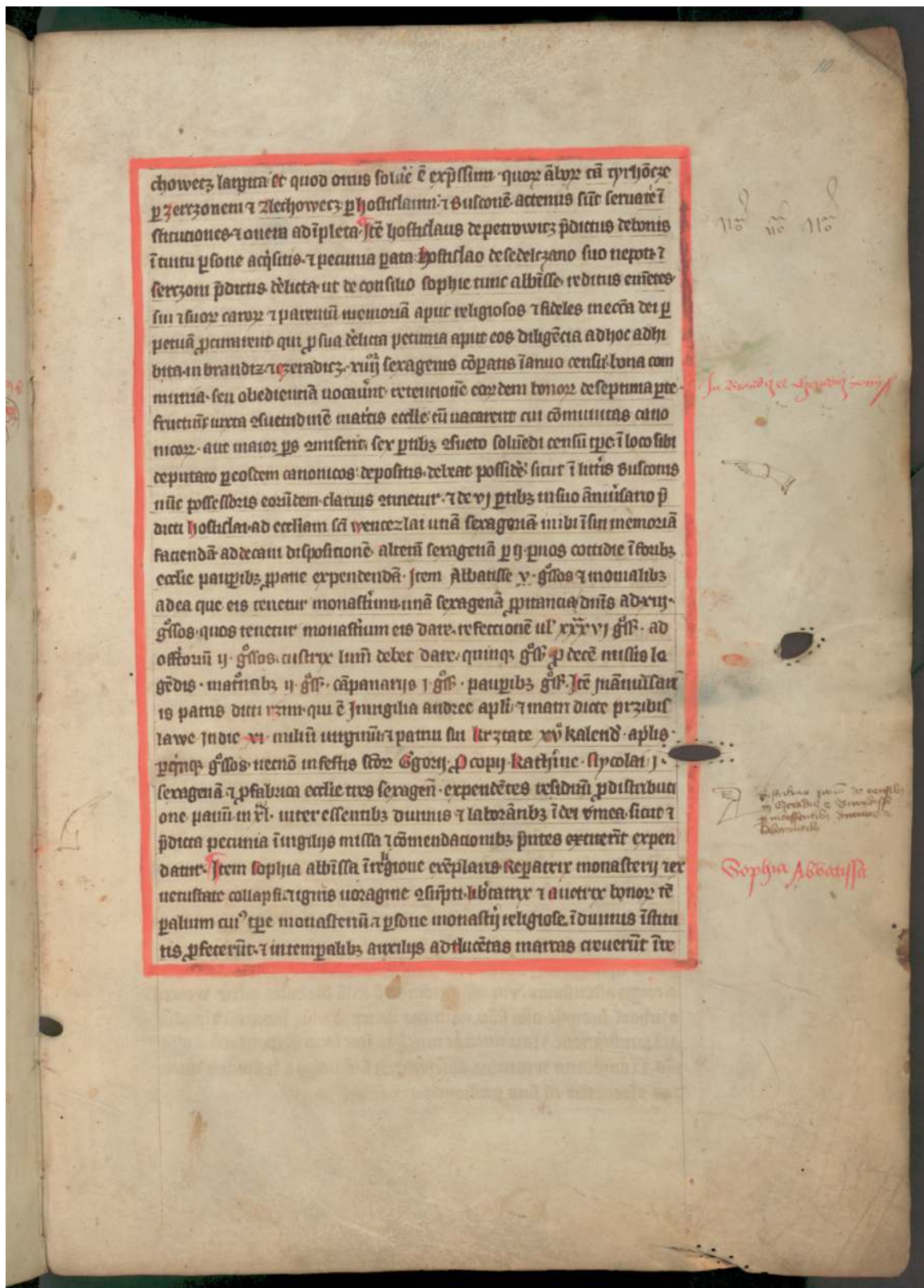
Figure 26. *Fragmenta preaebendarum*, c. 1452-1410. *Fragmentum praebendarum, distributionum et officiorum in ecclesia sancti Georgii castri Pragensis*, National Library of the Czech Republic, XIII A 2.

let them look into a deeper spirituality typical for female religious communities.[59] It reflects the miracle of blood's drops from Christ's Crucifix on 13th June 1252[60] and later the same miracle in the year 1273,[61] glossed in calendars in St George's manuscripts.[62] The reflection of Christ's Suffering and Resurrection is typical especially for St George's manuscripts from later 13th century and earlier 14th century (especially the *Quod dicitur Passionale* XIV A 17, then the *praeces* XII D 11 and the *praeces* XII D 12 too).

Little girls, *puellae*,[63] were on borders of outer and inner convent's life (see for examples the Latin term *puellae* in the *Ordo servicii Dei* XIII E 14d). (Figure 27) They were educated in the St George's monastery,[64] but did not belong immediately to the convent. However, they met nuns daily on many occasions (during liturgical feasts, common dishes, daily works, etc). Because of their enormous fluctuation and a higher number, they brought to the convent latest trends from their families and took away the cultural level and knowledge common in the St George's convent.

Widows, *matronae*, living in St George's convent, had the same role.[65] Standing at boundaries of the St George's community, outside the inner convent, they were not a concrete part of the convent but participated in all liturgical ceremonies. They transferred knowledge and experiences from their former lives to St George's convent and kept higher standards from their secular lives. (Figure 28)

Abbesses[66] had the main position in the convent's hierarchy. Although they should have been chosen by nuns (according to the Rule of St Benedict, Chapter 2 and 64), they were often chosen by founding Přemysliden family (Agnes, Hedwig, Kunigunde). They could move freely outside the monastic walls and buildings. They used separated rooms (maybe a house) for living outside inner enclosure and undoubtedly had access to the royal court and special ceremonies in the St Vitus Cathedral. Abbesses functioned as bi-directional sources of information and influenced not only nuns and novices, but on the other side women on the court too. They were the link between the secular world and the enclosed nunnery.

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[59] Roberta GILCHRIST, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism*, London 1995.

[60] See more in HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Historia*, p. 84; Josef EMLER – Václav Vladivoj TOMEK (eds.), *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum II*, Praha 1874, p. 290; TŘEŠTÍK, *Počátky*, p. 482.

[61] See more especially HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Historia*, p. 84.

[62] Especially the breviary NLP XXIII D 155, f. 5r.

[63] See the names of many '*puellae*' in the necrological glosses of some of St George's calendars (especially the breviary Library of the National Museum XIV D 13).

[64] See more especially in Eva SCHLOTHEUBER, *Klostereintritt und Bildung. Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des Konventsgebuchs einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig, 1484-1507*, Tübingen 2004.

[65] See Simon MACLEAN, 'Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe', *Past and Present. A Journal of Historical Studies* 178, 2003, pp. 3-38.

[66] Renáta MODRÁKOVÁ, 'Písemnosti abatyší kláštera sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě ve 13.-14. století. Naznačení úzkých hranic mezi diplomatikou a kodikologií' [Documents of abbesses from the St George Cloister of Benedictine Order at the Prague Castle in 13th – 14th Centuries], in: Zdeněk Hojda – Hana Pátková (ed.), *Pragmatické písemnosti v kontextu právním a správním*, Praha 2008, pp. 55-72; idem, 'Úřad abatyše kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě v období 13.–14. století' [Office of abbesses from the St George Cloister of Benedictine Order at the Prague Castle in 13th – 14th Centuries], in: Pavel KRAFL (ed.), *Sacri canones servandi sunt. Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis* XIII–XV, Praha 2008, pp. 580-592.
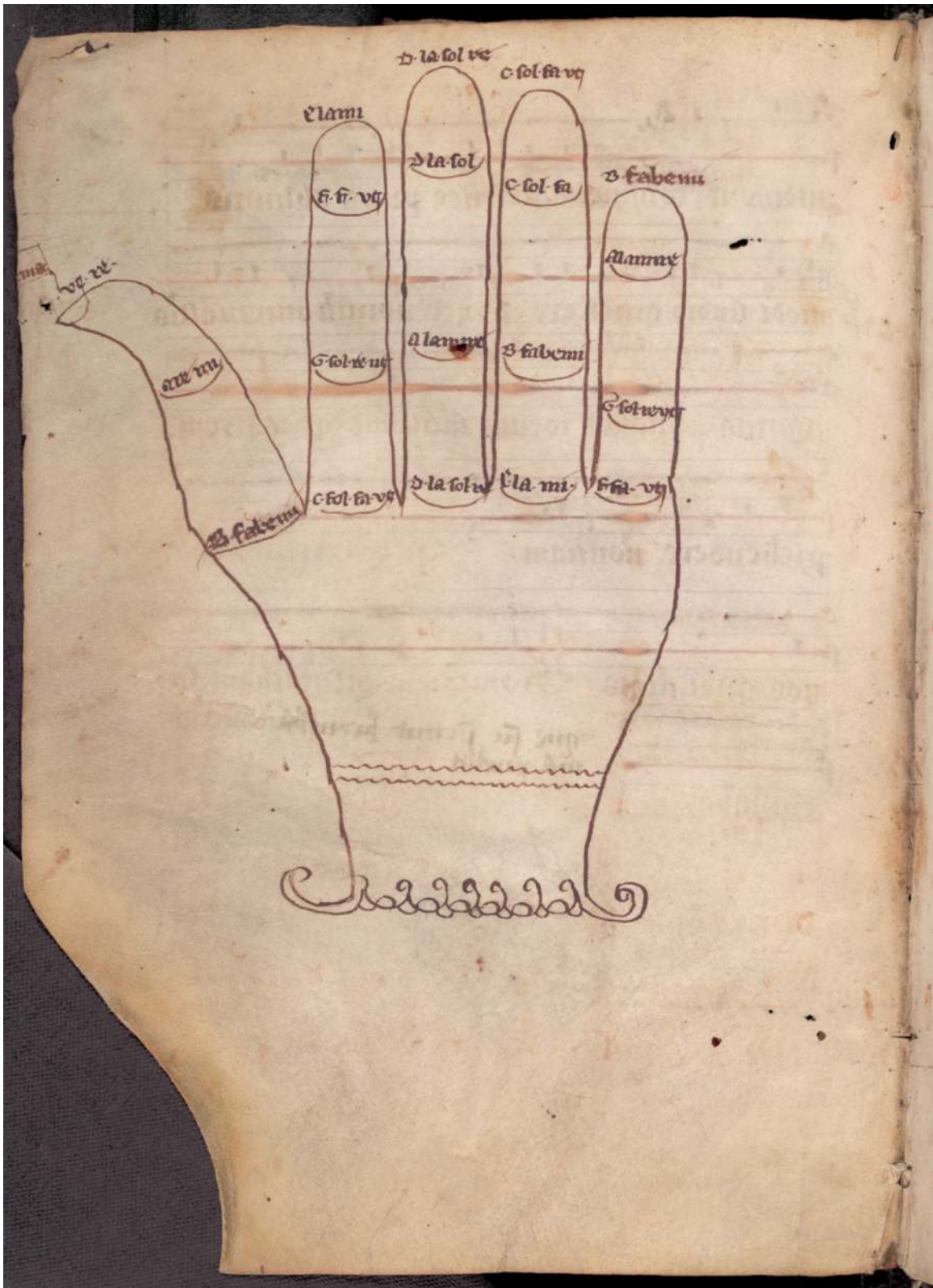
Figure 27. *Guidonian hand*, 1300-1330. *Hymnarius, officia sanctorum*.
National Library of the Czech Republic, XII E 15c, f. 2v.

Figure 28. *St George's Abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia, nuns, canon called Beneš and Dominican Kolda of Koldice*, c. 1313-1400. *Passionale quod dicitur Cunegundis abbatissae picturis splendidissime*, National Library of the Czech Republic, XIV A 17, f. 1v.

The inner core of the convent consists of novices and nuns.[67] They were lesser influenced by external society. Holy enclosure created a specific space for interactions. It was *de facto* the real center, where all above-mentioned influences blended. Nuns reflected external interactions during spiritual talks with canons, common dishes with abbesses and external important visitors, visits of female relatives, or receptions of glorious gifts. They shared all together – occasionally with girls and widows – these new information and transformed them according to their higher knowledge and spiritual basic. At the end, the nuns themselves were not innovators or extraordinary thinkers, but managed to 'hang out' with new trends.

Transfers of ideas to other ecclesiastical institutions should be mentioned here. St George's convent was motherly institution to other Benedictine convents.[68] It seems these convents used the right of asylum in St George's buildings, where some manuscripts were up to time located[69] (see as an example the breviary Library of the National Museum, XIV D 13). We also focus on contacts to other female convents. First, it was the Premonstratensian Convent in Doksany,[70] one of the most important female monasteries of Czech lands in the period of the 12th and 13th century (especially St Agnes of Bohemia, who was educated here). This monastery had an important educational role in the Bohemian society, similar as the St George's monastery. Documents preserved in the Vatican archive have shown that transfers of nuns from one convent to another was nothing rare, especially in cases of nuns from higher levels of medieval society.[71] Until now, we have not yet been able to verify and concretize relationships with Sisters of Poor Clara at the Old Prague City in the second half of the 13th century.[72] We know some St George's nuns (especially abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia) spent a part of their lives here. Kunigunde's gifts as St George's abbess to this convent present her closer connections to this other female convent in Prague.

The unequivocal transfer of ideas was common with two male orders. Dominican friars were in closer connections especially to the Abbess Kunigunde of Bohemia (not only the *Quod dicitur Passionale* XIV A 17, but also private prayers in the *praeces* XII D 11 and the *praeces* XII D 12 too). It is possible to assume talks by Dominicans not only to the abbesses, but also to the whole convent of nuns. Then, Professor J. Vintr[73] has assumed, St George's nuns were active in connections to the Benedictine Ostrov Monastery (see *Regula s. Benedicti* I F 29 written by monk from Ostrov Monastery for a concrete Benedictine nun called Elisabeth with many commentaries about the common life in St George's convent). Factual contacts have been maintained, especially since the mid-14th century, to Benedictine Břevnov Monastery, as the

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[67] Renáta MODRÁKOVÁ, 'Známé i neznámé jeptišky kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě z jeho pramenů' [Known and Unknown nuns of the St George Cloister of Benedictine Order at the Prague Castle from its documents], *Náchodsko od minulosti k dnešku: sborník příspěvků k šedesátinám PhDr. Václava Sádla*, Liberec 2009, pp. 83-102.

[68] All are mentioned above: Benedictine female monasteries in Teplice, Pustiměř (Moravia region), Holy Spirit at Old Town in Prague.

[69] For example the breviary, Library of the National Museum XIV D 13 deposited in the Library of the National Museum, *Psalterium cum glosis* [on-line], Manuscriptorium.com, [consulted 10 October, 2021], accessible from: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NMP___XIV_D_13___30QOEW5-cs.

[70] See more Josef EMLER (ed.) *Necrologium Doxanense*, Praha 1884, pp. 1-61 containing names of some St George's abbesses (Mlada, Bertha, etc.); Joseph MIKA, *Das Ruhmwürdige Doxan, Oder: Des königl. Jungfräulichen Stiffts, Der Schneeweissen und Hochbefreyten Praemonstratenser Jungfrauen zu Doxan,* Leitmeritz 1726.

[71] See more HLEDÍKOVÁ, 'Alžběta', pp. 43-50.

[72] Abbess Kunigunde was educating and living here for more as one decade.

[73] Josef VINTR, *Die ältesten tschechischen Evangeliare. Edition, Text und Sprachanalyse der ersten Redaktion,* München 1977.

result of the dispute between the Prague Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice [in Czech, Arnošt] and St George's abbess Agnes [in Czech, Anežka] of Vřešťov in fifties of the 14th century.[74] The Břevnov Monastery took devotional care and *visitatores* of the St Georges monastery were elected from the group of Břevnov's monks. The list will not have been yet final, but we struggle with the lack of sources and subsequent research.

The St George's manuscripts reflect especially liturgical feasts and commons in the convent. We do not have any manuscript reflecting natural sciences and their development in female Czech Benedictine convents. There is a bit different situation to the male convents which were active centers of its development. Opposite, the female convents were active centers for development of vernacular texts and their using in written practice (especially the processional VI G 15, the younger passional XVII C 52 and others).

Conclusion

St George's Convent was an active center of cultural development and educational praxis. The convent was able to fully fulfill contemporary cultural ideas and trends. Limited options of communication outside walls were interfered not only by interviews, but also by manuscripts. Unfortunately, we cannot focus on St George's Convent as a crossroad of natural sciences. Nuns themselves functioned only as recipients of knowledge, mediated by their administrators. This model has been well known for female institutions all over the Europe. It is a schema, standing deeply in functional cores of a medieval society. At the same time, they break out our modern vision of silent monastic walls and the backward thinking of nuns.

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[74] Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Arnošt z Pardubic* [Ernest of Pardubice], Praha 2008, pp. 86-89.

Chapter IV

Picturing Monasteries. 16th Century New Spain Monastic Architecture as Site of Religious Processions

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Abstract

The subject of this paper is the 16th century monastic architecture and art originating in the Viceroyalty of New Spain (1635-1821) due to the need to Christianise its Native populations. Specifically, it addresses the practice of holding processions within monastic architecture, whether in the internal or external space, taking as its basis two sets of mural paintings and contemporary written evidence. This religious practice stemmed from both traditions involved (the Western and the Mesoamerican one), which merged into a new syncretic form in 16th century New Spain. The paper aims to interpret and contextualize the meanings and functions of this devotional custom in early colonial society. Its method is interdisciplinary. It combines classical historical (such as source criticism) and art historical procedures (such as iconographic and iconological analysis) with concepts and theories of symbolic and interpretative anthropology, putting particular emphasis on the interpretation and contextualization of phenomena.

Keywords

16th century; Central Mexico; Viceroyalty of New Spain; monastic architecture and art; Christianisation; regular clergy; religious processions; Native peoples; transmission of ideas; New World; Old World; documentary and visual evidence, interdisciplinarity; iconography and iconology; symbolic and interpretative anthropology; Victor Turner; Clifford Geertz; liminality.

Introduction

When in the late 15th century, the Old World encountered the New World, the Spanish conquerors and missionaries did not enter an empty landscape inhabited by peaceful 'noble savages'[1] or aggressive 'barbarians',[2] as suggested by contemporary documentary evidence (such as C. Columbus and H. Cortés). On the contrary, in Central Mexico they found themselves

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[1] Europeans tended to perceive and conceive indigenous people within already existing occidental categories and images. The expression 'noble savage' was coined in the 17th century (in 1609 it was used by the French chronicler Marc Lescarbot, it first appeared in English in the work of John Dryden), and it promptly became a *locus classicus* of European literature. A century later, the works and thoughts of the French philosopher J.J. Rousseau, who claimed that contact with civilization leads man to immorality, significantly affected the western thinking about 'natural man'. The term spread in particular in the 19th century, in the era of romanticism. The attitude of the West towards Native populations of non-European countries based on the antagonism between barbarism and civilization has been criticized since the second half of the 20th century in relation to decolonization, for example, by Franz Boas, see Enrique DUSSEL, *Beyond Philosophy: Ethics, History, Marxism, and Liberation Theology*, Lanham 2003, pp. 207-218.

[2] The term barbarism has a long tradition going back at least to Antiquity. The Greeks and later Romans considered those who did not share their culture and language to be barbarians, until the Christians began to associate this category with faith and began to consider all pagans barbarians.

face to face with developed cultures with a thousand years of history and with the Nahuas to the fore, whose inhabitants lived in large city-states and had complex religious cults, traditions and beliefs.

The religious clergy that came to continental America with a mission to Christianise its Native populations soon realised that the millennial Mesoamerican religious cults, beliefs and practices were rooted too strongly to be genuinely replaced by a new Christian faith. For this reason, they began to work intentionally with the chosen elements of Mesoamerican culture and religious practices, including the tradition to regularly organize and hold religious processions in order to facilitate conversion to the new Christian faith. The tradition of holding religious processions is universal, and as such it is firmly anchored in both the cultures involved – the Occidental and the Mesoamerican one.[3] During the colonial period, religious processions became very popular and acquired a multi-layered syncretic form whose origins are difficult, or even impossible, to trace with exactitude to the past.

Yet the aim of this paper is to reconstruct the contemporaneous conception of religious processions held in 16th century New Spain, taking as its base the visual and written evidence of the colonial period. In brief, it endeavours to unveil the original meanings and functions of this religious practice, trace back its roots (as well as related ideas and habits), suggest whether they came from the Western or the Mesoamerican tradition and, eventually, to interpret and contextualize it within the historical context of early colonial society. So the core questions of the paper are: What do the two sets of mural paintings represent? Who commissioned them and for whom were they intended? What testimony do they offer about the people and their actions being represented on them? And eventually, how was the practice of performing religious processions conceived in the early colonial society and what functions and roles did processions play in it?

Christianising the Native, Indigenising the Christian

The task of Christianising the Native populations living in the Viceroyalty of New Spain was entrusted to the three missionary orders:[4] the Franciscans (1523), Dominicans (1526) and Augustinians (1533). The spiritual conquest[5] had accompanied the armed conquest of

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[3] Mesoamerica is a cultural and geographical area defined by common territory and cultural features. It covers a part of North America (Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) where an abundant spectrum of civilizations (such as Aztecs, Mayas, Zapotecs and Mixtecas, etc.) with shared cultural elements (such as agriculture based on cultivation of maize, complex calendar system, temple-pyramids, human sacrifices, etc.) developed before 1492. The term was established in the 1940s by Paul Kirchhoff, a Mexican anthropologist of German origin. Two decades later it was reconceptualized by North American archaeologists and anthropologists Gordon R. Willey, Gordon F. Eckholm and René F. Millon, see Paul KIRCHHOFF, 'Mesoamérica: sus límites geográficos, composición étnica, y caracteres culturales', *Acta Americana* 1, 1943, pp. 92-107; Gordon R. WILLEY – Gordon F. ECKHOLM – René F. MILLON, 'The Patterns of Farming Life and Civilization', in: Robert C. West, *Handbook of American Indians* I, Austin 1964, pp. 37-39.

[4] The term missionary orders refers to three regular orders, namely to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, to whom the task of evangelization of Mexico's Native populations was entrusted. Later, in 1566, they were joined by the Society of Jesus, which from 1568 the Spanish Crown also considered a missionary order. Pedro BORGES, *Religiosos en Hispanoamérica*, Madrid 1992, p. 66.

[5] A crucial monograph on the spiritual conquest of Mexico was written by the French historian Robert Ricard, see Robert RICARD, *La conquista espiritual de México. Ensayo sobre el apostolado y los métodos misioneros de las órdenes mendicantes en la Nueva España de 1523-24 a 1572*, Ciudad de México 1947. For further information, see also later works by: Lino GÓMEZ CANEDO, *Evangelización, cultura y promoción social*, Ciudad de México 1993; idem, *Evangelización y conquista.*

Figure 29. *The indigenous caciques don Juan Inica de Actopan along with don Pedro de Izcuincuitlapilco with the friar Martín de Asebeido*, 16th century mural painting. Augustinian former monastery of San Nicolás de Tolentino, Actopan, Hidalgo State, Mexico. Photo: Author's archive.

the overseas territories from its very beginning (as the pair of terms spiritual and armed conquest suggests). The aim of the evangelization was the salvation of the Natives' souls, their integration into colonial society and, last but not least, legitimization of the occupation of foreign territory and its inhabitants.[6]

The missionary orders introduced not only the Christian faith, but also Western architecture and art to colonial Mexico. Faced with the need to construct a vast network of monasteries that would cover the entire territory of New Spain and serve as a base for missionary activities, yet

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Experiencia franciscana en Hispanoamérica, México 1977; José María KOBAYASHI, *La educación como conquista. Empresa franciscana en México*, Ciudad de México 1996. The process of evangelization in these works is significantly Eurocentric and influenced by the positivist gaze and cultural diffusionism, i.e., it is regarded as a process of spreading Western civilization, and hence the Native gaze is generally neglected. For the revisionist conception of evangelization see Inga CLENDINNEN, *The Cost of Courage in Aztec Society: Essays on Mesoamerican Society and Culture*, New York 2010; Miguel LEÓN-PORTILLA, *Visión de los vencidos: relaciones indígenas de la conquista*, Ciudad de México 2013; Robert H. JACKSON, *Evangelisation and Cultural Conflict in Central Mexico*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014.

[6] The Catholic Monarchs, Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, requested of the Papacy the granting of the recently discovered territories in the Western Hemisphere immediately after the first voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492. Pope Alexander VI. (called Borgia) acceded to their request with a series of documents generally known as the bull *Inter Cætera* issued on May 4 1493. As a result, the Catholic Monarchs were given the western overseas territories on the condition that they ensure the Christianisation of the Native populations of the New World, see Elisa LUQUE ALCAIDE – José Ignacio SARANAYANA, *La Iglesia católica y América*, Madrid 1992, p. 244; RICARD, *La conquista*, pp. 80-81.

lacking a sufficient number of European architects and craftsmen (who, moreover, preferred to work for Spaniards in the new colonial cities),[7] the missionaries decided to combine their forces, and to advance together with the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and in collaboration with the former Native aristocracy and local labour force. (Figure 29)

In 1541, the missionary orders founded the so-called Holy Union (from the Spanish *Unión Santa*), and[8] the Augustinians with Franciscans in collaboration with the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza (1495-1552), drew up a complete system of missionary methods,[9] as well as a series of instructions on how to build a simple monastery known as a Moderate Plan (from Spanish, *Traza moderada*), which simplified and enabled the construction of a vast network of monasteries and *visita* chapels all over the territory of New Spain, which were generally built in the second (1540-1550) and third phase of evangelization (1550-1570).[10]

From the aspect of Mexican monastic architecture, Mexican monasteries are generally divided into two parts: an inner and outer enclosure. The inner enclosure consisted of a single-nave monastic church and a simple two-story cloister, the outer enclosure included a walled courtyard called atrium (from Spanish, *atrio*), the adjacent farm buildings and technical structures (such as aqueducts and water reservoirs). The atrium was usually accessible through three arched gates. It featured four corner chapels called *posa* (from Spanish, *capilla posa*), a large stone cross named atrial (from Spanish, *cruz atrial*) and an open chapel (from Spanish, *capilla abierta*).[11] While all the features had European antecedents, the overall organization of

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[7] The first phase of evangelization (1520-1530) was not initially successful. On the contrary, the missionaries had to face a series of significant obstacles such as dispersion of Native populations, great ethnic and hence also linguistic diversity or simply a lack of missionaries and European architects and craftsmen. According to R. Ricard, there were 380 Franciscans, 210 Dominicans and 212 Augustinians in New Spain in 1559. P. Borges lists the same numbers, although for a different year 1569. Unfortunately he does not mention the source of this information, see BORGES, *Religiosos*, pp. 82; RICARD, *La conquista*, pp. 180-184. As regards the numbers of the Native populations, according to North American scholars Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah it reached 25.2 million in 1518. However, it declined steeply over the 16th century, and the decline did not end until the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries: Woodrow Wilson BORAH – F. Sherburne COOK, *The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Berkeley 1963, pp. 88, 157.

[8] According to Gloria Espinosa Spínola, a Spanish historian, the Holy Union was an agreement made by regular orders (Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians) which was to be crucial for the evangelization of Mexico, see Gloria ESPINOSA SPÍNOLA, *Arquitectura de la conversión y evangelización en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI*, Almería 1999, pp. 16, 44, 80; RICARD, *La evangelización*, p. 232.

[9] The missionary methods were based solely on learning Native languages, transferring Native populations from the mountains to the fertile agricultural areas, and integration of selected features of Mesoamerican tradition (such as exteriorization of religious cult, pre-Columbian dances called *mitote*, markets *tianguis*). The missionary methods can be divided in the following manner: catechism, preaching and religious literature in native languages, Catalan and Latin; fine arts with didactic purposes used as *Biblia pauperum*; and eventually, European music (such as choral music), see esp.: Pedro BORGES, *Métodos misionales en la cristianización de América, siglo XVI*, Madrid 1960; Christian DUVERGER, *Agua y fuego. Arte sacro indígena de México en el siglo XVI*, Ciudad de México 2003, pp. 51-58; RICARD, *La conquista*, pp. 112-114.

[10] See e.g. *Map of Culhuacan from 'Relación geográfica de Culhuacan'* [on-line], 1580, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin, [consulted 25 may, 2018], accessible from: http://bdmx.mx/documento/mapa-relacion-geografica-culhuacan.

[11] The specialized literature on Mexican religious architecture is quite extensive (such as Ch. Duverger, R. Meli Piralla, V.M. Ballesteros García, R. Cómez Ramos, J. Gómez Martínez, A. Rubial García). For an exhaustive and accurate description of Mexican monastic architecture see the subsequent founding works: George KUBLER, *Arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI*, Ciudad de México 2012, chap. VI and VII, pp. 289-437; John MCANDREW, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico. Atrios, Posas, Open Chapels, and Other Studies*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1965, pp. 121-597. A general description is further to be found in: ESPINOSA SPÍNOLA, *Arquitectura*, pp. 83-111.
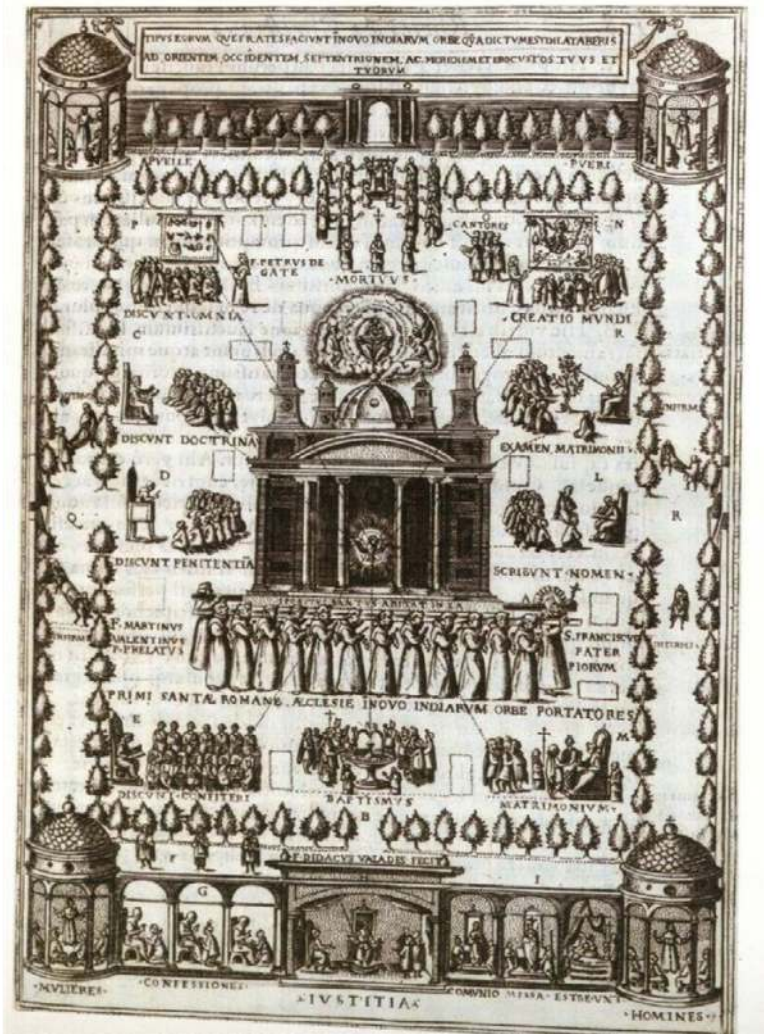
Figure 30. Diego de Valadés, *Atrium Sacramentorum,* 1579 engraving. Source: Esteban J. Palomera, *Fray Diego Valadés, O.F.M., evangelizador humanista de la Nueva España: el hombre, su época y su obra,* Ciudad de México, 1988.

the Mexican monastery is generally considered to be unique and based on the Mesoamerican tradition.

The open-air atrium allowed the preservation of a vast spectrum of pre-Hispanic religious and cultural practices, with the exteriorization of the religious cult at the forefront.[12] It was a place for catechisms, sermons, liturgy, religious theatre or processions, markets or even burials, and it soon became a crucial place for the religious and social life of Native inhabitants. (Figure 30)

In order to cope with the lack of European artist and craftsmen and give the religious buildings artistic decoration, the missionaries founded conventual schools within the convents where they trained future indigenous artists and artisans. They acquainted them with Western artistic techniques and procedures (such as shading, modelling or lineal perspective) along with Christian imagery (such as the Cycle of the Passion of Christ and/or the Life of Virgin) and Ancient Greek and Roman imagery (such as the Sibyls and centaurs).[13] Thus the Indo-

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[12] See footnote 9.

[13] One of the most famous schools of this type was the conventual school of San José de los Naturales, which was established in Ciudad de México by the promoter of the artistic education in the New Spain Pedro de Gante, a Flemish

Christian art originated from the cooperation of missionaries, Native artists and craftsmen, who frequently continued to use (intentionally or not) their pre-Hispanic emblematic equipment such as symbols and glyphs (for example human steps, speaking scrolls, Mexican fauna and flora or toponyms) or techniques (such as hieratic perspective and profile view).

This paper is based solely on the study of two sets of 16th century New Spain mural paintings depicting religious processions. Both sets of murals have been preserved in former Franciscan convents located in two Central Mexico municipalities – Huaquechula and Huejotzingo.[14] The paintings represent an example of the 16th century Mexican art that has been variously labelled as colonial,[15] mestizo, *tequitqui* or Indo-Christian (Ch. Reyes-Valerio) and constitute a unique source of historical information.[16]

For most of the 20th century, historians displayed only a marginal interest in visual evidence. There was no change until the 1960s, when more and more historians (such as F. Haskell, R. Samuel, J. Burckhardt, J. Huizinga or Ph. Ariès) began to work with visual sources. This change in historians' approach to visual culture is referred to as the so-called pictorial turn (and/or iconic turn).[17] As Peter Burke, a British historian, pointed out in his book *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (2001) western historiography has frequently neglected visual evidence and/or studied documentary and visual sources separately and used visual

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Franciscan missionary, see DUVERGER, *Agua*, pp. 67-73; Constantino REYES-VALERIO, *Arte indocristiano*, Ciudad de México 2000, pp. 79, 106, 169, 201-202, 385, 408, 420-421, 432; Sebastián SANTIAGO (ed.), *El Arte iberoamericano del siglo XVI. Santo Domingo, Méjico, Colombie, Venezuela y Ecuador*, Madrid 1985, vol. 28, 1st part, p. 87; Manuel TOUSSAINT, *Arte colonial en México*, Ciudad de México 1965, pp. 20-23; Guillermo TOVAR DE TERESA, *Pintura y escultura en Nueva España (1557-1640)*, Ciudad de México, pp. 20-29.

[14] In 2013 I had the opportunity, due to support of the Mexican Government Scholarship for International Students, to carry out extensive field research during which I visited and documented 116 monasteries situated in Central Mexico (Ciudad de México, México State, Puebla State, Hidalgo State, Morelos State and Tlaxcala State), including Huaquechula and Huejotzingo. I had also visited and studied these two previously in 2010.

[15] The debate on an appropriate name for 'colonial art' is still not over, as shown by one of the largest and most important conference dedicated to Latin American art and its title 'XL Coloquio Internacioanal de la Historia del Arte. Mundo, imperios y naciones: la redefinición del 'arte colonial', which was held in Ciudad de México in 2016, see 'XL Coloquio Internacioanal de la Historia del Arte. Mundo, imperios y naciones: la redefinición del 'arte colonial' [online], *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, [consulted May 5, 2018], accessible from: http://www.esteticas.unam.mx/xl_coloquio_internacional_de_historia_del_arte.

[16] The term *tequitqui* art was coined by the Mexican historian and essayist José Moreno Villa in 1947. It referred to the work of Native artists and craftsmen performed under Spanish rule, see José MORENO VILLA, *La escultura colonial mexicana*, Ciudad de México 1986; *Vocabulario arquitectónico ilustrado*, Ciudad de México 1975, pp. 416-417. Recently, the term *tequitqui*, which is based on analogy with the mudéjar art as a vasal art, has been rejected and most frequently replaced by the notion 'indo-christian art' (from Spanish, *arte indocristiano*). This term was established in 1978 by Constantino Reyes-Valerio, a Mexican scholar of pre-Columbian Mesoamerican and colonial art, in order to stress the participation of Native artists and artisans in the artistic production of Spanish America during the colonial period, see REYES-VALERIO, *Arte*, esp. chap. VII, pp. 153-195. For the discussion on the appropriate terminology see also: Gauvin Alexander BAILEY, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, London 2005, pp. 79-97; Pablo ESCALANTE GONZALBO (ed.), *El arte cristiano-indígena del siglo XVI novohispano y sus modelos europeos*, Cuernavaca 2008.

[17] In 1994 two professors working independently of each other discovered the so-called pictorial turn of human sciences. While W.J.T. Mitchell, a North American art critic and theorist focusing on media theory and visual culture, introduced the term pictorial turn, Gottfried Boehm, a German art historian and philosopher, used the German expression *ikonische Wendung* (in English, iconic turn), both in relation to the term linguistic turn coined by the North American philosopher with Austrian origins Gustav Bergmann and promoted by his North American colleague Richard Rorty in his anthology *The Linguistic Turn* (1967). They suggested that visual evidence became an important part of our reality in the 1960s, since images surround us on an everyday level to such an extent that they influence our social reality and identity, and as such they should be documented and studied, see Gottfried BOEHM, *Was ist ein Bild?*, München 1994, pp. 11-38; W.J.T. MITCHELL, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago 1994, pp. 11-34.

evidence as mere illustrations and not as a source of historical information. Burke argues that the fact that the western historiography omitted visual evidence has led to a fragmentation of western knowledge of history, since the visual sources – representing social, political and other relationships – offer unique insight into the past ways of thinking.[18]

Western historiography of art has long underestimated the art of Latin America. Latin American Art has been conceived as derived, i.e., it was regarded as a part of the Spanish (or in general terms Occidental) tradition and studied without taking into the consideration its inner characteristics (such as presence of pre-Columbian artistic traditions, aesthetics, cultural syncretism or collective authorship, since many of colonial pieces of art were made by Native and mestizo artists and craftsmen): in brief, as if it lacked its own essence.[19]

In terms of methods, this paper is interdisciplinary.[20] It combines diachronic and synchronic perspective working with classical historical (such as source criticism, study of archival evidence) and art historical methods (such as E. Panofsky's iconographical and iconological analysis). It is based on the study of contemporary visual and documentary evidence (esp. chronicles and archival documents)[21] listed below and source criticism. The interpretation draws on iconographical and iconological analysis by Erwin Panofsky[22] together with theoretical concepts and notions of symbolic and interpretative anthropology embodied in particular by the North American anthropologist Clifford Geertz and his British colleague Victor Turner.

According to Cl. Geertz we understand culture as a public system of meaningful symbols, i.e., every cultural product or manifestation, whether it is a piece of art or a religious procession,[23] generates meanings and presents itself as a text, a discourse that can be read. Geertz distinguished between two different type of symbols – the 'models *of* reality' and the 'models *for* reality', where the 'models *of* reality' show men what the world is, the 'models *for* reality'

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[18] Peter BURKE, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Ithaca 2001, p. 12.

[19] For colonial art and further literature see Monika BRENIŠÍNOVÁ – Markéta KŘÍŽOVÁ – Kateřina BŘEZINOVÁ, *Dějiny umění Latinské Ameriky* [History of Art of Latin America], Praha 2018 esp. pp. 114-143, 124-141. For criticism of art historiography and terminology dealing with Mexican colonial art see Rie ARIMURA, 'Hacia una nueva historia del arte: desmitificación de los conceptos estilísticos del arte novohispano del siglo XVI', *Hispánica* 52, 2008, pp. 165-173; to which I reacted in: Monika BRENIŠÍNOVÁ, 'Sixteenth-century Mexican Monasteries and Art. An Anthropological Perspective', *Ethnologia Actualis* 1/18, 2018, pp. 93-124.

[20] For the concept of interdisciplinarity see the introduction of this book, pp. XX.

[21] As regards the contemporary written evidence, we can distinguish between two general groups thereof. While the first one was written by white European men (esp. regular and secular clergymen, royal and vice-royal officials, Spanish conquerors and colonizers), the second one was created by *tlacuilos*, native artists and scribes, who became – after the arrival of the Spaniards – part of the colonial administration. It turns out that while the first group of documents speaks more about the motives and imagery of the Spanish authorities, whether laic or religious, the second collection of documents offers testimony of the native worldview and imagery. In both cases the written evidence tells us more about the elites, Europeans and Natives (such as memoirs or *Títulos de los indios* etc.), since these documents frequently served their individual or broader political and ecclesiastical purposes, while the world of regular farmers, workers and craftsmen was neglected. Nor can we omit the fact that the *tlacuilos,* the native painter-scribes who created colonial *códices* had a Western education, were Christians, and that their works were mostly intended for the Spanish authorities. Eventually, we have to take into consideration the significant time lag along with the large number of mediators which stand between the reader and the author of the text (such as scribes, translators, editors, historians, etc.) and may distort described events, characters and phenomena.

[22] Erwin PANOFSKY, *El significado en las artes visuales*, Madrid 2000.

[23] Victor TURNER, 'Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors', in: idem, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca – London 1974, p. 32.

indicate how to live in it.[24] V. Turner conceived society as social drama. According to him each traditional society had two different contradictory and at the same time complementary modalities – structure and anti-structure or *communitas*.[25] On the threshold (*limes*) between these two modalities there arose a special space-time called *liminality*,[26] which was reserved for the people in a liminal position,[27] i.e., between two social statuses or roles (such as Christian/ pagan, monk/laic, etc.). It follows that liminality enables the transition of people from one social status or role to another and thus is essential for the smooth functioning of any human society.

Representations of Religious Processions in 16th Century New Spain Architecture. The Case of Huaquechula and Huejotzingo Mural Paintings

Two sets of 16th century Mexican monastic architecture mural paintings displaying the theme of religious processions have been preserved to this day: 1) one mural at the Huaquechula former monastery of San Martín; 2) and two murals at the Huejotzingo former monastery of San Miguel Arcángel. Both monasteries are to be found in the State of Puebla. They were built between 1530-1570. The paintings were created subsequently – in the last third of the 16th century at the command of the Franciscan order that came to this area in the 1530s. In both cases, friar Juan de Alameda is mentioned as the builder, but the question of his authorship and the extent of his participation in the building plans along with construction design and works is complicated due to the lack of documentary evidence.[28]

The first painting is located on the second story of the cloister of the former Franciscan monastery of San Martín in Huaquechula.[29] The painting appears on the lateral, southern wall

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[24] Clifford GEERTZ, *La interpretación de las culturas*, Barcelona 2003, pp. 52, 53, 88, 90-92.

[25] Whereas the structure represents a socially diversified, hierarchical society with clearly defined social, political, economic and other roles, rights and obligations, the anti-structure or *communitas* is a society based on equality and fraternity led by a group of high-ranking individuals, see Victor TURNER, *From Ritual to Theatre. The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York 1982, pp. 44-51, 58-59; idem, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago 1969, pp. 96-97, 125-130.

[26] V. Turner followed up the work of A. van Gennep and was inspired solely by his concept of rites of passages, in relation to which he developed the term *liminality*. For the literature see footnote below and also: TURNER, *From Ritual*, pp. 26-42, 52-59; idem, *The Ritual Process*, pp. 95-96.

[27] The notion of rites of passage (from French, *les rites de passage*) was introduced by A. van Gennep, French folklorist and ethnographer, in his book entitled *Les rites de passage: études systématiques des rites* (Paris 1909). Even though he did not offer any clear definition of rites of passages, he distinguished between three different stages of them: preliminary rites (separation), liminal rites (liminality) and postliminal rites (incorporation). Arnold van GENNEP, *Los ritos de paso*, Madrid 2008.

[28] According to George Kubler, the provisional monastery in Huaquechula, which was mentioned by the Franciscan chroniclers Toribio de Benavente Motolinía and later also Gerónimo de Mendieta, was built in the years 1529-1540. The building of the current monastery was constructed between the years 1550-1560. The church was likely intended to be completed in 1569 according to an inscription in Nahuatl which has been preserved on the outer wall of the apse. The monastery of Huejotzingo was founded shortly after the arrival of the Franciscans in Mexico and, together with Tlaxcala and Texcoco, was one of the most important monasteries in the region. According to John McAndrew two preliminary monasteries had been constructed there by 1523 and 1529. The building of the current monastery was likely intended to be constructed between the years 1544-1570. As regards the friar Juan de Alameda, J. McAndrew mentions that he probably participated in the design and construction of the churches of Huejotzingo, Huaquechula and Atlixco based on their architectural style, see KUBLER, *Arquitectura*, pp. 66, 155, 565-566; MCANDREW, *The Open-Air*, pp. 333-339; ESPINOSA SPÍNOLA, *Arquitectura*, pp. 186-187, 188-189; RICARD, *La Conquista*, pp. 157-158.

[29] Huaquechula is a Puebla State municipality located in the west. Before the arrival of Spaniards, it had been one of the most important settlements and after the Conquest it became one of the first bases of Franciscan expansion. As in pre-Columbian times, it came under the administration of Huejotzingo, whose inhabitants participated in the

Figure 31. *Penitential procession*, southern wall, 16th century mural painting. Franciscan former monastery of San Martín, Huaquechula, Puebla State, Mexico. Photo: Author's archive.

of a niche located in the passage. The painting is partially damaged. At the bottom it is framed by a so-called *pintura a lo romano*, a 16th-century New Spain name for a grotesque,[30] and from above by an illusory arcade. It is a polychrome mural, where the figures are executed in black and white colour and the background in brown, ochre, grey, blue and white tones. It depicts seven human figures wearing black and white habits with hoods (in alternating order), from which two leading figures at the right side are painted on the smaller scale and the remaining five on a larger scale. The procession participants are barefoot and walking on ochre-coloured ground under a nocturne sky with stars. Their robes are belted at the waist with a cingulum, the typical Franciscan cord. While the first two participants are holding candles, the leading participant of the five remaining large figures is grasping a wooden cross in one hand and a *flagellum* in the other and is scourging himself as well as his four companions (Figure 31)

The second set of mural paintings is to be found at the monastery church of the former Franciscan monastery of San Miguel Arcángel in Huejotzingo.[31] Two separate mural paintings with the same iconographic theme have been preserved there. Both paintings are severely damaged and executed in black and white with a touch of ochre. At the bottom they are framed by a thick black line, Franciscan cord and *pintura a lo romano*. The first mural is situated on the southern wall of the church nave and depicts almost the same scene as I have already described above. In addition, here we observe a group of barefoot human figures wearing

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construction of the monastery. For the literature see the previous note.

[30] The '*pintura a lo romano*' is described in *Decrees concerning painters and gilders* (1557) (from Spanish, *Ordenanzas de los pintores y doradores*), which were published in *Arte Colonial in México* by M. Toussaint, see TOUSSAINT, *Arte*, pp. 220-226.

[31] Huejotzingo is a Puebla State municipality located in the northwest. It was a former pre-Hispanic dominion which maintained its dominant position even after the arrival of Spaniards. For the literature See footnote 28.

Figure 32. *Penitential procession*, northern wall, 16th century mural painting. Franciscan fomer monastery of San Miguel Arcángel, Huejtozingo, Puebla State, Mexico. Photo: Author's archive.

black and white robes and walking on ochre-coloured ground, but now they are arranged in three rows. As the upper row is partially covered by a wooden late baroque altar frame, we can see only the lower half of human bodies with white hoods and bare feet. In the central line we notice seven complete figures and two only in part, as they are hidden behind the frame.[32] They are wearing black robes along with hoods and holding *Arma Christi.* The first complete figure is holding a cane, the second the nails, the third the tunic, the next the veil of Veronica, the fifth the dices, unfortunately the implement of the ensuing figure can't be determined, and the seventh is holding the thirty pieces of silver, the price of Judas' betrayal. The third, lower row depicts five figures painted on a larger scale grasping *flagellum* and two figures represented on a smaller scale. One of the higher figures is portrayed advancing and scourging him or herself while being pulled by two minor figures. (Figure 32) The third mural is situated on the opposite wall. As it is badly damaged, we can only recognize the outlines of the figure of Jesus Christ on the Cross surrounded by a group of black and white robed human figures. (Figure 33)

Both sets of murals that we have just seen show a procession with common elements, namely barefoot human figures in black and white robes and hoods, holding scourges and *Arma Christi,* walking in rows. These elements allow us to identify the represented scenes as the

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[32] In reality, the scene is more extensive and continues beyond the frame, unfortunately the rest of mural is in bad condition and the individual figures are barely distinguishable. For this reason, I limit myself to the part of the scene delimited by the baroque frame.

Good Friday procession (in Spanish, *procesión del Santo Entierro*) that has been celebrated in Huejotzingo and Huaquechula during the Holy Week on Good Friday since the arrival of the Franciscans. The procession of Good Friday commemorates the most dramatic moments of the Passion of Christ and culminate with the descent and placing of Jesus' body in the tomb as is represented in the last painting described.

The human figures are penitents – adults and children as we can infer from the different scale of their representation. The procession participants are represented with no evidence of their social status. On the contrary, the emphasis is on equality, which is stressed by the simple black and white robes, lack of attributes of social status, together with individual features of the faces hidden behind the hoods. As regards the identity of penitents, both settlements were then inhabited – in accordance with the state policy of the division of Viceroyalty of New Spain into the two Republics, Republic of Spaniards and Republic of Indians –[33] namely by Natives and Franciscan missionaries. And since the paintings were executed in the last third of the 16th century, we can infer that the penitents were native men, women and children.

The penitents are represented wearing simple monochromatic hoods and robes, a symbol of penance or conversion, tied with the Franciscan cord with three knots representing the foundations of Franciscan life instituted by San Francisco – obedience, chastity and poverty. Furthermore, some of them bear an embroidered cross embedded in a coat of arms on their chest. This fact, along with the study of local archival materials, allowed Susan Verdi Webster (an American art historian of colonial Latin American art) to identify the participants of both Huaquechula and Huejotzingo processions as members of the Vera Cruz confraternities.[34]

The Franciscans, who evangelized both studied settlements, implemented the western institution of confraternities among the indigenous populations[35] in order to organize their social and religious life. These fraternities ensured the spiritual and material attention of its members (both in life and after death) and were responsible for organizing processions. According to J. Lockhart, an American historian of colonial Latin America, the first confraternities founded at the initiative of the Natives began to emerge by the mid-16th

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[33] Ignacio BERNAL et al., *Historia general de México*, Ciudad de México 2000, pp. 254, 273.

[34] Susan VERDI WEBSTER, 'La cofradía de la Vera-Cruz representada en las pinturas murales de Huejotzingo. México', *Laboratorio de arte* 8, Sevilla 1995, pp. 61-72; idem, 'Art Ritual, and Confraternities in Sixteenth Century New Spain. Penitential Imagery at the Monastery of San Miguel, Huejotzingo', *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 19/70, Ciudad de México 1997, pp. 5-43. Nevertheless, Elena Estrada de Gerlero had identified the confraternity portrayed at Huejotzingo as the Santo Entierro confraternity. Comp.: Elena ESTRADA DE GERLERO, 'El programa pasionario en el convento franciscano de Huejotzingo', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 20, Hamburg 1983, pp. 643-662.

[35] The European confraternities have a long tradition whose roots goes back to the early Middle Ages. According to the Spanish historians such as José Sánchez Herrero or Germán Rubio, the activity of the Franciscans in the Holy Land was particularly important for the development of fraternities, the cult of the True Cross, processions and pilgrimages, see Germán RUBIO, *La Custodia Franciscana de Sevilla: sobre sus orígenes, progresos y vicisitudes (1220-1499)*, Sevilla 1953, pp. 665-668; José SÁNCHEZ HERRERO, 'El origen de las cofradías de Semana Santa o de Pasión en la Península Ibérica', *Temas Medievales* 6, 1996, pp. 31-79; idem, 'Las cofradías sevillanas. Los comienzos', in: José Sánchez Herrero et al. (eds.), *Las cofradías de Sevilla: historia, antropología, arte*, Sevilla 1985, pp. 9-34. For the institutionalization of confraternities in Colonial Mexico see Chareles GIBSON, *Los aztecas bajo el dominio español (1519-1810)*, Ciuadad de México 2012, p. 127; RICHARD, *La conquista*, pp. 181-182. For the issue of confraternities in Spanish colonial America, see María del Pilar MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ-CANO – Gisela von WOBESER – Juan G. MUÑOZ CORREA, *Cofradías, capellanías y obras pías en la América colonial*, México 1998; Héctor MARTÍNEZ DOMÍNGUEZ, 'Las cofradías en la Nueva España', *Primer Anuario*, Veracruz 1977, pp. 45-71.
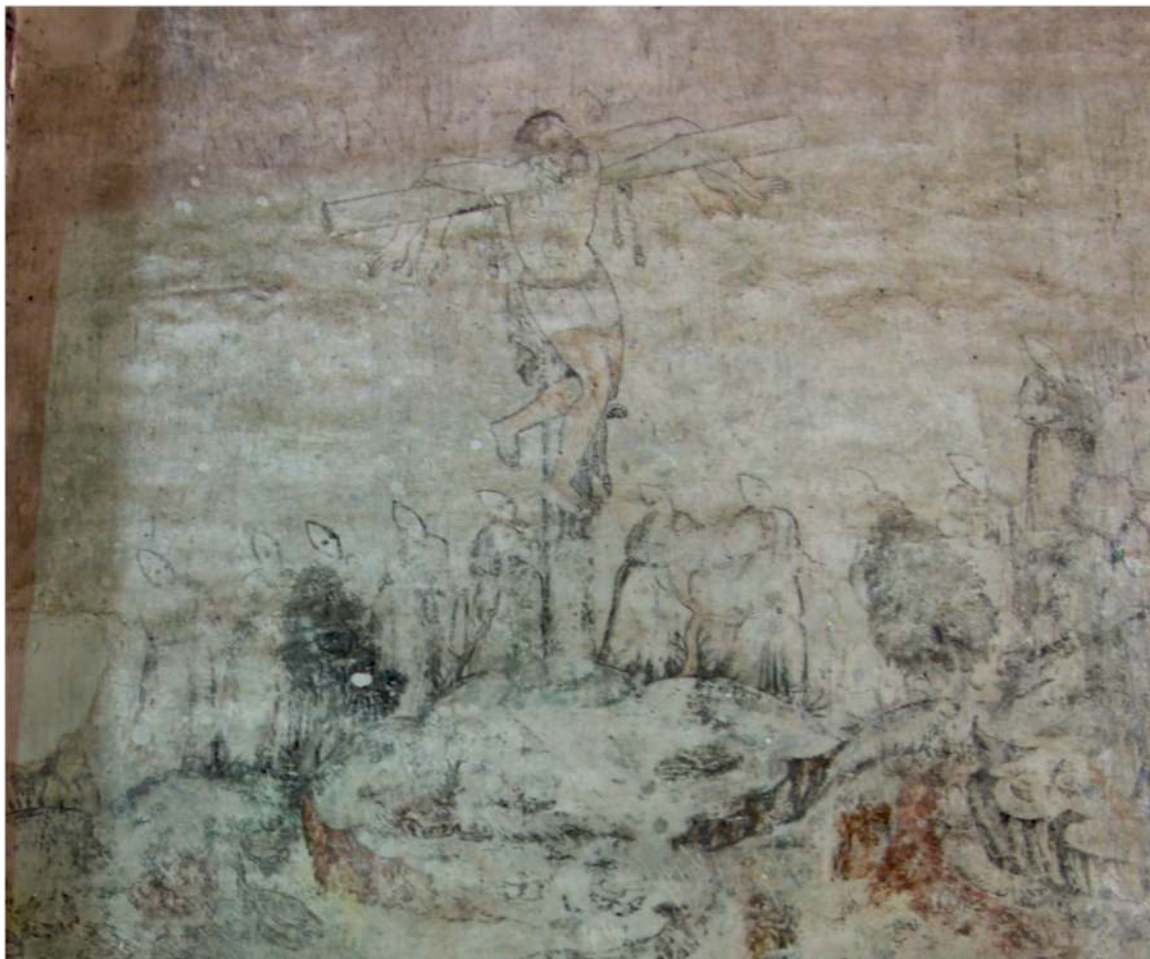
Figure 33. *Jesus on the Cross surrounded by a group of black and white robed penitents*, 16th century mural painting. Franciscan fomer monastery of San Miguel Arcángel, Huejtozingo, Puebla State, Mexico. Photo: Author's archive.

century, however their boom occurred only after 1570, which corresponds to the period when both sets of paintings were created.[36]

Lockhart places the development of this institution in the context of the decay of the traditional organization of Mesoamerican society. The truth is that the missionary orders intentionally used and replaced the Mesoamerican institution of *calpulli*[37] in order to facilitate the Christianisation of the Natives. Before the arrival of Spaniards, the Nahuas had been divided into four clan villages called *calpulli* according to the four cardinal points of the compass. Over time *calpulli* became the basic unit of Nahua social organization and city-states

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[36] James LOCKHART, *Los nahuas después de la conquista. Historia social y cultural de los indios del México central, del siglo XVI al XVIII*, Ciudad de México 2013, pp. 314-315.

[37] The term *calpulli* (in Nahuatl, 'large house') designates a Nahua society organizational unit referring to a city district, land holding or group of craftsmen. It comes from the original clan organization of Mesoamerican societies, see Yólotl GONZÁLEZ TORRES, *Diccionario de mitología y religión de Mesoamérica*, Ciudad de México 1995, pp. 33-34; Peter VYŠNÝ, *Štát a právo Aztékov* [State and Law of the Atztecs], Trnava 2012, pp. 26-33, 57-58, 101-102.

called *altepetl*.[38] Each *calpulli* had its own temple within ceremonial centre, was responsible for different religious tasks, and regularly performed processions to pay homage to their divine patrons.

With regard to the question of possible spectators of these paintings, we can infer that at least the church paintings were intended for all Huejotzingo inhabitants, i.e., the Spanish authorities along with missionaries and not only the Natives, who made up the majority of the local population. In the 1570s, the Natives already constituted the third generation of Catholics, the Spanish Crown and viceregal authorities began to consider the process of evangelization of Natives as accomplished and ceased support for the missionary orders. In consequence of the process of secularization of the New Spain Church, the missionaries were forced to leave their monasteries and hand them over to the secular clergy. The former monasteries became parishes, and atriums – designed to evangelize large numbers of Natives – began to lose their original purpose and gradually ceased to be used, in part due to the population decline of Native populations.[39]

The case of Huaquechula is more complicated, since the painting is located in the cloister, and there is no consensus among scholars about whether the Natives were allowed to enter it or not. While in the past the opinion that the cloister was intended solely for the needs of religious clergy prevailed, and hence the relation between *posa* chapels and *posa* niches situated in the four corners of inner patio was not been recognized (F. Guerrero, G. Kubler, J. McAndrew),[40] at present some researchers (P. Escalante Gonzalbo, A. Rubial García, R. H. Jackson, R. E. Phillips)[41] believe that the Natives entered the ground floor of the cloister regularly; and so not only in relation to the religious processions (the cloister itself is an

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[38] The term *altepetl* (from Nahuatl, *atl* – water and *tepetl* – mountain) means in Nahuatl 'mountain full of water' and denotes Nahua city-states, towns or villages, see Davíd CARRASCO, *Náboženství Mezoameriky. Kosmovize a obřadní centra* [Religions of Mesoamerica. Cosmovision and Ceremonial Centers], Praha 1998, p. 221; Peter VYŠNÝ, *Historicko-právne súvislosti dobytia Nového sveta Španielmi* [Historical and Legal Context of the Conquest of the New World by the Spaniards], Trnava 2015, pp. 106, 114-123.

[39] The number of the 16th century Huejotzingo population varies from author to author. It ranges from 35,000 to 200,000, and the most frequently cited figure is 80,000. The Native populations decreased in the course of the 16th century due to epidemics (1518-1521, 1531, 1545, 1555 and 1575) and high labor and tax demands by the Spaniards and Spanish authorities. The population of Huejotzingo together with the impact of different methods on resulting numbers, is studied by the German historian Günter Vollmer, see VOLLMER, 'Enfermedad y muerte en el México colonial o el intent de cuantificar las epidemias', in: José Jesús Hernández Palomo (ed.), *Enfermedad y muerte en América y Andalucía, siglos XVI-XX*, Sevilla 2004, pp. 65-69.

[40] Raúl FLORES GUERRERO, *Las capillas posas de México*, Ciudad de México 1951; KUBLER, *Arquitectura*, pp. 385, 430-440, 469-470; MCANDREW, *The Open-Air*, pp. 203-209, 211-219, 340, 341, 344, 346, 350, 493.

[41] BRENIŠÍNOVÁ, *Del convento*, p. 159-160; Samuel Y. EDGERTON, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico*, Albuquerque 2001, chap. II, esp. pp. 62-65; Pablo ESCALANTE GONZALBO – Antonio RUBIAL GARCÍA, 'Los pueblos, los conventos y la liturgía', in: Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo (coord.), *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México I. Mesoamérica y los ámbitos indígenas de la Nueva España*, p. 384; Robert H. JACKSON (ed.), *Evangelization and Cultural Conflict in Colonial Mexico*, Cambridge 2014, p. 112. The problem is that all these scholars rely on the work of R. E. Phillips, an American art historian, who argues in his paper entitled 'La participación...' – on the basis of Latin written sources – that Natives participated in the religious processions which were held outside the monasteries in atriums, as well as within the cloisters and churches, see Richard E. PHILLIPS, 'La participación de los indígenas en las procesiones por los claustros del siglo XVI en México', *Relaciones* 20/78, Ciudad de México 1999, pp. 227-250. The practice of religious processions held inside the cloister is described in: *Directorios de los conventos de Tecamachalco, Xochimico y Calimaya*, 1720-1723, BNAH-FF, vol. 48, 1299/A, 'Tercera Orden, cofradías de la cabecera, cofradías de los pueblos y Ermitas de Guadalupe y del Clavario', f. 22v. Some of the documents cited by R.E. Phillips can be studied in the Iberoamerikanisches Institut in Berlin, Germany. See, for example: LEUWIS, Dyonisius de (de Rickel), *Este es un co[m]pe[n]dio breve que tracta [de] la manera de cómo se ha[n] de hazer las p[ro]cessiones*, Ciudad de México: 1544.

analogy to the Stations of the Cross which are often depicted in the corner niches of the lower cloister),[42] but also with the need to keep the monastery going (such as ensuring supplies, cooking, economic and technical facilities such as water works, workshops, stables, gardens and orchards). And one should not overlook the fact that the cloisters used to serve as schools for children of the former Native aristocracy and/or a dormitory for Spanish travellers. Thus the picture of a monastery as an enclosed place designated solely for the needs of monks does not seem to be accurate.

The assumption that all the studied murals represent and are meant primarily for the eyes of the Natives[43] is supported by the colonial documentary evidence, which records the similar image of the religious processions described above. The religious processions organized by Native confraternities and European (and later also creole and mestizo) missionaries are recorded in many 16th and 17th century documents. The processions organized by the Natives were described, for example, by the Spanish colonist and later Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (c. 1484-1566) and by Franciscan missionary Toribio de Benavente, known as Motolinía (1487-1569). Of special interest is the work of the 17th century Nahua annalist Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, known as Chimalpahin (1579-1660), who describes the Easter processions held in Ciudad de México. Despite the fact that in 1612 the royal tribunal, the *Audiencia*, banned all the processions during the Holy Week in relation to the alleged African revolt, its text offers an interesting insight into the usual form of these processions:

> It was not permitted to go in procession even on Easter day, the day of Resurrection, either. Nor could any Spaniards or any commoners scourge themselves on any day of the said Holy Week. A fine was set for whomever they should arrest with a tunic; [...].[44]

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[42] As for example at Epazoyuacan, Atotonilco, Yecapixtla Acolman, Oaxtepec, Tepoztlan, Huejotzingo, Atlatlauhcan, Azcapotzalco, Ixmiquilpan, Actopan, Xochimilco, Metztitlan, Metepec, Alfayuacan, Ixmiquilpan, Calpulalpan, Coyoacan, Culhuacan, etc.

[43] The spectrum of early colonial society was relatively diverse. It turns out that people of different age, gender, social layer and/or ethnic group figured among the viewers, and they all could interpret the murals in different ways according to their social status etc. It follows that the terms Spaniards, missionaries or Natives are social constructs, mere ideal types which do not reflect the complexity of colonial society, but can serve us as a tool of historical analysis. For example, the Native population of Mesoamerica was characterized by great ethnic and linguistic diversity and began to understand and define itself as one people with common history and tradition only after the arrival of Spaniards in contrast with them. This process is called Indianization (from Spanish, indianización), see Salvador BERNABEU ALBERT – Christophe GIUDICELLI – Gilles HAVARD, *La indianización: cautivos, renegados, 'hommes libres' y misioneros en los confines americanos, (s. XVI-XIX)*, Aranjuez 2013, pp. 9-13.

[44] Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón CHIMALPAHIN CUAUHTLEHUANITZIN, James Lockhart – Susan Schroeder – Doris Namala (eds.), *Annals of His Time: Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, Stanford 2006, p. 217. Over time the Spaniards became increasingly afraid of colonial riots and rebellions (1611, 1612, 1624, 1697), especially in relation to the increasing number of African Americans and mestizos and the time of the Lent and Easter festivities. So in 1612 the *Audiencia* decided to suspend all Holy Week activities held in Mexico City, including processions, in relation to a conspiracy allegedly being prepared by blacks and mulattoes. For the subversive potential of Easter religious festivities, see Linda A. CURCIO-NAGY, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity*, Albuquerque 2004, esp. p. 5, 110-117. Motolinía described the Easter festivities, processions and disciplining and Corpus Christi procession held in Tlaxcala in 1538, see Toribio de Benavente MOTOLINÍA, Daniel Sánchez García (ed.), *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España. Escrita a mediados del siglo XVI*, Barcelona 1914, chap. 13, pp. 67-70, esp. 69, chap. 15, pp. 77-95, esp. 81. Bartolomé de las Casas described the Easter processions and the will of Christianised Natives to pay for their sins and confess, see Bartolomé de las CASAS, Juan Pérez de Tudela and Emilio López Oto (eds.), *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid 1957, p. 466.

The contemporaneous written evidence and its descriptions of Easter processions correspond with the representations of processions depicted on the studied sets of paintings and the costumes of the period, such as wearing habits with hoods, holding *Arma Christi* and scourging. These descriptions prove that religious processions were very popular among the Natives, both women and men. As wrote Motolinía: '[...] And at night they perform the discipline; all, both men and women.'[45]

Interpreting the Murals. A Picture of Early Colonial Society

The Catholic church used religious processions as a way to focus and direct popular religiosity. And the missionary orders employed them, as we have seen above, as one of the methods for evangelization and acculturation.[46] Processions including flagellation evolved in early medieval Europe as a way to prevent natural and other disasters such as wars, floods or earthquakes (by which God punished a sinful mankind), and likewise flagellation –consisting of the mortification of the flesh in remembrance of the Passion of Jesus Christ– was conceived as a ritual of penitence and a plea for forgiveness and purification of sins.[47] As R. H. Jackson, a North American historian who resides in Ciudad de México, remarks, it is very likely that the processions with flagellants were also seen in the same way in early colonial Mexico.[48]

However, in terms of Native religious beliefs, processions including flagellation could have another meanings and roles. In fact a significant number of pre-Columbian Mesoamerican religious practices and beliefs persisted alongside Catholicism in the course of the 16th century, as shown by the considerable range of idolatry uncovered by the Catholic Church in the course of the 16th century.[49] The inquisition found evidence of continued sacrifices to the

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[45] '[...] y a la noche hacen la disciplína; todos, así hombres como mujeres.' See, for example: MOTOLINÍA, *Historia*, p. 69.

[46] The term acculturation was coined by the polish ethnographer Bronislaw J. Malinowski in the 1920s and introduced to the general public in a work of North American anthropologist John Wesley Powell. It refers to the processes of cultural change caused by the contact of two or more autonomous cultures. Originally it was interpreted as a cultural change that occurs under the influence of the dominant culture. Later some anthropologists began to talk about transculturation in an effort to point out that acculturation is a bilateral process that causes changes in all the cultures involved. The concept of transculturation was anchored in the 1940s by Fernando Ortiz Fernández, a Cuban ethnologist, in order to re-establish the notion of acculturation, which he considered to be Eurocentric, see Fernando ORTIZ FERNÁNDEZ, Enrico Mario Santí (ed.), *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar: (advertencia de sus contrastes agrarios, económicos, históricos y sociales, su etnografía y su transculturación)*, Madrid 2002. For the concept of acculturation see Ralf BEALS, 'Acculturation', in: Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology Today. An Encyclopedic Inventory*, Chicago 1965, pp. 621-641; Nathan WACHTEl, 'La aculturación', in: Jacques Le Goff, Pierre Nora, *Hacer la Historia I Nuevos problemas*, Barcelona 1985, pp. 135-156. Despite the fact that I am aware of this dialogue, I am working in this study with the term acculturation, since it is firmly rooted in the scholarly literature.

[47] Flagellation was practiced on a large scale, for example, during the epidemics of the Black Death that devastated Europe in the 14th century. For flagellation, its historical and anthropological context in Medieval Europe, see Guy GEITNER, *Flogging Others: Corporal Punishment and Cultural Identity from Antiquity to the Present*, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 57-68.

[48] JACKSON (ed.), *Evangelization*, pp. 149-151. Also, Linda A. Curcio-Nagy – another North American historian of Latin America – mentions various similar cases, for example, the cult of Virgin of Remedios, who was perceived as a divine intercessor in time of drought or hunger, see CURCIO-NAGY, *The Great Festivals*, pp. 30-31, 76.

[49] Cases of native idolatry appeared throughout the 16th century. The most famous case became that of don Carlos of Ometochtzin, an honorable member of Acolhua nobility, who secretly continued the cult of his ancestors despite the fact that he was Christian and had received a western education. Some of these cases were described a century later by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón in his *Tratado de las supersticiones* (1629), see Hernando RUIZ DE ALARCÓN, *Tratado de las supersticiones* [on-line], Biblioteca virtual Miguel de Cervantes, [consulted 4th January 2018], accessible from: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/tratado-de-las-supersticiones-y-costumbres-gentilicas-que-hoy-viven-entre-los-indios-naturales-de-esta-nueva-espana--0/html/cf187f38-7e62-49f7-bcf3-71d3c710fe4e_2.htm.

old gods, especially to the rain and fertility deities *Tlaloc* and *Xipe Totec*,[50] whose cult was crucial to ensure the beginning of the rainy season, the return of rains and guarantee the crops. From this point of view, the procession appears to be a continuation of the pre-Hispanic tradition of festivities associated with *Xipe Totec* and petition for rains, which, before the arrival of Spaniards, had been celebrated in the second month of the Aztec ritual year, *Tlaxipehualiztli* (March 4-23), on the solar equinox before the beginning of the rainy season (Christian Easter is a moveable feast celebrated annually at the turn of March and April on the first Sunday after the spring equinox). Processions had formed an integral part of Mesoamerican religious life since the beginning of Mesoamerican cultures.[51] And according to the research of ethnologists and anthropologists among the contemporary indigenous communities, some of these pre-Columbian traditions and beliefs –especially those related to the processions and the critical divide between the rain and the drought– have been preserved to the present.[52]

Indeed, the architecture of the former Franciscan convent of San Martín de Huaquechula makes it possible to identify the solar equinox, an annual phenomenon that occurs between the 10 and 21 March and marks the beginning of the spring related to the cult of *Xipe Totec*.[53]

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[50] Nahuatl is an unstressed language, and from this reason the expressions coming from this native language without accents (such as *Tlaloc / Tláloc*) are written in this work without an accent. The practice of unstressedness is confirmed for example by Czech iberomaricanist Vendula Hingarová, see Vendula HINGAROVÁ, 'Indiánské jazyky v Mexiku', in: Vendula Hingarová – Sylvie Květinová – Gabriela Eichlová, (edd.), *Mexiko 200 let nezávislosti* [Mexico 200 Years of Independence], Červený Kostelec 2010, pp. 261-284.

[51] Traces of processions are to be found for example in many archaeological sites such as Teotihuacan or Monte Alban, processions are displayed on codex-style ceramics and evidenced by Mayan processional paths *sacbeob*. See e.g. *Vessel with procession scene*, 600-900 A. D [on-line], slip-painted ceramic, Guatemala, LACMA Collection, [consulted 25 may, 2018], accessible from: https://collections.lacma.org/node/1903385. Regarding the processions as an integral part of Mesoamerican religious life and tradition, see BRENIŠÍNOVÁ, *Del convento*, pp. 136-137; CARRASCO, *Náboženství*, pp. 116-119, 194-201; Kathryn REESE-TAYLOR, 'Ritual Circuits as Key Elements in Maya Civic Center Designs', in: Andrea Stone (ed.), *Heart of Creation: The Mesoamerican World and the Legacy of Linda Schele*, Tuscaloosa - London 2002, pp. 143-165.

[52] For the surviving pre-Hispanic traditions and their relationship to agriculture, see Johanna BRODA – Alejandra GÁMEZ ESPINOSA – Félix BÁEZ-JORGE, *Cosmovisión mesoamericana y ritualidad agrícola*, Puebla 2009. According to Davíd Carrasco, a Mexican-American historian, anthropologist and historian of religion of Mesoamerica, even contemporary Mayan Catholic processions comprehend a significant number of pre-Columbian motifs, see CARRASCO, *Náboženství*, pp. 116-19, 194-201. For the contemporary Guadalupe processions among Nahuatl speaking communities of Central Mexico, see Radoslav HLÚŠEK, 'Fiesta de la Virgen de Guadalupe en un pueblo nahua (ejemplo de Santa Clara Huitziltepec, Puebla)', in: Rogelio Martínez Cárdenas, *Turismo cultural y accesibilidad*, Universidad de Guadalajara, 2015, pp. 133-143; idem, 'La peregrinación como demostración de la devoción guadalupana de los indígenas mexicanos. Ejemplo de peregrinación con antorcha, Santa Clara Huitziltepec, Puebla', in: Rogelio Martínez Cárdenas, *Santuarios, fiestas patronales, peregrinaciones y turismo religioso*, Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2016, pp. 133-143. The fact that the Mesoamerican tradition of performing cosmological processions in honor of the rain and fertility deities has survived the conquest and intermingled with the Christian tradition into a new syncretic form is further demonstrated by the liturgical calendars of the 17th and 18th centuries that have been preserved in the Franciscan Fund of the Mexican National Library of Anthropology and History (from Spanish, *Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia*). The comparison of these calendars with the pre-Columbian ones proves that the Natives continued to celebrate their most important festivities related to sowing and harvesting maize together with the day of the patron saint associated with the land even after the conquest, and that the Franciscans intentionally adapted the Christian liturgical calendar and its main festivities to the local traditions. Since the limited scope of this chapter does not allow such extensive material to be cited, for the Franciscan liturgical calendars see my Ph.D. Thesis: Monika BRENIŠÍNOVÁ, *Del Convento al hombre. El significado de la arquitectura conventual y su arte en la Nueva España del siglo XVI* [on-line], (Ph.D. Thesis), Prague 2016, [consulted 10th February 2018], accessible from: https://dspace.cuni.cz/bitstream/handle/20.500.11956/1428/IPRT_2013_1_11210_0_343415_0_146389.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y, p. 95.

[53] The sunlight crosses one of the corridors of the cloister and illuminates it completely. Data obtained from the local museum employers on June 21, 2013. Furthermore, there is also a pre-Columbian relief representing a warrior with a mask of the god Tlaloc embedded in the church walls, which testifies rather than to the continuing cult of this deity to the fact that the monasteries were built on the site of the former Mesoamerican pyramids.

After all, the relation between rain and crops on one side and processions and flagellation on the other is confirmed by Motolinía's own words:

> [...], in one year there was a drought in the whole country, [...], and they were sent in procession, scourging themselves, [...]and that with all devotion they asked God for water, [...]. [...] and returned from the procession, when they came to the monastery, it began to rain, and from then onwards it had rained until the maize seeded, and that was the year of great harvest.[54]

From the Christian point of view, the practice of organizing religious processions structured the liturgical year and acted as a reminder of important moments in the History of Salvation. If the armed conquest and later colonization meant the capture of the space, the spiritual conquest signified the seizure of the time. In the Christian worldview, time is predominantly lineal, it goes from the birth to the death on the individual level and from the Creation through the life and death of Jesus Christ to the Day of Last Judgment on the global one. On the contrary, in the Mesoamerican cosmovision, time passed cyclically, and the processions were seen as the creation of a cosmogram, i.e., as a way to restore space and time and keep the world going. Whereas in the Christian worldview the supreme value and authority of the world was represented by God, who exists beyond the reach of humanity, condemned to the live on an earth divided between the forces of good and evil, which were constantly struggling over the human souls, and thus man had no influence over the fate of the world, in the Mesoamerican cosmovision it was exactly the opposite. In the Mesoamerican worldview, the world was in the hands of competing gods, and the main mission of man was to maintain a balanced relationships with deities and natural forces in order to preserve the harmony and prevent the end of the world. Thus processions were conceived as a way to please the gods, restore time and space, and preserve the world.

The practice of making processions in 16th century New Spain made it possible to unify the Christian linear and Mesoamerican cyclical concepts of time, as evidenced for example by the atrio of the nearby former Franciscan monastery of San Andrés in Calpan, whose *posa* chapels are preserved in exceptionally good condition. The four *posa* chapels represented four different stages of the History of Salvation: the chapel of Virgin Mary the sacred past, the chapel of San Francisco the historical present, the chapel of San Miguel Arcángel the impending end of the world and the chapel of San Juan de Evangelista the expected future in the form of the kingdom of the heaven. From the Christian point of view, processions embodied the History of Salvation, enabled the participants to go through its different stages and become part of the sacred historical drama. On one hand this religious practice straightened the lineal perception of time, and on the other it simultaneously allowed a certain continuity with the pre-Hispanic perception of time as a repetitive cycle. The atrium and its quadrangular organisation embodied the pre-Columbian cosmovision and the division of the agricultural year into four seasons and two main seasons: the rainy and the dry season.

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[54] '[...], hubo un año gran seca en toda la tierra, [...], y mandóles fuesen en procesión, azotándose, [...] y que con toda devoción pidiesen a Dios agua, [...]. [...] y vueltos de la procesión, en llegando al monasterio comenzó a llover, y de allí adelante siempre llovió hasta que granó el maiz, y fué aquel año de mucha cosecha.' (Author's translation.) MOTOLINÍA, *Historia*, p. 25 and further also p. 69.

So processions facilitated orientation in the agricultural year, influenced the supernatural forces, and ensured the continuance of the world.[55]

From the anthropological point of view, the practice of making religious processions represents not only a religious ritual, but also a social drama, where social relationships are (re)produced and individual and social identities shaped. Religious processions are a unique tool enabling the transmission from I to we, from individual to collective, and as such they contributed to the formation of early colonial society's identity. They are a collective demonstration of faith and obedience to the authorities which goes beyond the will and the consciousness of the individual, where the individual self and body cease to exist and become part of many other social bodies shaped by the dominant culture and its categories.

The paintings studied bear witness to the organization and functioning of early colonial society, as well as the roles and duties of its different social layers. For the Natives they represented the 'model *of* reality' and showed them (and us) how the early colonial world was organised and what their position within it was. The murals display the indigenous members of the procession as part of an anti-structured, indistinguishable mass of penitents, without the insignia of power and/or social status. They represent a *communitas*, a community of Natives related by the religion (on the religious level the penitents became part of the Church as the Body of Christ experiencing the same passion as Jesus Christ) together with the affiliation to the same fraternity, their equality and brotherhood being emphasised. At the same time, the paintings constituted the 'model *for* reality', indicating to the Natives what the colonial society expected of them and offering them appropriate patterns of behaviour. They reflected the organization of early colonial society, which was legally divided into two republics – the Republic of Indians and the Republic of Spaniards - and where the Natives and mestizos were supposed to live in the country and supply the Spaniards who lived mainly in the cities. In brief, whereas the community of Natives should remain humble, the society of Spaniards was richly socially stratified and had access to power and sacredness – in this case intermediated by the regular clergy. Such an arrangement certainly has its advantages, especially in times of transformation and change, but it also possess a significant subversive potential, since the horizontal power of the *communitas* is not only formative but also empowering, which was after all noticed by the Spanish authorities themselves when they later began to ban religious processions and festivities because of the anonymity and egalitarianism that they offered. After all, the subversive potential of horizontal power and communities is demonstrated by the process of the secularization of the Catholic Church in New Spain and the relocation and/or expulsion of the missionary orders to the marginal areas (such as the North and the South of New Spain).

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[55] The rectangular ground plan of atrios with an atrial cross in the middle reflected a universal image of a world divided into four points of the compass and a center – a *quincunx*. The processions moved counterclockwise and served as a cosmological religious ceremony, since with their movement during the processions as they progressed from one chapel to another the Natives formed a cosmograph and believed that when the procession reached the last chapel, the circle was closed and the world restored (the location of the altars and the sculptural decoration of the chapels corresponds to the direction of movement). For more information about the organization of atrio and its roles and meanings see Monika BRENIŠÍNOVÁ, *Význam představ o konci světa v procesu dobývání a kolonizace Ameriky [The Significance of Ideas About the End of the World in the Process of Conquest and Colonization of America]*, (Master Thesis), Prague 2011, pp. 90-97.

Conclusion

To sum up, for the missionary orders the processions were a tool to channel indigenous religiosity and incorporate it into the Western tradition. The missionary orders allowed the Natives to integrate into colonial society by adopting the Christian faith and traditional Christian institutions, such as confraternities and penitential processions accompanied by flagellation. At the same time, they permitted the persistence of the Mesoamerican cosmovision based on the cultivation of the maize and agricultural year divided between the wet and dry season in order to facilitate in them the acceptance of the new faith. Furthermore, religious processions were meant to represent and strengthen the prevailing contemporaneous status quo, in this case, the organisation of early colonial society based on the opposition of the Republic of Indians and Republic of Spaniards, where the Natives were meant to ensure the economy of the Spanish (overseas) Empire.

Chapter V

The Monastic Translation Seen Through the Current Perspective

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Abstract

The importance of studying the translations, dictionaries and other works of the Spanish missionaries is based not only in their translation practice. Although they did not leave any explicit theoretical description, several concepts important from our current perspective can be deduced from their work, as e. g. the problem of the sources of the work of translator / interpreter, institutional translation, intersemiotical translation, problem of gender, etc.

Keywords

monastery translation; translation studies; sourced of the work of translator / interpreter; institutional translation; intersemiotical translation; problem of gender.

Introduction

In recent decades, translation theory has been looking for a way to renew its methods, seizing on accomplishments and topics that have been marginal in previous times.[1] It is from there that, among other phenomena, the importance of the study of monastic translation is one of the topics that were outside the experts' interests not only in translation studies but in cultural historical studies as well. This paper aims to outline the study of several aspects of the monastic transfer and its relationship with concepts and notions from current translation studies.

Monastic and Missionary Transfer within the History of Translation

The study of translation in the monastic and missionary field is relatively rare within the area of research in translation studies, even though this kind of transfer has a lasting tradition that has not always been recognised. For example, Constantine the Philosopher, whose comments on Greek and Slavic translations from his time are considered only as 'the first testimony on conscious work on a language.'[2]

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[1] José LAMBERT, 'The Languages of translation. Keys to the Dymanics of Culture', in: , Micaela Muñoz-Calvo – Carmen Buesa-Gómez (eds.), *Translation and Cultural Identity: Selected Essays on Translation and Cross-cultural Communication*, Newcastle 2010, p. 40.

[2] Petr KARLÍK – Marie KRČMOVÁ – Jana PLESKALOVÁ – Radoslav VEČERKA, *Kapitoly z dějin české jazykovědné bohemistiky* [Chapters from the History of Czech Linguistic Bohemian Studies], Praha 2007, p. 311.

As another example, the magnanimous work from Czech history on translation and translation studies,[3] *České teorie překladu* [Czech Theories on Translation], published in 1956, omits, in most cases, the religious background of the translators and the authors of the corresponding commentaries. This situation is almost the same as the one that comes up fifty years later, in 2008,[4] where references to the religious orders are also scarce, without referring to the missionary translation.

Regarding works that study religious orders from a historical focus, there arises a similar situation: references to translative activity are scarce and, furthermore, are implicit. When works about two of the most studied religious orders in Spain (Franciscan and Dominican) currently being studied are analysed, even though there is a strong emphasis on cultural history, the scarcity in references in literature in general and in translation studies in particular is revealed.

Referring to the Franciscans,[5] Hlaváček[6] on the one hand defines language as a symbol for national identity. But, on the other hand, when he mentions the contributions of the Franciscan Jan Bosák Vodňanský (Johannes Aquensis) as the author of the Lactifer (Latin-Czech dictionary), published in 1511 and considered the first Czech printed dictionary, he does not take into account its possible translative activity, though in the prologue of this work Aquensis promotes the idea that the expressive qualities in Czech are equal to the ones from the Latin language, and that 'there are no Greek and Latin books that cannot be put into Czech.'[7] This point of view will not only reappear as one of the impulses for translation activity during the Czech National Awakening at the end of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century; it will also be considered as a seed within the reflection in the theoretical concepts of Translation Studies.

With regard to the Dominicans, references to possible translative activities turn out to be more discrete: linguistic deficiencies are mentioned as one of the causes for the decline of the order's preferences compared with others, and as a phenomenon that prevented Dominicans from occupying high positions within Czech convents.[8] Furthermore, activities within the area of escorting illustrious visitants are mentioned, and can be considered as implicit references to interpreting.

The situation turns out to be completely different in the Spanish speaking area. In recent decades, works and research dedicated to the monastic and missionary topic are emerging in

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[3] Jiří LEVÝ, *České teorie překladu* 1, 2 [Czech Theories on Translation 1, 2], Praha 1996 [1957].

[4] Jiří ČERNÝ – Jan HOLEŠ, *Kdo je kdo v dějinách české lingvistiky* [Who is who in the Czech linguistic history], Praha 2008.

[5] Petr Regalát BENEŠ – Petr HLAVÁČEK – Ctirad POSPÍŠIL, *Františkánství v kontaktu s jiným a cizím* [Franciscanism in Contact with the Other and the Foreign World], Praha 2009; Petr HLAVÁČEK, *Čeští františkáni na přelomu středověku a novověku* [The Czech Franciscans in between the Middle and New Ages], Praha 2005.

[6] Ibidem.

[7] '*není těchto knih žádných řeckých ani latinských, aby v český jazyk obráceny býti nemohly.*' HLAVÁČEK, *Čeští františkáni*, pp. 76-77.

[8] Milan BUBEN, *Encyklopedie řádů, congregací a řeholních společností katolické církve v českých zemích* [Encyclopaedia of Orders, Congregations and Religious Societies of the Catholic Church in Bohemian Lands], Praha 2006; Tomáš ČERNUŠÁK – Augustin PROKOP – Damián NĚMEC, *Dominikáni v českých zemích* [Dominicans in Bohemians Lands], Praha 1996, p. 104; Jakub ZOUHAR, *Česká dominikánská provincie v raném novověku* [The Dominican Czech province in the early Modern Age], Praha 2010.

which the main goal is to analyse the topics related to translative activity from the different religious orders. The group MHISTRAD, which works in Spain, aims to 'give value to the role of translation role, as well as to the translators, in the history of cultural relations within the Hispanic context in which we move and interact, specifically within the Hispanic American one.'[9] Other works come out as a result from different research projects.[10] The importance of these topics can also be confirmed by specialists from other countries, from Europe as well as from Latin America.[11] We can take the Dominican translators as an example, to whom by an equally important and controversial tradition refers: the one from the Toledo School of Translators[12] (Escuela de Traductores de Toledo, in Spanish). Several activities are related to evangelisation: Raimundo de Peñafort, educated at the University of Bologna, founded the studium of Arabic language school the school for the study of Arabic languages in Tunis (1245) and Murcia (1266) to facilitate the conversion of Muslims. In addition, translations were not limited only to Spanish:[13] for example, in the Kingdom of Valencia, as early as during the fourteenth century, the friar Antoni Canals stands out for his translations and adaptations of classical works into Catalan.

In the Golden Age (*Siglo de Oro*) it is worth mentioning the School of Salamanca, which can be recognised in the works of several Spanish and Portuguese friars as university professors, but it is the intellectual and pedagogical work of the theologian Francisco de Vitoria which stands out.

A great impulse for the development of linguistic and translative activities in the monastic area was given by the voyages of discovery and the conquest of overseas territories, especially and above all, those related to America. ('They were always the companion language of the Empire', as Nebrija wrote in the Prologue of his Grammar[14]):

> [...] the translation, both of the 'Ancient Indians' as well as the one on the 'accounts' of the Conquest or of classical works, has been present from the first moment, either from the hands of the colonisers or the missionaries, or from the hands of the Creoles already settled in the resulting mestizo culture.[15]

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[9] Grupo de Investigación Histrad [on-line], Universidad de Alicante, [consulted 2 January, 2018], accessible from: https://web.ua.es/es/histrad/quienes-somos/.

[10] In the last years, the National Research Project (*Proyecto Nacional de Investigación*), financed by the Spanish Government. Ref.: FFI2014-59140-P 'Catalogación y estudio de las traducciones de los dominicos españoles e iberoamericanos', led by Antonio BUENO-GARCÍA (2015-2018).

[11] Klaus ZIMMERMANN, 'Translation for colonization and christianization. The practice of the bilingual edition of Bernandino de Sahagún.', in: O. Zwartjes – K. Zimmermann – M. Schrader-Kniffki (eds.), *Missionary Linguistics/ Lingüística Misionara V: Tranlation Theories and Practice*s, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 85-112; works from members of MHISTRAD.

[12] Julio César SANTOYO, *Historia de la Traducción: viejos y nuevos apuntes*, León 2008, pp. 28-102; idem, 'Cuando Oriente llegó a Occidente: La traducción en España,siglos XII y XIII. Mitos y realidades', *AUC Philologica – Translatologica Pragensia* 2/2011, Praha 2011, p. 52; idem, 'Vraťme se ještě jednou k Tostadovi', in: P. Vavroušová (ed.), *Sedm tváří translatologie*, Praha 2013, pp. 19-20.

[13] Julio César Santoyo, *La traducción medieval en la Península Ibérica* (*siglos III-XV*), León 2009, pp. 127-128.

[14] Antonio de NEBRIJA, *Prólogo a la gramática de lengua española* [on-line], [consulted 2 Januray, 2017], accessible from: https://www.ensayistas.org/antologia/XV/nebrija/.

[15] Miguel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA, 'La traducción, génesis y núcleo de la literatura hispano-americana. Cuatro calas en el mestizaje literario de la Colonia: Historia General de las cosas de las Indias, Diálogos de Amor, Popol Vuh y Ollantay', *AUC Philologica – Translatologica Pragensia*, Praha 2011, p. 63.

Another important issue in studying the history of monastic translation is the role played by the translations carried out by Spanish monks during the period of the struggle for independence.[16] It is not surprising that these two events, the Conquest and the struggle for independence, are marked as 'stellar moments of Latin American translation'.[17]

Furthermore, one can, in the Czech environment, add the relative scarcity of knowledge of Hispanic conceptions among specialists in general and the almost absolute absence of works dedicated to translative activity in the monastic and missionary areas. As a sign of the intention to fill in the gap in this area of knowledge and open a rare focus on Czech research, two representative texts of missionary translation have been translated: the study *El espíritu religioso y patriótico en la traducción. La obra de fray Vicente Solano* by Antonio Bueno-García,[18] and the work *Apuntes sobre Translatio en los saberes curativos en América* by Martha Pulido.[19] The big picture would be incomplete without mentioning the newly defended master's works dedicated to the role played by translation and interpretation during the discovery and conquest of America and the constitution of Latin American cultures.[20]

Monastic and Missionary Translation and Current Research

Going back to the current perspective on the topics related to translation from different religious orders, it is worth pointing out the following aspects and topics that characterise actual translation studies:

1. The importance of the empirical base, which is shaped within meticulous work with documental sources.
2. The importance of peritexts.
3. Monastic translation as 'institutional translation'.[21]
4. The introduction of new concepts within the theory of translation and/or the redefinition of traditional concepts.
5. The translator's visibility.
6. Intersemiotic translation (drawings and comics used for evangelisation).
7. The study of gender and translation.

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[16] Miguel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA, 'Momentos estelares de la traducción en Hispanoamérica', *Mutatis Mutandis* 6/1, Medellín 2013, p. 29; Antonio BUENO-GARCÍA, 'El espíritu religioso y patriótico en la traducción. La obra de fray Vicente Solano', in: Miguel Angel Vega Cernuda (ed.), *Traductores hispanos de la orden franciscana en Hispanoamérica*, Lima 2012, pp. 225-248.

[17] VEGA CERNUDA, 'Momentos', p. 22.

[18] Antonio BUENO-GARCÍA, 'Náboženský a vlastenecký duch překladu. Dílo řádového brantra Vicenta Solana.', in: Vavroušová (ed.), *Sedm tváří*, pp. 97-122.

[19] Martha PULIDO CORREA, 'Přenos (translatice) latinskoamerického léčitelství a několik překladatelských poznámek', in: P. Vavroušová (ed.), *Překlad jako most mezi kulturami*, Praha 2015, pp. 63-52.

[20] Simona ŠLOSÁROVÁ, *Rola prekladu pri dobývaní Južnej Ameriky a konštituovaní latinskoamerickej kultúry* [The Translation in Latin American Culture Formation], (Master Thesis), Praha 2017; Martina CIMFLOVÁ, *Role překladatelů a tlumočníků při dobývání Latinské Ameriky* [The role of translators and interpreters in the conquest on Latin America], (Master Thesis), Praha 2018.

[21] Idea taken from a personal conversation with PhDr. Tomáš Svoboda, PhD. from the Translation Institute, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague.

Research Empirical Base

Since the history of monastic translation lacks explicit theoretical descriptions, except from the peritexts (prologues, commentaries, epilogues, footnotes) that accompany the translated works, the research starts by cataloguing existing works and their interpretation, a procedure that entails several impulses for future translation research.

In this case, the importance lies in the study of the chronicles and material that offer multiple translative perspectives, which can be seen as a result of the translation, either explicit or implicit, of several 'documentary writings written in one or other languages',[22] either as a source of data on the people who performed the tasks of intercultural communication in those respective historical periods. Therefore, it is logical that the first step to unveil the translation and lexicographical work by religious writers is a general cataloguing of their works and other textual sources; an attitude that allows an analysis of the history of translations, and a study of them being conducted from a philological, thematic and translative perspective.

The Importance of Peritexts

Peritexts (commentaries, prologues, epilogues, footnotes, dedications) represent one of the few sources available to analyse the vision of the transfer from the translator's part, and its current importance for the study of the subject is undeniable. Constantine the Philosopher[23] and Aquensis[24] have already been quoted as examples in the Bohemian territory. But research on monastic translation offers other samples that prove the importance of the textual genres mentioned. It should be noted that traditional linguistics and/or philology tend to reduce their importance to a simple linguistic comment, leaving aside their importance as a testimony of the vision of intercultural communication in the respective stage of the evolution of the respective culture.

On the other hand, we must bear in mind that comments sometimes accompany texts that are not properly translated, but are only lexicographic or grammatical works, etc. As an example, we can mention Domenico de Santo Tomás, whose *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los Reynos del Perú (1560)*, is still considered as the basis for Quechua studies, as the author states in the prologue,[25] dedicated to Felipe II:

> '[...] la gran policia que esta lengua tiene, la abundancia de vocablos, la conveniencia que tiene con las cosas que significan, las maneras diuerfas y curiofas de hablar. El fuave y buen tono al oydo de la pronunciacion Della, la facilidad para efcribirfe con nueftros caracteres y letras [...] el eftar ordenada y adornada con propiedades del nombre, modos, tiempos y perfonas del verbo. Y brevemente en muchas cosas y manera de hablar, tan conforme a la latina y española [...] no bárbara, que quiere dezir (fegún

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[22] Miguel Angel VEGA CERNUDA, 'Lenguas, farautes y traductores en el encuentro de los mundos. Apuntes para una historia de la comunicación lingüística en la época de los descubrimientos en la América protohispana', *Hieronymus Complutensis* 11, Madrid 2004, p. 106.

[23] KARLÍK – KRČMOVÁ – PLESKALOVÁ – VEČERKA, *Kapitoly*, p. 311; VEGA CERNUDA, 'Farautes' p. 101.

[24] HLAVÁČEK, *Čeští Franitiškáni*, pp. 76-77.

[25] Pilar MARTINO ALBA, 'Las aportaciones lingüísticas y literarias de fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, O.P.: de la traducción sin original textualizado a las fuentes documentales', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, Medellín 2015, pp. 8-27.

Quintiliano, y los demás latinos) llena de barbarifmos y de defectos, fin modos, tiempos ni cafos, ni orden, ni regla, ni concierto, fino muy polida y delicada fe puede llamar.'[26]

Furthermore, the attention paid to peritexts proves another characteristic from the monastic and missionary translation, recognised centuries later: when indigenous oral texts were fixed and recovered for future generations, they also left testimonies from languages whose traces could have been lost forever.

It would be unfair not to devote the attention it deserves to the thesaurus presented at the end of certain religious texts, since 'the linguistic disposition of these sections (Spanish-native language) suggests, as a user, a non-perfectly bilingual educator who may need the support of this information for the handling of the didactic material.' [27] This sentence becomes another inspiring subject for the current research.

Monastic Translation as 'Institutional Translation'

The concept of institutional translation seems to be relatively modern and usually relates primarily to linguistic mediation (translation and interpretation) for public administration and international institutions.

It should be noted that the main objective of monastic and missionary translation was evangelisation, a phenomenon that to some extent influenced the choice of texts that should be transmitted to the Indians. Occupying a premier role among them were the catechisms[28] and confession manuals.[29]

It is worth emphasising another characteristic of Spanish evangelisation: as it walked hand in hand with education, it took place first of all in the convents, without a strong translative component. The chronicles preserve several names of the natives who participated in the formation of their co-religionists, a principle endorsed by the Crown itself. The researcher defines it in his study as the manifestation of an antecedent of modern 'institutional translation'.

On the other hand, the different religious orders had differences in the methods of evangelisation, another feature that corresponds to the characteristics of the institutional translation:

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[26] ('[...] the great clarity that this language has, the abundance of words, the convenience it has with the things it means, the diverse and curious ways   of talking. The soft and good tone of the Della pronunciation, the ability to write with our characters and letters [...] is ordered and adorned with properties of the name, moods, tenses and periods of the verb. And briefly in many things and manners of speaking, so conforming to the Latin and [...] non barbaric Spanish, who wants to say (according to Quintiliano, and the other Latinos) full of barbarisms and defects, without modes, times nor cases, nor order, nor rule, nor concert, fine and very polished and delicate faith can call.') (Translated by L.R. González.) This is the literal translation of the text above. It has to be noted that the original is written in Old Spanish. Ibidem, p. 17.

[27] Laura PÉREZ ARREAZA – Georges L. BASTIN, 'Las traducciones franciscanas en Venezuela: entre la práctica y la teoría', in: Miguel Angel Vega Cernuda (ed.), *Traductores* , Lima 2012, p. 80.

[28] Ibidem, p. 77.

[29] Martha PULIDO CORREA, 'El *Catecismo* (1576) de Fray Luis Zapata de Cárdenas, traducción cultural: tentativa de comprensión de la historia cultural y religiosa de Colombia', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, Medellín 2015, pp. 148-162.

> En efecto, [...], o, hubo dos tendencias ideológicas frente a la cultura aborigen durante la época inicial de la evangelización: la suspicaz frente a lo indígena, propia de los dominicos y de los agustinos, y la conservadora, partidaria de adaptar y elevar al contacto de la nueva cultura todo lo que pudiera ser susceptible de ennoblecimiento.[30]

The interventions by the authorities in the translating activity can be considered a sign of the institutional nature of the monastic and missionary translation. The will of the friars and missionaries to 'divulge' the biblical text awakened the interest of the Inquisition and the development of a progressively restrictive regulation until the elaboration of an index of prohibited books, in which 'all Bibles' in our vulgar (vernacular) were prohibited or in any other translation in whole or in part, which is not in Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek or Latin ('*prohibía toda Biblia en nuestro vulgar o en qualquier otro traduzido en todo o enparte, como no este en Hebraico, Chaldeo, Griego o Latin*'.)[31]

Another proof of possible external interventions, although indirect, lies in the evaluation of Bernardino de Sahagún's attitudes, considered a sign of self-censorship in translation: 'it is obvious that, if he himself [Sahagun] judged certain habits as false and heretic or as teachings of the devil, what could he expect from the Crown and the Church? His desire, as we have already said, was to preserve the Indians from the atrocious punishment of both authorities.'[32]

Introduction of New Theoretical Concepts

Given the characteristics of the monastic and missionary translation exposed so far, it is evident that the redefinition of several concepts of traditional translation and/or study of several known topics and concepts from new points of view is indispensable. In this field, there are several specific observations, such as the comparison of the Mayan pictographs with the taking of notes in the interpretation that followed them, until the definition of new concepts and the redefinition of traditional notions takes place.[33]

The Notion of Cultural Translation

As has already been pointed out, the monastic and missionary translation had to deal not only with linguistic and philological problems, but also with all those derived from cultural differences between the two communities. This is the reason why monastic and missionary translative activities have always had a strong socio-anthropological and aesthetic component,[34] a phenomenon that goes far beyond the vision of translation as a

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[30] ('Indeed, [...], there were two ideological tendencies in front of the aboriginal culture during the initial period of evangelisation: the distrustful in front of the indigenous people, charachteristic of the Dominicans and the Augustinians, and the conservative, in favor of adapting and elevaing to the point of contact with the new culture, everything that could be susceptible of ennoblement.') (Translated by L.R. González.) Miguel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA, 'Cuatro calas', p. 63; idem, 'Entre lingüística, antropología y traducción: la escuela franciscana de evangelización en Méjico', in: idem (ed.), *Traductores*, p. 32.

[31] ('any Bible in our vulgar or in any other translation in whole or in part was prohibited, which is not in Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek or Latin'.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Beatriz ARACIL VARÓN, 'Las Sagradas Escrituras en el teatro evangelizador franciscano de la Nueva', in: idem (ed.), *Traductores*, p. 158.

[32] Tomás SERRANO CORONADO, 'El silencio del traductor', *Mutatis Mutandis* 6/1, Medellín 2013, p. 124.

[33] VEGA CERNUDA, 'Farautes', p. 103.

[34] PULIDO CORREA, 'El catecismo', p. 150; MARTINO ALBA, 'Las aportaciones', p. 8.

simple interpretation between two languages, that respects the culture of the place where it arrives, highlighting the role of the context in which communication takes place between the two cultures, the native and the new, mediated by translators and interpreters, although sometimes tacit in the documentary sources.

In the area of monastic translation, different attitudes towards the indigenous culture are manifested: from rejection to acceptance / assimilation of certain indigenous codes (symbology, rituals, etc.).[35] Hence the complexity of the notion of 'cultural translation', understood beyond the limits of anthropological concepts such as transculturation, acculturation, etc., emphasising the transformation of the two cultures and the construction of new systems,[36] in which the transfer plays an active role. The reason is that 'it reduces to text a culture not yet textualised', appearing, for example, in the work of Sahagún, thanks to which the missionaries preserved, among other aspects, the presence of the Mexican people 'in the memory of humanity even with your texts',[37] since 'the friars were forced not only to express a categorisation of the Christian and European world in a new context and a new language, but also to transform the indigenous people, who had to understand a completely foreign message through words (or, rather, through "signs") themselves.'[38]

Translation without a Textualised Original Work: the Extension of the Notion of the Starting Point of the Transfer

The active role played by translation in the configuration of the cosmo-visions of the two communities, the autochthonous and the (newly) arrived, leads to the need to broaden the range of translative activities and integrate the transfer into a conceptual field between an oral culture and another that had writing.

In the area of monastic and missionary translation there are several samples of the attitudes mentioned. For example, when trying to put into their culture the literary culture of the Aztecs, the friars recovered 'in a meticulous work in three bands (elders-children-friars) indigenous wisdom that would otherwise have disappeared. These are texts of oral literature transmitted by fathers to their sons and mothers to their daughters: the *huehuetlatolli.* From them they delivered to the posterity several samples or even collections that today are the only testimony of the pre-Cortesian Aztec culture. There are 180 so-called *huehuetlatolli* in which Aztec orality is collected, that the Burgos-born Andrés de Olmos, the Leonese Bernardino de Sahagún and the Zamorano Toribio de Benavente integrated, to a greater or lesser extent, in their respective works.'[39]

To be brief, the peculiarities of this type of intercultural communication could be summarised as a sight translation with an inverted view, in which the direction of the written to the oral is replaced by that of the oral to the written. The need to integrate these activities into a more general concept for which the term 'translation without textualised original'[40] has been

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[35] Ibidem, p. 149.

[36] Ibidem, p. 150.

[37] VEGA CERNUDA, 'Entre lingüística' p. 48.

[38] ARACIL VARÓN, 'Las Sagradas Escrituras', p. 152.

[39] VEGA CERNUDA, 'Entre lingüística', p. 47.

[40] MARTINO ALBA, 'Las aportaciones', p. 9; Miguel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA, 'El renacimiento, eje de la historia de la

introduced, and this phenomenon proves, within some aspects, the importance of another translation theory concept: the one of the pattern as the starting point of the translator's work.[41]

The Visibility of the Translator / Interpreter

The 'invisibility' of the translator / Interpreter in historiography, whether in a general, a literary or a cultural approach, is still notorious. However, in Hispano-America, mediation (translation, interpretation) has played a determining role, both in general history and in the configuration of Hispanic society.[42] Furthermore, it is a phenomenon that becomes even more evident when dealing with translators / interpreters coming from different religious orders.

Focusing attention on the translator / interpreter is important for another reason: starting from an empirical documentary basis, there are the names of friars and missionaries for whom being an intercultural mediator formed only a part of the activities they performed: Bernardino de Sahagún,[43] Jerónimo de Alcalá,[44] Domingo de Santo Tomás,[45] José de Anchieta,[46] Pedro Páez,[47] Luis de Valdivia,[48] Luis Zapata de Cárdenas,[49] Pedro Claver,[50] Jerónimo Oré,[51] Maturino Gilberti,[52] and Vicente Solano,[53] just to name a few.

The attention devoted to the figure of the translator / interpreter allows us to ask another question: starting from the broad humanistic profile of all the friars and missionaries. Would it not be correct to study their work also as a sample / antecedent of what today we call community interpreting / interpretation with social purposes?

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traducción en occidente', in: J. A. Albaladejo – J. Franco Aixelá – D. Gallego Hernández – I. Martínez Blasco – P. Masseau – P. Mogorrón Huerta – L. Navarro Brotons – A. Sierra Soriano – M. Tolosa Igualada (eds.), *Una vida entre los libros. Estudios Traductológicos en Homenaje a Fernando Navarro Dominguez*, Alicante 2016, p. 157.

[41] Jana KRÁLOVÁ – Miguel CUENCA DROUHARD, *Jiří Levý: una concepción re(descubierta)*, (=Vertere, Monográficos de la revista Herméneus 15), Soria 2013, pp. 36-38.

[42] VEGA CERNUDA, 'Momentos', p. 28.

[43] SERRANO CORONADO, 'El silencio'.

[44] David PÉREZ BLÁZQUES, 'La labor científica de Jerónimo de Alcalá, OFM: una etnografía misionera del siglo XVI', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, 2015, pp. 28-48.

[45] MARTINO ALBA, 'Las aportaciones'.

[46] Migel Ángel VEGA CERNUDA, 'José de Anchieta: la filología por impulso moral o la primera gramática tupí-guaraní', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, 2015 , pp. 49-66; Juan PEDRO PÉREZ, 'El verbo de José de Anchieta en los pentagramas de Heitor Villa-Lobos', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, Medellín 2015, pp. 110-126.

[47] Elena SERRANO BERTOS, 'Un episodio exótico de la misión jesuita: Pedro Páez en Etiopía', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, Medellín 2015, pp. 67-82.

[48] María Cruz ALONSO SUTIL, 'Luis de Valdivia (1561-1642) S. J. Estudios sobre las lenguas de Chile para la intermediación lingüística en los conflictos bélicos', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, Medellín 2015, pp. 127-147.

[49] PULIDO CORREA, 'El catecismo'.

[50] Antonio BUENO-GARCÍA, 'El apóstol de los negros: Pedro Claver y sus intérpretes', *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, 2015, pp. 181-196.

[51] Rosario VALDIVIA PAZ-SOLDÁN, 'La traducción de los franciscanos en el Perú: historia y evangelización. Sobre Jerónimo de Oré: investigador, misionero y traductor ', in: M. A. Vega Cernuda (ed.), *Traductores*, pp. 91-102.

[52] Pino VALERO CUADRA, La 'terminología' cristiana en el 'Vocabulario' y el 'Arte de la lengua' del fraile franciscano Maturino Gilberti, *Mutatis Mutandis* 8/1, Medellín 2015, pp. 215-238; Isabel ACERO DURÁNTEZ, 'La técnica lexicográfica empleada por el franciscano Maturino Gilberti en su Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán (1559)', in: M. Á. Vega Cernuda (ed.), *Los traductores*, pp. 175-190.

[53] Anonio BUENO-GARCÍA, 'El espíritu'.

Intersemiotic Translation

As has already been pointed out, 'the friars were forced not only to express a categorisation of the Christian and European world in a new context and a new language, but also to transform the indigenous people, who had to understand a totally foreign message through their own words (or, further, their own "signs")'.[54] Hence the importance of the topics of Holy Scripture exposed through other sign systems such as theatrical pieces, an aspect that opens the way to the study of another relatively recent problem: the intersemiotic translation.

It should be noted that the presentations used to be part of several celebrations and the typical genre was the 'auto', usually preceded by a prologue and followed by a song (*Christmas carrol*) and having a clear didactic-moral intention.[55] Therefore, it is not surprising that the elements of the pre-Hispanic cultures were scarce, since the works had to respond, first of all, to a fundamental goal: the formation of a new Indigenous-Christian culture.[56]

On the other hand, given the accessibility of the dramatic presentations for the indigenous public, another characteristic becomes evident: the one about the 'institutional' character of the missionary translation. This would lead, mostly after the Council of Trident, to the restriction, not only of the pre-Hispanic elements, but of the languages, translations and other presentations included.[57]

Gender Studies and Translation

Another aspect, still a little unconventional, is the increase of interest from researchers that lies in studying the possible specific characteristics of the transfer between the male and female orders. Not only the specific characteristics of the practice of translation in the female orders and their monasteries are evident, but also the translations that influenced the feminine monastic sphere, although they were made outside their communities.[58]

Conclusion

The research into monastic and missionary translations is a relatively new subject in the investigation of the role that has been representing the transfer within the universal culture, and as such it represents not only an important part of the study of the activities of the monasteries in the area of cultural encounters and exchanges, but, by raising important issues for current translation studies, also contributes in this way to enriching and diversifying the discipline.

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[54] ARACIL VARÓN, 'Las Sagradas Escrituras', p. 152.

[55] Dianella GAMBINI, 'Il teatro come strumento dell'evangelizzazione francescana', in: M. Á. Vega Cernuda (ed.), *Los traductores*, p. 127.

[56] Ibidem, 132.

[57] ARACIL VARÓN, 'Las Sagradas Escrituras', p. 158.

[58] REVUELTA GUERRERO (ed.), *La traducción en el monacato femenino y el monacato femenino en la traducción*, Valladolid 2015; reviewed by Antonio Francisco RIVAS-GONZÁLEZ, Rufina Clara Revuelta Guerrero (coord.), 'La traducción en el monacato femenino y el monacato femenino en la traducción', *Ibero Americana-Pragensia* 45/1, Praga 2017, pp. 131-134.

The aspects that have been outlined in this text (the importance of the empirical basis, including the peritexts, the features of the 'institutional translation', the introduction of new concepts in the theory of translation and/or the redefinition of traditional concepts, the attention given to the visibility of the translator, the enrichment of the vision of intersemiotic translation and the relationship between gender and translation) do not represent only a first approach to the topic. The framework of the bibliographic research carried out so far has made visible other issues that deserve to be analysed more deeply, including the interpretation with social purposes, the possibilities and limits of intersemiotic translation, the broadening of the concept of the translator's starting point, the role of translation in the teaching and learning of languages, the study of threatened languages, all of these being issues that will surely become the subject of deeper studies in the future.

Written in Spanish by author and translated into English by Lillyam Rosalba González.

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Chapter VI

The Prologues of the Spanish Dominican Translators as the Main Ideas for Reflection on Translation Theory

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Abstract

We find, in the humility and wishes for indulgences that distinguish the attitudes of the lexicographic works and the translations of the Dominicans, strong reasons to explain the genesis of these paratexts that constitute the prologues, recommendations, introductions and warnings to readers. In this chapter we testify to the representation of a thought about the mission of the Dominican translator and lexicographer in the very authentic line of a reflection on translation theory.

Keywords

prologue; hints and warnings; monastical translation; Dominicans; translation; considerations in Translation Studies.

As an Introduction

As P. Getino suggests in the Introduction to *Beng Sim Po Cam,* the first translation from Chinese to Spanish by the Dominican Juan Cobo: 'Pasado por un pecho cristiano, un poco se le pega del almizcle de nuestra religión, aun siendo literal en el traslado [...]'.[1] This idea is in its simplicity one of the arguments that would best define the existence of a type of translation that we can call 'monastic' or 'monastical', performed by monks or religious people, whether they are cloistered, in an open regime, or in missionary activities.

The monastical translation is characterised, in our view, by the existence of a 'pact' or commitment, which unlike others, is not written, and most of the time is unknown. This translation agreement affects the fundamental elements of communication in translation: the figure of the translator, the form and content of the message (from the original text and goal to the conditions of textual production) and the recipient.[2]

The prologues, introductions or epilogues of religious translations are undoubtedly excellent testimonies to understand the mission of these translations. Their function is not only to help the reader find the true meaning of the work but to justify the personal work in front of third parties: to understand the Order itself, censors and other subjects with access to the text.

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[1] ('When translation is made by a Christian, a little bit of our religion sticks to the translation, even being literal in the transfer [...].') (Translated by L.R. González.) Juan COBO, *El Libro chino Beng Sim Po Cam o Espejo rico del claro corazón*, Madrid 1924, p. 9.

[2] BUENO-GARCÍA, Antonio, 'Claves para una teoría de la traducción. Perspectiva desde la labor agustiniana', in: Antonio Bueno-García (ed.), *La labor de traducción de los agustinos españoles,* Valladolid 2007, p. 18.

Therefore, the border between the correct dogmatic sense and the heretical is not always easy to determine in theological and doctrinal texts; on many occasions it is slippery, when the translator uses these texts to justify or clarify his work while carrying out a pastoral mission.

In the prologues we find allusions to the figure of the translator and his objectives, but also to such singular aspects as: the genesis of the translation, the vicissitudes of the book, the time in which it was made, the importance of the original text or the original author, moral considerations about the work and/or its author, the reasons for the translation, the usefulness of the translation, the importance or value agreed to the work carried out, the changes experienced, the recipient, etc. The translator's confession is made in the prologue, and all the contents are aimed at clarifying the work of translation. Even the smallest details, such as a dedication or acknowledgment, are essential pieces for the verification of the translator's mission. Due to the importance of the information provided in them, we can give an assurance that the prologues are one of the most interesting expressions of reflection coming from a translator.

The titles given to the translator's interventions in the prologue are eloquent concerning the commitment to the text and the reader: in addition to calling it, in a classical way, the Prologue, Introduction, or Preface, we find other less conventional introductions such as: *A quien leyere*, *Al lector*, *Prefacio sobre el uso de este libro*, *Sin prólogo*, *Dos palabras*, *Dedicatoria del traductor*, etc.

The Figure of the Translator

Prologues are an opportunity to know the translator better. Through his writing, we obtain privileged information about his identity and about the ideas that led him during the translation. The prologue reveals the identity of the translator, and also usually shows the work done by some other contributors:

> El tomo primero de la edición francesa ha sido traducido íntegramente por el P. Pedro Arenillas. La versión de los otros dos ha sido realizada por estudiantes del Estudio Teológico de San Esteban de Salamanca bajo la dirección y supervisión del P. José Luis Espinel.[3]

Large translation projects, such as the work of Saint Thomas or the New Testament, are conducted by the specialist who leads the translation team. But this can also be the case with smaller works. The work of Roguet, for example, *La Misa renovada. Reflexiones sobre el nuevo texto de la Misa* appears signed by a team led by Brother Héctor Muñoz, OP.

Regarding the translations of the Spanish Dominicans, Gabriel María Flórez, translator of *El ideal dominicano* gives us a clue about what it means to be a Dominican translator in the Introduction of his work: '[...] el Dominico que no trabaja por conocer y realizar el ideal de su

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[3] (The first volume of the French edition has been translated in full by P. Pedro Arenillas. The versions of the other two volumes have been made by students of the Theological Study of San Esteban in Salamanca under the direction and supervision of P. José Luis Espinel.). (Translated by L.R. González.) Ceslas SPICQ, *Ágape en el Nuevo Testamento. Análisis de textos*, Madrid 1977, p. 6.

Orden está muy distante de ser lo que pretende ser'.[4] This would be the most important idea that we can highlight about his job.

The Dominican motto is also quite explicit about the mission of the Order: '*Contemplari et contemplata aliis tradere*'.

The Dominican ideas about translation are duly presented by them. Cipriano Matellán, for example, points out in his translation of *Ejercicios de traducción latina*:

> Traducir es trasladar de una lengua a otra las palabras, procurando conservar su propiedad. Pero como cada lengua tiene sus giros o manera especial de expresar los pensamientos, esta manera de traducir literalmente, palabra por palabra, resulta deficiente, porque no expresa el pensamiento con la hermosura, gracia y energía con que lo escribió el autor. Por eso en la traducción hay que atender, más que a la estructura material de las palabras, a su valor, a la idea y al pensamiento que con ellas se quiere expresar.[5]

In the prologue, Matellán highlights his intention:

> [...] hacer un tomito de traducción exclusivamente para los Colegiales de nuestra Escuela Apostólica de la Mejorada, que sea, por una parte de carácter religioso, con el fin de que su lectura contribuya a la educación religiosa y a fomentar la piedad; y por otra, que tenga sabor dominicano [...].[6]

One of the translator's greatest desires is also to demonstrate that the original author's thought and the form of the original work have been maintained.[7]

The Value of Translation

As with some religious works, translation can benefit from the granting of indulgences. This is the case with the works of Fray Luis de Granada and his translations, such as the translation of the work of Thomas à Kempis, *Imitatio Christi,* for which the Archbishop of Toledo:

> [...] tiene concedidos para siempre cien días de indulgencia á los que leyeren u oyeren leer cualquier capítulo, párrafo o periodo de lo que escribió el Venerable Padre Maestro Fray Luis de Granada [...].[8]

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[4] ([...] the Dominican who does not work to know and perform the ideal of his Order is far from being what he pretends to be'). (Translated by L.R. González.) Domingo Agustín TURCOTTE, *El ideal dominicano*, Bogotá 1961, p. 5.

[5] ('Translation is to transfer the words from one language to another, trying to keep their property. Each language has its twists or special way of expressing thoughts. To translate literally, word by word, is deficient, because it does not express the thought with the same beauty, grace and energy as the author wrote it. In translation we must pay attention, more than to the material structure of the words, to their value, to the idea and to the thought that they want to express.'). (Translated by L.R. González.) Cipriano MATELLÁN, *Ejercicios de traducción latina*, Vergara 1927, p. IV.

[6] ([...] to make a translation exclusively for the Collegiate of our Apostolic School of La Mejorada. This is a translation of a religious nature; its reading contributes to religious education and to promote piety; and on the other hand, this translation has a Dominican flavour [...]). (Translated by L.R. González.) MATELLÁN, *Ejercicios*, pp. III-IV.

[7] Miguel María PHILIPON, *La doctrina espiritual de sor Isabel de la Trinidad*, Bilbao 1958.

[8] ([...] those who read or listen to any chapter, paragraph or period of what the Venerable Father Master Fray Luis de Granada wrote have always been granted a hundred days of indulgence [...]'). (Translated by L.R. González.) Luis de

According to the prologue, the usefulness of the translation has many other effects. From the first moment, the translator usually makes clear the purpose of the translation and its interest. The translator insists on the importance of knowledge of facts, doctrines and fundamental characters, and on the guarantees that ecclesiastical translators offer on theological issues.

The importance assigned to the translation by those who make it is remarkable; in spite of the humility that religious translators usually show, they are aware of the arduous task and also of the value of disclosing their philosophical work. They are aware of his contribution to the Catholic cause, his capacity to deal with current social issues, and his commitment to orient souls towards God.

The pride in the task carried out is also expressed without complexes, as the Dominican Getino says about his own translation of *Diálogo de las arras del alma*:

> Tengo yo Las arras del alma por el monumento castellano más antiguo que de mística traza se ha escrito [...] y estoy tan satisfecho de haberlo hallado y reducido a tratable lectura [...].[9]

Religious translations were also obliged to pass through censorship filters before publication. Ecclesiastical and Order licenses and sometimes even the King, were imposed before any publication. Works like *Vida del B. Enrique Susón*, written by Juan de Palafox and presented and translated by S. Messeguer, carries the following appreciation in its preliminary License by Fr. Jaime Andréu:

> [...] certificamos no haber hallado nada que pueda impedir su publicación y divulgación entre los fieles, que podrán admirar en ella, aunque compendiadamente, un ejemplar de rara penitencia y de sublime perfección evangélica.[10]

The Circumstances of the Work

Prologues often reveal the full circumstances through which the original text and its translation passed. This information is undoubtedly relevant to an understanding of the trajectory of the work and the commitment of the author or the translator.

P. María Agustín Roze, OP, in *Los dominicos en América*, expands, on the original text, the story of his misfortunes:

> Este librito me lo obsequió el P. Tomás Guerrero Carbonell hace ya muchos años. Lo he llevado siempre conmigo y lo he leído repetidas veces. Hasta se me perdió por

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GRANADA, *Libro de la oración y la meditación en el cual se trata de la consideración de los principales misterios de nuestra fé, y de las partes y doctrina para la oración por el V.P. Fr. Luis de Granada*, Barcelona 1846, p. 1.

[9] (I consider *Las arras del alma* to be the oldest Castilian monument that has been written with a mystical trace [...] and I am pleased to have found it and reduced it to treatable reading [...].) (Translated by L.R. González.) Hugo de SAN VICTOR, *Diálogo de las arras del alma*, Madrid 1925, p. I.

[10] ('[...] we certify that we have not found anything that could prevent its publication and release among the believers, who will be able to admire in it, although summarised, a specimen of rare penance and sublime evangelical perfection.'). (Translated by L.R. González.) Enrique SUSÓN, *Suspiros de amor o el Libro de la eterna sabiduría*, Barcelona 1930, p. 1.

los pajonales de la Misión de Chirumbia. El indiecito que lo encontró, al ver que no entendía nada, pensó que tal libro tenía que ser del Padre, y me lo devolvió [...].[11]

Praise of the Text and the Original Author

Undoubtedly, the prologue often emphasises the importance of the work or of the original author, as is the case with the translators of Spicq (1977), Monsabré (1900) and Misciattelli (1925).[12]

Information about the importance of the work or about the original author is often recalled in the prologues, as well as the value of these texts, although the false modesty or humility of the monk may sometimes try to convince us otherwise. In this way the presentation of *La piedad del mejor sabio. Rasgos de alabanza a la Santísima Virgen por Santo Tomás de Aquino* by Fr. JFP, Dominican religious, warrants a special mention. He does not hesitate to disparage any merit of his own performance and to deny even the value of his prologue. He named this part '*Without prologue*' because, as he writes:

> No pueden tenerlo unos textos de Santo Tomás, seguidos de líneas no suyas, tan pálidas que no merecen llamarse comentario, explicación, elogio, ni siquiera tienen brillo literario de algún género que pueda interesar al estudio.[13]

The ideas of Saint Thomas Aquinas naturally fill the texts of the Order of Preachers, and it could not be otherwise, because the obligation to follow their teachings and to interpret them is reflected in their *Constitutions.*

It is not difficult to defend the authority and originality of his thought in the face of the appropriation that other figures can make, even if they are as dedicated as Francisco Vitoria, according to Ignacio Menéndez, translator of *El Estado según Francisco de Vitoria.*[14]

In the case of *La Virgen a los sacerdotes sus hijos predilectos* published by Movimiento Sacerdotal Mariano (M.S.M., in English, Marian Priestly Movement) the prologue refers to its divine mission:

> Cuánto te comunico, hijo, no te pertenece, sino que es para todos mis hijos Sacerdotes que yo amo con predilección.[15]

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[11] (This book was given to me by Father Tomás Guerrero Carbonell many years ago. I have always carried it with me and I have read it again and again. I lost it in Chirumbia Mission. The little Indian who found it, seeing that he did not understand anything, thought that such a book must belong to the Priest, and he gave it back to me [...].) (Translated by L.R. González.) María Agustín ROZE, *Los dominicos en América*, Lima 1997, p. 1.

[12] SPICQ, *Ágape*; Jacques-Marie-Louis MONSABRÉ, *Breves discursos cuaresmales predicados en la Iglesia de los PP. Dominicos en el Havre durante los años 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902 y traducidos al español por el R.P. fr. F. Juanmiquel de la misma orden*, Paris 1900; Pedro MISCIATELLI, *Pensamientos de Santa Catalina de Sena*, Madrid 1925.

[13] (You cannot have some texts of St Thomas followed by lines that are not his lines, words so pale they do not deserve to be called comment, explanation, praise, or even literature of any kind. The lines do not have any kind of lustre that may add interest to the study.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Tomás de AQUINO, *La piedad del mejor sabio. Rasgos de alabanza a la Santísima Virgen por Santo Tomás de Aquino*, Salamanca 1920, p. 1.

[14] Emilio NASZALYI, *El Estado según Francisco de Vitoria*, Madrid 1948, p. 10.

[15] (That which I communicate to you, my son, does not belong to you, but is for all my children the Priests that I love with predilection). (Translated by L.R. González.) MOVIMIENTO SACERDOTAL MARIANO (M.S.M.), *La Virgen a los*

P. Messeguer, translator of *Suspiros de amor o el libro de la eterna sabiduría*, by the German author Beato Enrique Susón, highlights the qualities of the original text and encourages the reader to discover it for himself because, as he suggests, it has beneficial effects on the spirit.

In the book *Las tres vías y las tres conversiones*, translated and prefaced by Fray Cándido Fernández, it says:

> El autor de la presente obrita es harto conocido en la república de las letras [...] Y es justo reconocer que los elogios eran merecidos [...].[16]

For Catholics, the value of the text is a great focus of wisdom, with very beneficial effects on his life. The reader is invited to pay attention to the reading and to read it with respect since it is not just an ordinary book he is holding in in his hands.

And, if the reader is a chosen recipient, the influx of these is a symptom of the success of the publication. Eduardo Aguilar, translator of *De la Eucaristía a la Trinidad* by Marie Vincent Bernadot defends the value of the work on the grounds of the numbers of readers who have already read it.[17]

The importance of the original text is also supported by the number of translations made into other languages. One example is the work of Giordani, where we read that:

> [...] ha merecido encontrar eco en las lenguas de numerosas naciones y traspasando las fronteras de su patria habla a la Cristiandad.[18]

It is not hidden that behind the eulogy to the original and its author is also concealed praise for the translation or for the translator himself.

> La obra 'AGAPE' representa un esfuerzo colosal en el campo de la exégesis, en el campo de la filología comparada y en el de la Teología. Se trata, efectivamente, de una recopilación exhaustiva de todos los textos del Nuevo Testamento con miras a la construcción y establecimiento de una teología de la agape.[19]

It is not usual to express in a prologue mixed feelings or opinions about the original author, but the opinion of Cándido Fernández about the author he is translating (Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange) seems to disagree on this:

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sacerdotes sus hijos predilectos, Madrid 1979, pp. 7-8.

[16] (The author of the present little work is well known in the republic of letters [...]. And it is fair to acknowledge that the praise was deserved [...].) (Translated by L.R. González.) Réginald GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *Las tres vías y las tres conversiones*, Bilbao 1951, p. 7.

[17] Marie Vicent BERNADOT, *De la Eucaristía a la Trinidad*, Barcelona 1946, p. 5.

[18] ([...] it deserves to find an echo in the languages of many nations and beyond the borders of its homeland speaks to Christianity') (Translation by L.R. González). Higinio GIORDANI, *Signo de contradicción*, Barcelona 1936, p. 21.

[19] ('AGAPE' represents a colossal effort in the field of exegesis, the field of comparative philology and the field of theology. It is, in effect, an exhaustive compilation of all the texts of the New Testament with a view to the construction and establishment of a theology of agape.) (Translated by L.R. González.) SPICQ, *Ágape*.

> En cuanto a su fisonomía como escritor, conviene distinguir cuidadosamente dos aspectos: el del literato y el del pensador. Como literato, dista bastante de ser un modelo de perfección. Posee un estilo algo desaliñado; y, algunas veces, hasta incorrecto. Para él la forma externa, la dicción elegante, el ritmo de la frase tienen un valor muy secundario. [...] Y no se preocupa cosa mayor de la ingrata tarea de limar, corregir, cincelar y adornar el estilo. [...] Precisamente en las obras maestras es donde más resaltan los lunares y pequeños descuidos del artista.[20]

The original author, however, stands out better as a thinker: 'ocupa un lugar muy preeminente entre los teólogos y filósofos de nuestros días'.[21]

There is a general defence of Christian teachings and values in these authors, and especially in times when literature or the arts in general are libertine or critical of values that could be called moral. Manuel Amado in the prologue of his *Memorias de las misiones católicas en el Tonkin* highlights the value of the work he translates while criticising the value of the immoral literature of the time. Insisting on this fact, Raimundo Castaño, in the Introduction to the Spanish version of the *Conferencias de París 1835-1836* by Lacordaire, also points out the value of these writings for 'lost souls'.

P. Puebla, in the introduction of the work *Suspiros de amor o el Libro de la eterna sabiduría, escrito en alemán por el Beato Enrique Susón de la Orden de Santo Domingo* translated by PS Messeguer, also refers to the importance of religious teaching in a time marked by hedonism.

Time prevails in the description of the impact of the books. The period before the First World War and the period between the wars on the European continent are times of a clear battle against atheist ideas. A value of 're-conquest' at the time of the Spanish Civil War is also agreed upon by M. Llamera, the translator of *Signo de contradicción* by Giordani, since peace is linked to the Kingdom of God.

The Translation Request

It is very interesting and enlightening to know the real reason that led the translator to carry out his translation, and the prologues do not skimp on such information. In many cases the translation is a direct commission from a publisher (a religious publishing house, in most cases).[22] Sometimes it is also due to the influence of a third party, which for reasons of religious authority or friendship leads to this commitment.[23]

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[20] (Regarding his physiognomy as a writer, two aspects should be carefully distinguished: the writer and the thinker. As a man of letters, he is far from being a model of perfection. He has a somewhat dishevelled style; sometimes, even incorrect. For him external form, elegant diction, the rhythm of the phrase, have a very secondary value. [...] And he does not care too much for the ungrateful task of smoothing, correcting, chiselling and embellishing the style. [...] It is precisely in the masterpieces that the blemishes and small oversights of the artist stand out.) (Translated by L.R. González.) GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *Las tres vías*, pp. 10-12.

[21] ('he occupies a preeminent place among current theologians and philosophers'). (Translated by L.R. González.) Ibidem, pp. 12-13.

[22] SPICQ, *Ágape*.

[23] Réginald GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *El sentido común. La filosofía del ser y las fórmulas dogmáticas*, Buenos Aires 1944.

In *La Virgen a los sacerdotes sus hijos predilectos*, other motives are shown, related to the massive international diffusion of the work within a group or Church movement.[24] In the information about the translation, they describe the quasi-manual procedures used by the translators to reduce costs and reach the largest number of users:

> Para algunos idiomas se han debido imprimir en otros países y luego importarlas como mejor se ha podido. Para algunas regiones se ha tenido que recurrir a reproducciones ciclostiladas, mecanografiadas o copiadas directamente a mano (Lituania, Ucrania, etc.), con una paciencia y una fe verdaderamente admirable. [...] este pequeño 'libro azul' en su traducción al chino, está entrando ya [...]. Todo este trabajo va adelante por iniciativa de los Sacerdotes responsables del Movimiento en los varios Estados (son alrededor de ochenta y cinco) en los que se ha difundido, o de Misioneros, de Religiosas y, sobre todo, de laicos que han intuido, a pesar de su aparente inconsistencia jurídica y organizativa, la gran importancia sobrenatural del M.S.M.[25]

There are also tips and advice for future translations and instructions on how to proceed in terms of dissemination and commercialisation.[26]

This behaviour and proceeding may be shocking to the translation and its expertise. The translator's expertise in these circumstances has more in common with a benevolent service to the community or a charitable action than with an operation of professional rigour.

The Reason for the Translation

There are many and varied reasons for a translator to make a translation. The translators frequently mention in the prologue, for example, circumstances such the service to souls, the need to make it known in another language or the work being commissioned by superiors.

Gabriel Ferrer, translator of *Unión con Dios* by Raymond-Leopold Bruckberger, explains in 'Dos palabras' how the words 'burn the flame of the spirit, the restrain, the faith', and afterwards he confesses his reasons for translating it:

> [...] por eso leí esta minúscula obrita. La leí con fruición y decidí traducirla porque, aparte su valor intrínseco, diseña una piedad fundamentada en la Sagrada Escritura, libros divinos y entrañablemente humanos [...].[27]

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[24] MOVIMIENTO SACERDOTAL MARIANO (M.S.M.), *La Virgen*, pp. 9-10.

[25] (In the case of some languages, the books have had to be printed in other countries and then imported as best they could. For some regions it has been necessary to resort to cyclostyled reproductions, typed or copied directly by hand (Lithuania, Ukraine, etc.), with patience and truly admirable faith. [...] The Chinese translation of this little 'blue book' is already on [...]. All this work goes forward under the initiative of Priests responsible for the Movement in the various States in which it has spread (there are around eighty-five), or missionaries, nuns and, above all, laymen who have intuited, despite its apparent legal and organisational inconsistency, the great supernatural importance of the M.S.M.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Ibidem.

[26] Ibidem, pp. 9-10.

[27] ([...] that's why I read this tiny little book. I read it with relish and decided to translate it because, apart from its intrinsic value, it designs a piety based on Sacred Scripture, divine and endearingly human books [...].) (Translated by L.R. González.) Raymond-Leopold BRUCKBERGER, *Unión con Dios*, Madrid 1957, p. 7.

De los Reyes also makes clear the linguistic and communicative interest of knowing, for example, 'the words of the Indian language'.[28]

The interest in preaching, in philosophical reflection, and in the academic world in general is emphasised by the translator of *Breves discursos cuaresmales*,[29] and of *El sentido común*.[30]

Spiritual exercises are also part of the objective of the text. In this sense, Father Castaño throws light on the intention of his translation: '*The reading for the eve of the Exercises here is essential*'[31] in *Bienaventurados los que lloran (El día de un enfermo)* by Henri Perreyve.

It is easy to think that the Dominican translations are addressed to Christians and also to the brothers of the Order. Sometimes the identity of the target audience is very clear. In *Imitación del Glorioso Padre Sto. Domingo de Guzmán* his translator, Ramón Martínez Vigil writes:

> [...] me pareció que podrían ser igualmente útiles y provechosas para todos los hijos de Santo Domingo y para todos sus devotos, pero muy principalmente para sus hijas de la Tercera Orden.[32]

In the prologue of *Suma Contra Gentiles*, by Saint Thomas Aquinas, the translators point to another audience:

> No hemos trabajado, pues, para eclesiásticos, ya que éstos mejor estudiarán en pensamiento del Santo en su original latino. Nuestra tarea ha sido realizada con vistas a los seglares, católicos o no católicos, aunque todos cultos, para que tanto unos como otros, estudiando con determinación la obra que les ofrecemos, puedan llegar por la simple vía racional a establecer contacto con las grandes verdades y a penetrar, en cuanto nos es dado, en el mundo de los grandes misterios [...].[33]

The promotion of religious life and the propagation of prayer are important goals in translation. In the case of *María en la Iglesia dividida. A la unidad por María* by J. Pintard, praying with Mary and for Mary is encouraged, according to its translator, Manuel González.[34]

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[28] ('los vocablos de la lengua de los indios') (Translated by L.R. González). Gaspar de los REYES, *Gramática de las lenguas Zapoteca-serrana y Zapoteca del Valle*, Oaxaca 1891, pp. 9-10.

[29] MONSABRÉ, *Breves discursos.*

[30] GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *El sentido común.*

[31] Henri PERREYVE, *Bienaventurados los que lloran (El día de un enfermo),* Palencia 1952, p. 6.

[32] ([...] it seemed to me that they could be equally useful and helpful for all Santo Domingo´s sons and for all their devotees, but mainly for their daughters of the Third Order.) (Translated by L.R. González.) ANONYMOUS, *Imitación del Glorioso Padre Sto. Domingo de Guzmán*, Vergara 1902, p. 9.

[33] (We have not worked for ecclesiastics, they will do better to study Aquinas' work in in his original Latin. Our task has been carried out with a view to lay people, Catholics and non-Catholics, although all educated. They can approach it in a simple rational way to establish contact with the great truths and to penetrate, as soon as it is granted to us, the world of great mysteries [...].) (Translated by L.R. González.) Tomás de AQUINO, *Suma Contra los Gentiles*, Madrid 1952, p. XV.

[34] J. PINTARD, *María en la Iglesia dividida. A la unidad por María*, Guadalajara 1969, p. 11.

The Translation Structure

Translation, as we mentioned before, is an operation that aims to safeguard the spirit of the original work and the style of its author. But sometimes the translator is tempted to adapt it to the target language.[35] Although the normal way is to respect the format and structure of the original work in chapters, volumes, etc., it is not always done that way. Prologues or introductions give information about this matter.

When the translator is in the dilemma of having to choose between ideas and style, he chooses the ideas. That is visible in the theory of the sociocultural method by Nida and Taber, proposed for the biblical translation,[36] which understands translation as an operation to obtain in the first place the closest natural equivalent in terms of meaning and, later, in terms of style.

The language of the recipients, in effect, forces the translator to take a stand. Above all, it is the subject, in many cases the theological subject, that forces a thorough approach to the target language.

In the 'Warnings' of *Memoria para el restablecimiento de la Orden de Predicadores en Francia. Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, [37] in the complete works of Lacordaire and Castaño, the Dominican translator, says: 'la he adoptado, ligeramente retocada, por razones muy suponibles, y especialmente porque un trabajo distinto y publicado a la vez hubiera tenido visos de competencia, que a todo trance he querido evitar'.[38] The translator's note in this precise work is very suggestive.

As we follow the arguments of the prologue we realise the progressive distance from the original text and author. This is not only regarding the style, but also in the form of the text or in the positioning of some of its elements: chapters, notes, citations, comments, bibliography, etc.

Brian Farrelli, in his translation of *La devoción a María en la Orden de Predicadores*, also explains why he adds information, abbreviates or directly removes content:

> En la presente traducción y con el permiso del Autor, se han añadido algunas noticias suplementarias respecto a la devoción del rosario en Hispanoamérica. Asimismo se han omitido algunos nombres poco conocidos en América. En cambio fueron añadidos los de los beatos Jacinto Cormier y Pier Giorgio Frassati. Las oraciones del Apéndice han sido algo abreviadas.[39]

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[35] PHILIPON, *La docrtina*.

[36] Eugene NIDA – Charles Russell TABER, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Leiden – Boston 1969.

[37] *Vida de Santo Domingo* was translated by D. Francisco Gallach Palés, specialised in this type of work.

[38] (I have adopted it, slightly retouched, for very obvious reasons, and especially because a different work published at the same time would have had overtones of competition, which I wanted to avoid at all costs.). (Translated by L.R. González.) Enrique LACORDAIRE, *Obras completas del P. Fr. Enrique D. Lacordaire, O.P.: su vida intima y religiosa*, ed. Bernard Chocarne, Madrid 1929, p. V.

[39] In the present translation and with the permission of the Author, some additional informations has been added regarding the devotion of the rosary in Hispano-America. Also some little-known names in America have been omitted. On the other hand, the blessed Jacinto Cormier and Pier Giorgio Frassati were added. The prayers in the Appendix have been abbreviated. Alfonso D'AMATO, *La devoción a María en la Orden de Predicadores*, Mendoza 1996, p. 5.

Matellán justifies the inclusion of some chapters of *Historia Sagrada* by Lhomond, the Book of Proverbs, the Gospels, a collection of maxims and sentences by sacred and profane authors, some prayers of Saint Thomas Aquinas, phrases of the saints, and parts of St Bernard's Sermons about the Blessed Virgin, as a way of teaching children how to invoke the Blessed Virgin and 'strive to love her as a true mother'.[40] Another prologue also warns about the change made in the number of volumes.[41]

Manuel Amado, in his presentation of *Memorias de las misiones católicas en el Tonkin*, explains the reason for the changes made in his translation from Chinese:

> He alterado algunas notas del autor, he puesto algunas enteramente nuevas, he suprimido muchas citas, y he añadido capítulos enteros que el autor no pudo poner por haberlos extractado de cartas que han venido tiempo después que él había concluido su obra.[42]

The interpretation of the text carried out by the translator is highly complex and not devoid of risks. In each word the translator faces problems that can only be solved with a philological mind. This is the case, for example, with the word *laicus* (layman). What is a *laicus* for Humberto de Romans? When he says that anyone could talk to the 'simplicibus et laicis', the translator could ask himself, what does it mean? Behind those expressions, is there simple 'clericalism', as we understand it today? A thousand and one doubts arise for these translators. In the translation of Spicq's work other theological doubts also arise concerning the use, for example, of words like 'charity'[43] or 'Lent'.[44] Other problems the translator has are formal: the elimination or not of the quotations contained in the original work, the songs, etc.

The ultimate reason that the translator gives is to achieve an optimal reading in the target language without departing from the meaning of the text or the form of the original language. For instance, in a thirteenth century text, its translator advocates as a solution the provision of a lexicon of the time that is recognisable to the reader of our time. Aware of its limitations, he concludes with humility: 'Without a doubt, it is an attempt that other translators will be able to improve.'

In order to clarify the meaning of the original text, Fray M. Puebla in the Introduction to *Suspiros de amor o el Libro de la eterna sabiduría, escrito en alemán por el Beato Enrique Susón de la Orden de Santo Domingo* in a translation by PS Messeguer, warns about an important fact in the history of the book and in the behaviour of its author: a book in Latin by the same Susón was published with the title of *Horologium Sapientiae*, and:

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[40] MATELLÁN, *Ejercicios*, pp. III-IV.

[41] SPICQ, *Ágape*.

[42] ('I have altered some of the author's notes, included some entirely new ones, deleted many quotations, and added whole chapters that the author could not include as they are extracted from letters that arrived sometime after he had finished his work.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Manuel AMADO, *Memorias de las misiones católicas en el Tonkin*, Madrid 1846.

[43] SPICQ, *Ágape*.

[44] MONSABRÉ, *Breves discursos*.

[...] las diferencias que se notan entre el texto alemán y el latino no son obra de mano inexperta como parece suponer Surio,[45] sino del mismo Susón no queriendo hacer una traducción servil sino quizá un nuevo trabajo basado en el Libro de la Sabiduría.[46]

About Palafox's translation of this same work, Fray M. Puebla also says:

La traducción se ha hecho libremente y que faltan y sobran algunos párrafos y hasta capítulos enteros [...]. En cada capítulo, llamaremos la atención sobre la conformidad o disconformidad que tenga con la Vida que aparece en primer término en el Ejemplar que fue revisada por nuestro Beato. Y a esto se reducirá nuestra labor en las notas porque el texto es tan claro que no necesita explicaciones.[47]

P. Castaño prepared and annotated the complete Works of Fr. Enrique D. Lacordaire, and says in 'Two words' that he has expanded and omitted contents in the translation according to his particular criteria.[48]

Although it tells us that the reasons 'are obvious', we cannot understand why it suppresses the references to 'foreign characters', based on a supposed loss of interest in the majority of the public, or makes exceptions with an Irish.[49]

Castaño mentions this freedom in other works as well when he adds letters, chapters and fragments to the author's lectures.[50] For example, in *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán*,[51] Castaño explains why the extension of the work has varied and how he has done it:

No cabía la *Vida* en un tomo de esta edición, y para dos era escasa; por lo cual, he puesto a guisa de introducción en el primero la *Memoria sobre la Orden de Predicadores*, de que él mismo hace mención en el prólogo, y cuyo primer capítulo parece la fuente en que se han inspirado cuantos, de entonces acá, han hablado y escrito en defensa de las Ordenes Religiosas, y los capítulos restantes forman el compendio histórico más acabado de la Obra de Santo Domingo.[52]

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[45] He referred to Lorenzo Surio, author of one version in Latin by B. Enrique Susón, using a volume edited in 1615. Some experts did not agree with some aspects of the work.

[46] ([...] the differences that are noticed between the German text and the Latin text are not the result of an inexperienced hand, as Surio seems to suppose. Susón himself did not want to make a servile translation but perhaps a new translation based on the Book of Wisdom.) (Translated by L.R. González.) SUSÓN, *Suspiros*, p. 11.

[47] (The translation has been done freely and some paragraphs and even entire chapters [...] added or deleted. In each chapter, we will draw attention to the conformity or disagreement with the *Vida* that appears first in the Sample that was revised by our Blessed. And this will reduce our work in the notes because the text is so clear, it does not need explanations.) (Translated by L.R. González.) SUSÓN, *Suspiros*, p. 15.

[48] LACORDAIRE, *Obras*.

[49] Ibidem, p. 8.

[50] Ibidem, pp. 5-7.

[51] LACORDAIRE, *Obras*.

[52] (La *Vida* did not fit into one volume of this edition, and was not long enough for two; for this reason, I have placed as an introduction to the first the *Memoria sobre la Orden de Predicadores* (the Memory of the Order of Preachers), which he mentions in the prologue, and whose first chapter seems to be the source of inspiration for those who have, from then on, spoken and written in defence of the Religious Orders, and the remaining chapters form the most complete historical compendium of the Work of Santo Domingo.) (Translated by L.R. González.) LACORDAIRE, *Obras*, pp. VI.

Dominican translators use many reasons to explain the changes in the texts, some of which are surprising, for example, the translators of *Suma Contra los Gentiles* by Saint Thomas Aquinas, argue that the reader is not interested in doctrinal expositions, because the demonstration and defence of the Thomist system is beyond his interest.

One of the temptations to which the translator is exposed is to expand the content, taking into account the progress experienced by the work and the author's thought. Contact with the original author often brings improvements and additions that the translator can take advantage of.

This continuous improvement of the information provided by the texts is not exclusive to translators or religious writers; we can note as well the frequent attitude in religious communities to expand information as long as members have had the knowledge, that option being frequent also among the readers themselves. The conventual library provides us with many examples of this attitude in its archives.

Changes made to a translation are also a concern for translators, who do not miss the opportunity to make them clear and ask for understanding from readers. The translator wants to count on the reader's benevolence and tolerance:

> Nos daríamos por contentos con que los experimentados hablistas no hallasen sino defectos tolerables en esta suerte de escritos. En cuanto al pensamiento del autor, la doctrina de Santo Tomás, el conocimiento de los sistemas modernos y de las ciencias naturales, de que tan buen partido saca el ilustre orador, nos han dado la clave, á pesar de lo arriesgado del asunto, siendo este punto el menos difícil para nosotros. En la parte literaria, si no hemos logrado tanto acierto como deseáramos, cúlpese á nuestra inexperiencia en los secretos del arte del bien hablar. Nuestro intento fundamental puede resumirse en una sola palabra: traducir; poner al alcance de quienes cultivan la filosofía y no cuentan con la suficiente preparación para vencer cómodamente las dificultades de la lengua latina una de las grandes obras del Doctor Angélico.[53]

Many times, of course, the changes are carried out with modesty and humility – qualities that usually distinguish religious translators – that do not give any merit in their performance:

> Te doy pues una traducción modificada á mi manera, y sobre la que ni yo mismo puedo formar juicio porque la he hecho muy de prisa, en razón á que otros trabajos urgentísimos me han impedido aun el repasarla; vuelvo á decirte qué no será muy buena por lo que tiene de mio, y no creas que te lo digo por una fingida modestia: sé lo

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[53] (We would be happy if experienced speakers did not find but tolerable defects in this kind of writing. As for the author's thought, the doctrine of St Thomas, the knowledge of modern systems and natural sciences, of which the illustrious speaker brings such a good match, they have given us the key, despite the matter being risky, this point being the least difficult for us. In the literary part, if we have not achieved as much success as we wish, blame our inexperience on the secrets of the art of speaking well. Our fundamental intent can be summed up in one word: translate; make available to those who cultivate philosophy and do not have enough preparation to overcome with comfort the difficulties of the Latin language of one of the great works of the Angelic Doctor.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Tomás de AQUINO, *Suma Contra los Gentiles*, p. XV; MISCIATELLI, *Pensamientos*.

que puedo, y confieso que si algunas otras obras mias han tenido algun éxito se debe solo á las materias en que he escrito.[54]

It is not always the case that the translator opts for a careful style for the language in the target text. In translations of, for example, Schillebeeckx, the translator puts in evidence the characteristics of the original text and chooses to maintain the rudeness and coarseness so as not to jeopardise the accuracy of the doctrinal content.[55]

Confessions of a Translator

An important aspect of the prologues is that they allow us to attend to the revelations of the translators themselves, who give a sincere explanation of the key reasons and behaviour against the original text, which otherwise would have remained hidden from the reader. The translator is sometimes at ease about matters such as the translation order, the hard work, the feeling about the author and the original work, etc.:

> Aunque la aceptamos con gusto, hemos de confesar que el trabajo ha sido arduo y prolijo, como podrá comprobar cualquier lector al primer vistazo sobre la enorme cantidad de textos manejados, especialmente en el número casi infinito de notas que acompañan a la obra.[56]

The moment has also come when it should be revealed who has made the translation and how. Thus, the names of supporting services appear that do not appear in any other part of the book:

> [...] la tarea me ha sido muy aliviada y casi enteramente compartida por la inteligente cooperación de mi predilecto discípulo, Eugenio S. Melo, del Seminario Mayor de La Plata. De aquí que al testimoniarle mi agradecimiento en este lugar, quiero dejar asentado –en aras de la verdad y de la justicia– que esta traducción nos pertenece solidariamente a los dos.[57]

The main objective of any translation, however, is to serve the reader; he is the one who points the text and the intention of any translation, hence he deserves great attention on the part of the translator.

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[54] (I give you therefore a translation modified in my own way. I cannot justify it because I have done it very quickly, because other very urgent works have prevented me even from reviewing it; I tell you again, the translation is not good because of me. Do not think I am telling you in mock modesty: I know what I can do, and I confess that if some of my other works have had any success, it is only due to the material on which I have written.'). (Translated by L.R. González.) AMADO, *Memorias*.

[55] Edward H. SCHILLEBEECKX, *Síntesis teológica del sacerdocio*, Salamanca 1959.

[56] (Although we accept it with pleasure, we must confess that the work has been arduous and tedious, as any reader will be able to see at first glance from the enormous amount of text handled, especially in the almost infinite number of notes that accompany the work.) (Translated by L.R. González.) SPICQ, *Ágape*.

[57] ([...] the task has been made much easier and almost entirely shared by the intelligent cooperation of my beloved disciple, Eugenio S. Melo, from the Major Seminary of La Plata. Hence, in witnessing to my gratitude at this point, I want it to be established –for the sake of truth and justice– that this translation belongs jointly to both of us.) (Translated by L.R. González.) GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *El sentido común*.

The Recipients

The readers are the presence in the shadow and allusions to them are usually constant. Sometimes their identity is clearly specified: ecclesiastics, devotees, young people, adults, scholars in the field, etc.

Cándido Fernández, translator of *Las tres vías y las tres conversiones* by Garrigou-Lagrange says:

> [...] el librito, sin duda, ha de ser leído con interés por cuantos se preocupan de cuestiones ascético-místicas: directores de almas, simples sacerdotes, religiosos, religiosas, seminaristas y toda clase de personas piadosas.[58]

Monsabré understands that his work can be useful to all the educated classes of society, especially:

> [...] el clero español, tan falto de recursos para proporcionarse los libros necesarios y la vasta erudición, indispensable para defender de un modo conveniente el sagrado depósito de nuestra fe en esta época de incredulidad y de arrogante ignorancia.[59]

P. Getino specifies his new objective and public receiver of *Diálogo de las arras del alma,* after having been guided in this work in the past by the community of Dominican sisters:

> Tiempo es ya, transcurridos seis siglos, de que esta joya literaria y mística, reservada a las monjitas de Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (fundadas en 1219), trascienda y aproveche al gran público, y sea considerada como uno de los cimientos de nuestra vieja lengua y de nuestras castizas lecturas.[60]

Ramón Martínez, in the dedication of his translation *Imitación del Glorioso Padre Sto. Domingo de Guzmán*, also changes the recipient of his translation:

> [...] al hacer la primera edición de esta obrita, creí conveniente adaptar sus consideraciones á las Terciarias seculares; para que tanto ellas, como las personas del siglo que profesan devoción hacia tan gran Santo, pudieran con ventaja servirse de ellas [...]. Esta ligera modificación, introducida en aquella edición de este precioso libro, desaparece por completo en la presente, que dedico con preferencia á las Religiosas dominicas claustrales que hablan español en uno y otro hemisferio. La benévola

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[58] ([...]this book, without a doubt, has to be read with interest by those who care about ascetic-mystical questions: directors of souls, simple priests, religious men and women, Catholic seminarians and all kinds of pious people.) (Translated by L.R. González.) GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *Las tres vías*, p. 16.

[59] ([...] the Spanish clergy, so lacking in resources to provide themselves with the necessary books and the vast erudition, indispensable if they are to defend in a convenient way the sacred deposit of our faith in this time of disbelief and arrogant ignorance.') (Translated by L.R. González.) Jacques-Marie-Louis MONSABRÉ, *Exposición del dogma católico. Existencia de Dios*, Madrid 1913.

[60] (It is now time, after six centuries, that this literary and mystical gem, reserved for the nuns of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (founded in 1219), transcends and benefits the public. Hopefully it will be considered as one of the foundations of our old language and our traditional readings.) (Translated by L.R. González.) SAN VICTOR, *Diálogo*, p. 5.

acogida que ha tenido en el número reducido de comunidades que le conocen, me hace desear que todas puedan saborear este manjar delicioso.[61]

The authors of the Introduction to *Summa Contra Gentiles* do not consider it suitable for just any reader:

> Réstanos sólo advertir al lector que la Suma contra los Gentiles no va dirigida –como dice el P. Suermondt– a cualquier clase de hombres, sino a eruditos y doctos; a quienes cultivando la verdadera sabiduría, acúciales el deseo de escudriñar las verdades divinas.[62]

Fray Vicente Bernardos, translator of *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán* by Antonio Tourón, thinks that students are the best recipients, addressing St Thomas rhetorically:

> Prosternado humildemente á vuestros pies os presento con toda confianza el corto trabajo de esta empresa, en que los Alumnos del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores hallarán para su dicha la norma y el modelo de su Vida apostólica. Acoged dulcemente, refulgente Sol de las Escuelas, el humilde obsequio que os ofrece con la mayor sensibilidad de corazón.[63]

A curious case of the presence of the reader in the work, and more precisely in the translation, is one by P. Rutten, where a voice is given to 'A. Gallart, former deputy of Barcelona', who says:

> Considero oportunísima la traducción al castellano de esta obra, pues es el más útil de los manuales sobre las ideas cristiano-sociales que conozco, y en nuestro país, más que en ningún otro, son necesarias obras de divulgación de este tipo.[64]

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[61] ([...] when making the first edition of this work, I thought it convenient to adapt its considerations to the secular Terciarias; so that they, as well as the people of the century who profess devotion to such a great Saint, could advantageously use them [...]. This slight modification, introduced in that edition of this precious book, disappears completely in the present edition, which I dedicate in preference to the cloistered Dominican Sisters who speak Spanish in both hemispheres. The benevolent welcome that the translation has had in the small number of communities that know it, makes me wish that everyone could taste this delicious delicacy.) (Translated by L.R. González.) ANONYMOUS, *Imitación*, pp. 9-109.

[62] (We warn the reader that *Summa contra Gentiles* is not directed – as Fr. Suermondt says – to just any type of men, but to scholars and the learned; to those who cultivate true wisdom, the ones who desire to scrutinise divine truths.) (Translated by L.R. González.) AQUINO, *Suma*, p. XVI.

[63] (Prostrated humbly at your feet I present to you with all confidence the short work of this enterprise, in which the Students of the Sacred Order of Preachers will find for their happiness the norm and the model of their apostolic life. Welcome sweetly, refulgent Sun of Schools, the humble gift that is offered to you with the greatest sensitivity of heart). (Translated by L.R. González.) Antonio TOURÓN, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán, fundador del Órden de los frailes Predicadores con un compendio de la historia de sus primeros discípulos escrita en idioma francés por el R.P. Mtro. Fr. Antonio Tourón, del mismo Órden, en el Convento de la Ciudad de Tolosa de Francia y traducida al español, por el Reverendo Padre Presentado Fr. Vicente Bernardos de Quiros, de dicho Órden, Hijo y morador del Real Convento de Santa Cruz, de la de Granada*, vols. I, II and III, Granada 1825.

[64] (I consider the translation into Spanish of this work to be timely, since it is the most useful of the manuals on Christian-social ideas that I know, and in our country, more than in any other, disclosure works of this kind are necessary.) (Translated by L.R. González.) R. P. RUTTEN, *La doctrina social de la Iglesia según las Encíclicas 'Rerum Novarum' y 'Quadragésimi Anno'*, Barcelona 1935.

We do not know if this comment, which appears at the beginning of the work in a section entitled: *Juicios de varias personalidades sobre la obra del P. Rutten, O.P. 'La Doctrina Social de la Iglesia'* was produced on the initiative of the translator or the editor of the work.

The Desiderata

As well as arguments about the author, the work, the translation and the reader, there are also the wishes of the author of the translation. Acceptance by the public seems to be the most desired wish, and with it the benevolence of the reader's judgment. Aware of the multiple problems that had to be solved and the difficulties of understanding, the translator puts all his effort into the final acceptance of the result by the reader. The desire concerns not only adherence to linguistic comprehension, but also to the subject it deals with, often linked to salvation:

> ¡Ojalá hayamos logrado nuestro intento, mereciendo este trabajo la benévola aceptación del público! Sólo deseamos que nuestros lectores lean atentamente estos Discursos y se fijen no solamente en la solidez y profundidad de la doctrina del sabio Dominico, sino también en la manera especial que tiene de expresar sus pensamientos.[65]

The Order of Preachers is of course in the most direct view of its translators. Gabriel M. Flórez writes:

> Que la lectura y, aún más, la detenida meditación de este libro sirvan de estímulo eficaz a nuestros hermanos Dominicos –religiosos, religiosas y seglares- y a todos cuantos desean conocer el noble y atractivo ideal de la Orden de Predicadores.[66]

Ramón Martínez, in his translation of *The Imitación del Glorioso Padre Sto. Domingo de Guzmán* even adds some wishes about the time of day in which his work should be taken into account, the fervour with which to do it and the actions that should accompany the work:

> Al efecto sería una costumbre muy laudable leer estas consideraciones los martes públicamente en el coro antes de la oración [...]. Aún podrían usarse para los ejercicios espirituales, dividiéndolas según los días consagrados al santo retiro. [...] Las consideraciones están divididas en dos partes; puede meditarse la una en la tarde que precede al martes, y la otra el mismo día, antes de después de la comunión [...]. Diráse con el mayor fervor la aspiración que sigue á cada punto, y se retendrán, para saborearlas entre día, las jaculatorias y las prácticas de virtud o propósitos que se ponen al fin. [...] También sería conveniente leer cada martes la parte de la vida del Santo que corresponde á la virtud propuesta en la meditación del día, á otro libro que trate de la misma materia; con el objeto de hacer mejor el examen de la noche y ver cómo se ha practicado durante el día, y aún en el curso de la vida pasada. [...] Además

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[65] (Hopefully we have achieved our attempt, in this work that merits the benevolent acceptance of the public! We want only that our readers read these Discourses carefully and pay attention not only to the solidity and depth of the doctrine of the Dominican sage, but also to the special way he expresses his thoughts.) (Translated by L.R. González.) MONSABRÉ, *Breves discursos.*

[66] (May the reading and, even more, the careful meditation of this book serve as an effective stimulus to our Dominican brothers – religious men and women and secular – and to all those who wish to know the noble and attractive ideal of the Order of Preachers.) (Translated by L.R. González.) TURCOTTE, *El ideal*, p. 13.

de las prácticas que se reseñaron al principio de este prólogo, y de las necesarias para ganar las indulgencias de Benedicto XIII, deberán los devotos visitar el altar ó imagen del Santo Patriarca el lunes precedente, ó el mismo martes después de la comunión, será igualmente bueno rezar su oficio parvo y la oración compuesta en su honor por el Beato Jordán, que se pone al final de este libro, ó bien rezar quince Padrenuestros y quince Ave Marías [...].[67]

A singular case is presented in *La Virgen a los sacerdotes sus hijos predilectos*, whose translation we already presented. It is in the new edition as a 'humble and fragile instrument to make known the Marian Priestly Movement', which must be received 'with love, as a gift from Heaven';[68] although beyond this desire it contains another very singular one: the initiation of a chain of reading and translation, demanding collaboration in the expenses of impression and expedition:

> Confiamos este libro a los Ángeles a fin de que guíen e iluminen al lector. Lo ofrecemos con fraternal sencillez, a los Sacerdotes que lo quieran leer y luego meditar. Sabemos, en fin, que lo esperan un gran número de hombres, mujeres, jóvenes, almas consagradas que, después de haberse aprovechado de él, lo darán a conocer a sus sacerdotes.[69]

Aware of the uniqueness of each language, the authors begged 'that the translations of this book be faithful to the Italian text, notwithstanding the peculiarities of each language.' And they make clear some formal questions, such as, for example, that 'it is not advisable to do only 'aggiornamenti' or partial reproductions.' They also make their economic policy clear, warning that 'nobody is authorised to sell this book, which is published in a non-commercial edition'. 'However, to be praised – continues the translator – is what is already happening: voluntary contribution to the expenses of printing and expedition.'[70]

We could undoubtedly ask many questions about M.S.M., such as how it is possible for this work to be spread around the world, and who or what supports it? But the author has the answer in the prologue:

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[67] (To this end, it would be a very laudable custom to read these reflections on Tuesdays publicly in the choir before prayer [...]. They could be used for spiritual exercises, dividing them according to the days consecrated to the holy retreat. [...] The reflections are divided into two parts; one can be meditated in the afternoon before Tuesday, and the other on the same day, before the conclusion of the communion [...]. The aspiration that follows each point should be said with the greatest fervour, and the ejaculations and practices of virtue or purposes that are put to the end will be retained, to taste them during the day. [...] It would also be convenient to read every Tuesday a part of the life of the Saint that corresponds to the virtue proposed in the meditation of the day, another book that deals with the same matter; in order to do the examination of the night better and see how it was practised during the day, and in the course of one's past life. [...] In addition to the practices that were outlined at the beginning of this prologue, and those necessary to win the indulgences of Benedict XIII, the devotees should visit the altar or image of the Holy Patriarch on the preceding Monday, or the same Tuesday after the communion; it will be equally good to pray his *Oficio parvo* and the prayer composed in his honour by Blessed Jordan, which can be found at the end of this book, or else to pray the Lord's Prayer fifteen times and fifteen Hail Marys.) (Translated by L.R. González.) ANONYMOUS, *Imitación*, pp. 10-12.

[68] MOVIMIENTO SACERDOTAL MARIANO (M.S.M.), *La Virgen*, p. 5.

[69] (We entrust this book to the Angels in order to guide and enlighten the reader. We offer it with fraternal simplicity, to the Priests who want to read it and then meditate. We know, in short, that a great number of men, women, young people, consecrated souls await it, and will, after taking advantage of it, make it known to their priests.) (Translated by L.R. González.) MOVIMIENTO SACERDOTAL MARIANO (M.S.M.), *La Virgen*, pp. 5-6.

[70] Ibidem, pp. 5-6.

Es la Santísima Virgen que se mueve hacia sus hijos, particularmente hacia los Sacerdotes [...]. La Virgen bendice a quien lea estas páginas con atención y constancia, y a quien tenga ocasión y celo de darlas a conocer a otros. [...] se va siempre adelante, sin prisas y sin polémicas, simplemente convencidos de hacer un apostolado precioso.[71]

Marceliano Llamera, in his prologue 'Al lector español' of *Signo de contradicción* by Giordani, expresses another wish, this time linked to the moment of civil strife among Spaniards:

En la interpretación de este libro de polémica, escrito con estilo personalísimo, con léxico sobreabundante, con literatura avanzada, no abrigamos otra pretensión que la de contribuir a la pacificación de las almas españolas mediante la reconquista de nuestra civilización cristiana.[72]

Difficult historical moments undoubtedly leave a gap in the thinking of these translators. Manuel Amado, who translated the Acts of the Martyrs of Vietnam in *Memorias de las misiones católicas en el Tonkin*, expresses a special desiderata in the presentation: that it serve as a basis to increase the desire of the apostolate and as a stimulus to intercede for the translator himself:

Dios quiera que contribuya en algo al logro de los que deseamos, que es el inflamaros en el deseo del apostolado, y que estendais el conocimiento de Dios hasta los últimos términos de la tierra. Pobre yo de virtudes y talentos para tan gran destino, consumido de trabajos, de años y de achaques, os envidio en vano vuestra vocación; pero esto mismo debe serviros de estímulo para que pidáis alguna vez á Dios por vuestro humilde hermano, que queda en la participación de vuestros santos sacrificios, oraciones y méritos.[73]

This desire expressed by the translator to keep him present in their prayers, which could be rhetorical, is undoubtedly a singularity of the religious translator, solicitous of mercy and compassion:

Ojalá que este modesto trabajo contribuya en algo para llevar a Dios muchas almas, y que éstas tengan presente en sus oraciones al traductor. FR. MANUEL F. HERBA. [74]

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[71] (It is the Blessed Virgin who moves towards her children, particularly towards the Priests [...]. The Virgin blesses those who read these pages with attention and perseverance, and whoever has the opportunity and zeal to make them known to others. [...] they are always ahead, without haste and without controversy, simply convinced to make a precious apostolate.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Ibidem, pp. 5-6.

[72] (In the interpretation of this controversial book, written in a personal style with an overflowing lexicon, and with advanced literature, we have no other pretension than to contribute to the pacification of Spanish souls through the reconquest of our Christian civilisation.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Higinio GIORDANI, *Signo de contradicción*, Barcelona 1936, p. 21.

[73] (May God want us to contribute something to the attainment of those we desire to be enlightened in the desire of the apostolate, and to be aware of God to the ends of the earth. I, poor man, of virtues and talents for such a great destiny, consumed with work, years and infirmities, I envy you in vain your vocation; but this should serve as a stimulus for you to intercede with God for your humble brother, who remains in the participation of your holy sacrifices, prayers and merits.) (Translated by L.R. González.) AMADO, *Memorias*, p. 5.

[74] (I hope that this modest work contributes something to bring many souls to God, and that these keep the translator present in their prayers. FR. MANUEL F. HERBA.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Enrique DENIFLE, *La vida espiritual según la doctrina de los místicos alemanes del siglo XIV*, Bilbao 1929, p. 13.

Dedication and Acknowledgment

The translator's wishes are sometimes mixed with dedications and acknowledgments. These fragments are quasi-mandatory parts of the prologue (positioned at the beginning or at the end) and have much to do sometimes with the origin of the licenses or the commissioning of the translation. The formulas are very varied, ranging from the most common and simple, such as '*Al Illmo, and Rmo, Sr Dnº Dn Frai Angel Maldonado*'[75] to others that are very elaborate:

> [...] advirtiendo que los yerros que en ellos se hallaren (que avra muchos) serán hijos de mi mal entendimiento; pero no de mi buena voluntad; que esta aspira (desinteresada) a consagrarse en obsequios del servisio de VSria Illma Cuia Vida Gde Dios nro Señor ms as para Honrra, y Gloria nuestra, oaxca 1 de maio de 1704 as.[76]

P. Herba, translator of *La vida espiritual según la doctrina de los místicos alemanes del siglo XIV*, for example, dedicates his translation to:

> A la M. R. Madre Priora, Sor María de Santa Catalina y a las Religiosas de la venerable Comunidad de Dominicas de Vedado (Habana), como a almas escogidas que anhelan subir a las cumbres de la santidad, ofrece este modesto trabajo, donde encontrarán palabras de aliento y la sabia doctrina de los místicos más esclarecidos de nuestra Orden, que las animarán a realizar tan noble y sublime empresa. EL TRADUCTOR.[77]

Fray Antonio Pons, translator of Schillebeeckx, expresses his gratitude to his mentor and director of the work, for his encouragement, as well as his collaborators. He finally offers the work to the religious authorities and brothers of his convent in a classic formula of acknowledgment:

> Damos las gracias al Padre Bonifacio Llamera, director de la colección Homo Dei, que en todo momento nos animó para la traducción de la presente obra, así como a aquéllos que colaboraron en realizar la versión y corrección del texto. Quisiéramos finalmente ofrecer este trabajo al R.P. Prior y Padres profesores del Convento de San Esteban, así como a nuestros hermanos y copresbíteros españoles, que tanto han contribuido a nuestra formación teológica y sacerdotal, la mejor preparación para una vida apostólica y fructuosa.[78]

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[75] REYES, *Gramática*, p. 4.

[76] ([...] warning that the mistakes that are found in them (that many of them) will be product of my misunderstanding; but not of my good will; that this aspires(disinterested) to consecrate itself in gifts of the service of VSria Illma Cuia Vida Gde Dios nro Señor, and Gloria ours, oaxca 1 de maio 1704 as.) (Translated by L.R. González.) REYES, *Gramática*, p. 6.

[77] (The M.R Mother Prioress, Sister María de Santa Catalina and to the Religious of the venerable Community of Dominicas de Vedado (Havana), as chosen souls who yearn to climb to the summits of sanctity, we offer this modest work where they will find words of encouragement and the wise doctrine of the most enlightened mystics of our Order, who will encourage them to carry out such a noble and sublime enterprise. THE TRANSLATOR.) (Translated by L.R. González.) DENIFLE, *La vida*, p. 1.

[78] (Thanks to Father Bonifacio Llamera, director of the Homo Dei collection, who encouraged me to make the translation of this work, as well as those who collaborated on writing this version and correction of the text. We would like to finally offer this work to R.P. Prior and the professors of the Convent of San Esteban, as well as our Spanish brothers and co-priests, who have contributed so much to our theological and priestly formation, the best preparation for an apostolic and fruitful life. FR. ANTONIO PONS, OP'.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Edward H. SCHILLEBEECKX, *Síntesis teológica del sacerdocio*, trans. by Antonio Pons, O.P., Salamanca 1959. pp. 6-7.

Similar treatment is presented by Nelson Medina in the translation of *La formación de los predicadores* that concludes:

> Esta traducción no hubiese sido posible sin el concurso de muchas personas, sin la confianza de mi Comunidad al encomendarme una labor de magisterio en latín, las sugerencias de los estudiantes, y el apoyo del entonces Moderador y ahora P. Provincial, Pedro J. Díaz, quien además ha querido hacer la Presentación del trabajo final. Agradezco igualmente a Santiago Ramírez su oportuna y paciente colaboración en la confección del Índice de Citas Bíblicas y a toda la Comunidad del Convento de San José por su estímulo y entero apoyo en la parte informática que también requiere un trabajo de esta naturaleza. Gracias a todos.[79]

The desiderata and gratitude of P. Getino is unusual. In the prologue of *Diálogo de las arras del alma* he offers to another religious order, the Carmelite Order, his treatise on Christian mysticism in an act of contrition for behaviour very much regretted by the author:

> Tengo yo una espina clavada en el pecho desde que deslicé unas frases no muy místicas, y no espero sacarla sin una confesión pública, para la que la ocasión se brinda. [...] Cuando hace ya una docena de años empezaron a propagarse Vidas de la recién fallecida Teresita del Niño Jesús, hice yo una nota para una revista, dejando a la Santa muy bien, pero no así la Vida, que me parecía demasiado acaramelada, mimosa y endeble para emparejar con las de la Santa Reformadora del Carmelo. [...] Pasaron los años: fue luego beatificada y canonizada esa criatura inocentísima, y me quedé penando por las frases displicentes para su biografía, aunque más iban contra la traducción melosa [la negrita es nuestra]. [...] ¡Qué satisfacción sería para mí contribuir con la dedicatoria de esta obra peregrina a que desaparezca hasta el menor vestigio de molestia y de desconfianza! [...] Y si queremos mayor antigüedad, procuremos reanudar las relaciones que existieron entre Santo Domingo y San Angel poco después de escribirse y poco antes de ponerse en castellano Las arras del alma.[80]

A singular rhetorical procedure is used by Vicente Bernardos de Quirós in *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán* when he says to the Saint:

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[79] (This translation would not have been possible without the help of many people, without the confidence of my Community to entrust me with teaching in Latin, the suggestions of the students, and the support of the then Moderator and now P. Provincial, Pedro J. Díaz , who also wanted to make the presentation of the final work. I also thank Santiago Ramírez for his timely and patient collaboration in the preparation of the Index of Biblical Quotations, and the entire Community of the Convent of San José for their encouragement and full support in the computer issue that also requires work of this nature. Thank you all.) (Translated by L.R. González.) Humberto de ROMANIS, *La formación de los predicadores*, Santafé de Bogotá 1991, p. 21.

[80] (I have a thorn in my chest since I expressed some not very mystical phrases, and I do not expect to get rid of it without a public confession, for which the occasion has now been granted.) When they began to circulate the Life of the recently deceased Thérèse of Lisieux a dozen years ago, I made a note for a magazine, which treated the Saint very well, but not the Life, which seemed to me too much sugary, frivolous and feeble to match the Holy Reformer of Carmel. [...] The years passed: that innocent creature was later beatified and canonised, and I was left feeling sorry for the dismissive phrases in her biography, although they were more against the honeyed translation [ours is a bold one]. [...] What satisfaction it would be for me to contribute to the dedication of this pilgrim work by the disappearance of even the slightest vestige of annoyance and distrust! [...] And if we want more antiquity, let us try to resume the relations that existed between Santo Domingo and San Angel shortly after writing, and shortly before writing in Castilian *Las arras del alma*.) (Translated by L.R. González.) SAN VICTOR, *Diálogo*, p. I-IV.

> Ilustrísimo Doctor del órbe Cristiano, Lumbrera brillante de la Iglesia Católica, y Maestro Angélico en la Pureza y en la Sabiduría, Señor Santo Tomás de Aquino. ¿A quién mas bien, que á Vos, Veneradísimo Preceptor mio, pudiera yo consagrar el pequeño obsequio de la traducción de la admirable Vida de nuestro comun Padre, el Gloriosísimo Patriarca Santo Domingo de Guzmán?[81]

And it continues:

> [...] dignaos de echar una mirada benigna sobre esta Obra principiada por la piedad de una promesa, y consumada bajo vuestros auspicious [...][82]

Farewell Formula

The farewell formulae of the prologues are many and varied. Héctor Muñoz, for example, director of the translation team of *La Misa renovada. Reflexiones sobre el nuevo texto de la Misa* concludes its prologue with a classic formula:

> We hope that the reading, study, meditation and dissemination of this book will bring to priests and the faithful the fruits that its author had in his mind and in his heart.[83]

Manuel Amado, in *Memorias de las misiones católicas en el Tonkin* concludes by directing his valediction to an anonymous reader who shares in his feeling of modesty before the work, and who trusts God:

> Y ve ahí por qué confiadamente te presento este libro, aunque deba infundirme temores: el poco esmero que he podido poner en hacerlo tu religiosidad lo suplirá; y si yo logro escitar en ti una admiración santa hácia Dios, autor de toda santidad; un amor decidido hácia la Iglesia, fecunda madre de los Santos; una tierna devoción hácia estos, que te mueva á imitar su fe, á emular su paciente constancia, y á querer como ellos perderlo todo antes que ser traidor á Jesucristo, no solo quedaré bien pagado de mi corto trabajo, sino que creeré que es demasiado bueno. El Señor puede hacer todo esto, y yo le suplico que lo haga en ti por la mediación de los mártires en que se ha manifestado tan glorioso. – Vale.[84]

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[81] (Illustrious Doctor of the Christian sphere, brilliant luminary of the Catholic Church, and Angelic Master in Purity and Wisdom, Lord St Thomas Aquinas. To whom, rather than you, Most Venerable Preceptor of mine, could I consecrate the small gift of the translation of the admirable Life of our common Father, the Most Glorious Patriarch Santo Domingo de Guzmán?) (Translated by L.R. González.) TOURÓN, *Vida*, p. 1.

[82] ([...] be gracious enough to cast a benign look on this Work, begun with the piety of a promise, and consummated under your auspices [...]) (Translated by L.R. González.) Ibidem.

[83] A. M. ROGUET, *La Misa renovada. Reflexiones sobre el nuevo texto de la Misa*, Florida-Argentina 1972, p. 8.

[84] (And you see why I confidently present this book to you, although it must instil fears in me: the small effort I have been able to put into doing it, your religiosity will make up for; and if I succeed in evoking in you a holy admiration towards God, author of all holiness; a determined love towards the Church, fruitful mother of the Saints; a tender devotion to these, moving you to imitate their faith, emulate their patient constancy, and wish like them to lose everything rather than be a traitor to Jesus Christ, not only will I be well paid for my short work, but I will believe that it is very good. The Lord can do all this, and I beg Him to do it in you through the mediation of the martyrs in which he has manifested himself so gloriously.). (Translated by L.R. González.) AMADO, *Memorias*, p. 8.

Eduardo Aguilar Donis, translator of Bernadot's book, *De la Ecuaristía a la Trinidad*, consecrates the little book to 'Our Lady, the Divine Mother, Headquarters of Wisdom, invoking it with Saint Catherine of Siena', to whom he addresses a '*Prayer of Santa Catalina de Sena*', which serves as a farewell to the prologue.[85]

Related to the idea of humility and religious modesty, already mentioned in this study, Friar Vicente Bernardos, translator of the Life of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, by Antonio Tourón, says his farewell in his 'Dedication of the translator' as 'The youngest of your disciples and loving brother.'[86] Finally, it is necessary to point out that the place and date of completion of the work is sometimes written next to the signature of the translator and the prologue, as an important fact that also has a special relation with the book. For example, we read: 'Manila, festivity of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, 1883';[87] 'Almería, August 4, 1925. Feast of Our Father Santo Domingo'.[88] 'La Plata, Metropolitan Major Seminary 'San José', at the Feast of All Saints of 1943.'[89]

The anniversary and the work deserve a blessing: 'May God bless the first fruits of our literary works on this day of the glories of his Mother, and ours, the Immaculate Virgin!'[90]

As a Conclusion

After this analysis of the paratexts in translations, we can be assured that the words of the Dominican translators are of great value for a comprehension both of the original work and author, and of the work of the translator. The reflection carried out on matters related to the meaning and value of the text is a fundamental testimony to an understanding of the translatological reflection of religious translators over time.

What we have called the 'pact of the translation of the religious translators' is expressed clearly in these examples of the work, and has direct consequences on the fundamental elements of communication. Through them we know more closely not only the translator, but also the necessary collaborators who do not usually appear in the credits of a book.

The ideas about the translation expressed by the monks in the prologues try to convince us that the original text has not changed one bit, but this is an illusion – one more in the work and attitude of translation. The further we advance in the arguments of the prologue, the more we realise the progressive distancing with respect to the text and original author.

As for the value of the work, a high value can be observed in the scale of morality and the defence of Christian values and the gospel, thus appearing certified by superiors and censors who stamped their opinions at the beginning of the book. It may even be that his translation is a source of indulgences.

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[85] BERNADOT, *De la Eucaristía*, pp. 9-10.

[86] TOURÓN, *Vida*.

[87] Jacques-Marie-Louis MONSABRÉ, *Breves meditaciones para rezar el Santísimo Rosario* I, Barcelona 1887, p. 16.

[88] MISCIATELLI, *Pensamientos*.

[89] GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *El sentido común*.

[90] MONSABRÉ, *Exposición*.

The often detailed knowledge about the genesis of the translation introduces us to a translator in the process of rewriting. These texts are often a source of praise for the original works and authors; and, in the specific case of the Dominicans, they are often inspired by the need to interpret Saint Thomas Aquinas. The Virgin also occupies a central place in their work.

The way in which they carry out the work of translation is interesting, being far from economistic or self-indulgent. The motives have been generously detailed in the text, going from the merely linguistic and cultural to the religious, moving through obedience to the Order and to charity.

The prologues, prefaces and introductions of translations often take the place of a personal confession made to the readers who are constant presences in the shadows.

Some elements that could appear as secondary, such as desiderata, dedications and acknowledgments, are also of high translatological interest. These and all the aforementioned elements result in the provision of the authentic value of the monastic translator with a more detailed and better shape.[91]

Written in Spanish by the author and translated into English by Lillyam Rosalba González.

Other Time: Construction of Temporality in Monasteries of Benedictine Tradition

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Abstract

The aim of this analysis is to show how monasteries construct and produce specific dimensions of institutional temporality. Many authors view Benedictine monastic tradition as a source of modern disciplined time.[1] However, contemporary Benedictine monasteries serve more as a harbour of alternatively perceived temporality than a centre of Western modernization. As will be shown by the results of our field research in Czech monasteries, different time regimes are lived and produced by monks, nuns and monastery visitors on two levels. The first is the embodied temporality of Benedictine spiritual tradition, which allows the (re)producing of monastic temporality through texts, teaching, living bodies, or even through the architecture of monasteries. The second level is monastic temporality as a way in which Czech society understood the relevance of the monastic way of life through the perception of 'slower' monastic time. This is illustrated by examples from public media discourse as well as the dynamics of monastic guesthouses, one of the examples.

Keywords

monasticism; time; temporality; Benedictine Order; Czech Republic.

Introduction

> The spotlights above the monks' choir stalls illuminated the heads of the monks and filled the airy white church of the Abbey of Nový Dvůr with a soft, heart-warming atmosphere. There was deep darkness outside. It was, after all, four in the morning [...]. While deep night reigned, here the day began. The singing of deep monks' voices resonated profoundly in my chest and floated my mind away from mundane everydayness.
>
> [...] When I returned from matins back to my warm bed in the guest house, I stopped in the middle of the lonely road. There was a full moon in the black sky. The whole site of the Nový Dvůr monastery was immersed in silence. The calm of this place was so deep it was as though the whole world had stopped breathing. I watched the silvery glow of the moonlight reflecting on the white walls of the monastery, and it seemed as though

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[1] Lewis MUMFORD, *Technics and Civilization*, (reprinted edition), Chicago 2010, pp. 12-18. Eviatar ZERUBAVEL, 'The Benedictine ethic and the modern spirit of scheduling: On schedules and social organization', *Sociological Inquiry* 50/2, 1980.

> I had fallen through a window of time into an island of eternity. Here, at this moment, time has not passed.'[2]

The monasteries in the Czech Republic went through turbulent times in last seventy years. In 1950, all the monasteries were seized by the Communist authorities and nationalised; the consecrated life became illegal in Czechoslovakia until 1990 when the monastic buildings were restituted to surviving monks and nuns. It took another twenty years before parts of former monastic properties were returned to the communities. The period of severe persecution and literal erasure of monasticism from the consciousness of society created a situation where the monasteries can radically reinterpret their tradition and seek new ways to relate to God and outside society.

Between 2016 and 2017, our research team conducted comparative field research between Czech and Austrian Benedictine monasteries.[3] In order to understand the changing role of the monastery in contemporary Czech society, we have chosen to focus on the concept of moral economy, which we understand as a complex system of production, distribution and exchanges of values, norms and feelings between monasteries and the outside 'world'.[4]

During our research, we visited every Czech monastery of Benedictine tradition.[5] We conducted interviews with various monastic community members: priors, cellarers, novice directors, and monks responsible for the specialized economic field. We led a number of informal discussions in monastic shops and guesthouses, as well as short-term observations during the time spent in each monastery. We could hardly miss the notions of 'slower time', or a 'more mindful way of living' in interviews with monastery guests. Moreover, when we started to spend more time in the monasteries for participatory observation, we experienced something similar too. Those flashes of life in a monastery highlighted for us yet another important dimension of spiritual life in such institution: specific monastic time and space.

We came to realize how monasteries have the potential to form an individual experience of time flow. Temporality, particularly monastic temporality, as a way for an institution to reformulate the individual perception of time and how it becomes of value for the wider society, begins to be a pressing question in our research.

This text aims to understand the connection between the monastery of Benedictine tradition as an institution organized in a specific manner producing a special way of life and temporality

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[4] Didier FASSIN, 'Les Economies Morales Revisitées', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 64/6, 2009, pp. 1237-1266; Barbora SPALOVÁ – Isabelle JONVEAUX, 'The Economy of Stability at Catholic monasteries in the Czech Republic and Austria', *Annual review of sociology of religion*, 2018, pp. 269-296; Edward P. THOMPSON, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present* 50, 1971, pp. 76-136.

[5] The Czech Republic now has three male and one female Benedictine monastery, one male and one female Cistercian monastery and one male and one female Trappist monastery. The communities are small, with a maximum of about twenty people in the Trappist monasteries, but only four to five in the Cistercian and Benedictine.

as an individual perception of time flow. The first part of the study provides a theoretical and methodological background for this research, the second chapter analyses specific institutional techniques of time management, and the third part deals with the question of how this particular setting of the monastic institution is reinterpreted by people from the 'outside' world.

Monastic Time as a Sociological Problem

The question of the connection between time and Benedictine monastic tradition has a long tradition in sociological thinking, especially in an analysis of the historical development of Western society. Max Weber noted that Roman Catholic monasteries had been the precursors of the development of the new (Protestant) work ethic.[6] It could be argued that in this way, monasteries provided first steps for the so-called spirit of capitalism. Similarly, Lewis Mumford in his *Technics and Civilization* describes medieval Benedictine monks as originators of the modern conception of time.[7]

Eviatar Zerubavel even said: 'It is more than likely that temporal regularity, which is so characteristic of modem life, had its origins in Benedictine monasteries. The Benedictine Horarium, therefore, has a unique significance as a 'historical first', since it most probably constituted the original model for all Western schedule models.'[8] Michel Foucault understand the key role of the medieval Christian monastery for the development of the disciplinary techniques of modernity in a similar manner. He argues that monasteries (especially of the Benedictine tradition) were sources of the technology of time control in modern Western society.[9]

Those authors have argued that the tradition of time management in Benedictine monastic institutions had long-term consequences for the development of Western society. It presents us with a certain paradox – if monasteries have been one of the sources of modernity during history, nowadays they work more as sources of alternative time management.[10] Monasteries became for instance retreat centres for the busy managerial class; a place where they could come for rest and isolation. This concurs with the experience of other visitors to the monastery, and with our own. We perceived the monastery during our stay as a calm haven, a silent place of withdrawal from the contemporary world, and as an island of slower time.

Striking differences between our experience (and the experience of other monastery visitors) and the described role of monasteries in the development of modern Western time have led

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[6] Max WEBER, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Routledge 2001, pp. 71-73.

[7] MUMFORD, *Technics*, pp. 12-18.

[8] ZERUBAVEL, 'The Benedictine ethic', p. 159.

[9] Jiří ŠUBRT, *Problém času v sociologické teorii* [The Problem of Time in Sociological Theory], Praha 2010, pp. 20-22; Jiří ŠUBRT, 'The monastery as a pattern for the management of time: a contribution to the historical Sociology of modernization processes', *Вестник Российского Университета Дружбы Народов. Серия: Социология* 2, 2014.

[10] And not only in terms of time management. Monasteries are often understood as source of alternative forms of economy or organizational management. See Emil INAUEN – Katja ROST – Margit OSTERLOH – Bruno FREY, 'Back to the Future – A Monastic Perspective on Corporate Governance', *Management Revue – Socio-Economic Studies* 21/1, 2010, pp. 38-59; Birgit FELDBAUER-DURSTMULLER – Simon SANDBERGER – Maximilian NEULINGER OSB, 'Sustainability for Centuries – Monastic Governance of Austrian Benedictine Abbeys', *SSRN Scholarly Paper (No. ID 2101571)*, 2012; Martin HIEBL – Birgit FELDBAUER-DURSTMULLER, 'What can the corporate world learn from the cellarer?: Examining the role of a Benedictine abbey's CFO', *Society and Business Review* 9/1, 2014, pp. 51-73.

us to think more about this issue in sociological terms. If we think about how the organization of an institution through certain time management techniques produces specific institutional temporality, we must take into account not only the relation between the individual self and identity, and this organization (in this case a monastery) but more importantly, the connection between the said organization and society in its historical and cultural context.

From those ideas emerged two main research questions – how is monastic temporality constructed? Is it created through specific techniques, norms and values? And how is monastic temporality sought, used, and reinterpreted by 'outside' people and why? The first question helps us understand how the institutional setting and its cultural dimension (in terms of norms and values) influences the individual perception of time. The second shows us some possibilities of how wider society understands the monastic institution and its role in the contemporary world.

The Monastic Institution and Techniques of Monastic Temporality

We are strongly aware of the fact that there are considerable differences between the monasteries visited in terms of forms of time management, and consequently, forms of monastic temporality. It could be argued that these differences are result of the diversity in the organization of spiritual life, and for that reason we have chosen two specific communities for further analysis. The first of them is the Cistercian monastery for men known as the Abbey of Our Lady at Nový Dvůr. This community belongs to the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance (often referred as Trappists), and it is probably the most radical monastic community in Czechia in terms of withdrawal from the world. The Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance had no tradition in the Czech Lands before 2002.

The second example is the women's community, the Abbey of the Transfiguration of Our Lord at Bílá Hora of the Benedictine Community Venio. This monastery is part of the Venio Community OSB (Munich) which in its spirituality combines life in seclusion at the monastery with work in the outside world. Although female Benedictines had a long tradition in the Czech lands, this was interrupted during the events of the twentieth century. The Venio Community came to Prague in 2007 and restored the tradition of female Benedictine spirituality in Czechia. Although those two communities described are vastly different from each other, they provide vivid examples of how temporality is constructed in different monasteries.

In the following part, we will present how monastic temporality is (re)constructed on the institutional level, mostly in three main ways. The first is called 'temporality as embodied practice' and it addresses the techniques used to (re)produce specific organizational temporality through the human body and its orientation in space. The second is focused on rhythmization, and the third deals with enacting long-term tradition in everyday life.

Praxis of Distinction

First amongst the techniques that recreate monastic temporality is the praxis of distinction, in traditional words *fuga mundi.* Naturally, one of the main goals of the monastic institution (in Benedictine monastic tradition) is to provide a space for consecrated life which is allowed by withdrawal from the secular world. However, this practice of distinction is also a basic

prerequisite for different regimes of monastic temporality. Those regimes require a certain level of separation from the world in the physical and social sense to achieve and maintain specific institutional temporality. Monasteries for that purpose must become islands in some way.

The praxis of distinction is done on a material level through building different kinds of boundaries. For example, the abbey at Nový Dvůr emphasizes distinction praxis greatly. The location of the monastery itself is relatively remote from nearby towns, and monks from here just recently bought other lands around the monastery to extend the ring of uninhabited space around the monastery. The building of the abbey embodies the distinction praxis too. As could be expected, the biggest part of the land at the monastery in Nový Dvůr is accessible only for enclosed monks. This impression is strengthened by the clean, strong lines of the architecture of the monastery.

Similarly, the guesthouse is strictly divided into parts for men and women (with children). During meals, stories of martyrdom are broadcast, so there is no space for communication between guests. All of this encourages solitude and lone contemplation in visitors. Another example is technology restrictions such as very limited internet connection in monasteries.[11]

Figure 34. *Abbey of Our Lady at Nový Dvůr*. Photo: Tereza Sedláčková.

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[11] Isabelle Jonveaux researched the use of internet in Austrian monasteries. Although the priors say that the internet can be a real danger for life in enclosure, they also appreciate it as a new medium for evangelization. More than 82% of Austrian Benedictine monasteries have their own homepage. Some monks even say that the internet serves the enclosure because it is not necessary to leave the monastery for shopping or organizing services. But the reduction of the use of new communication is also reported to be the most difficult aspect of askesis for novices. See this in Isabelle

Figure 35. *Abbey of Our Lady at Nový Dvůr*. Photo: Tereza Sedláčková.

Those types of social and material distinction work as well for the monastery visitors, even if their visit is just temporary. We have often heard from visitors that visits in monasteries are unique opportunities to experience the flow of time differently. Temporality in an almost charismatic manner was described to us by one of the visitors to Nový Dvůr Abbey, who practices his retreat here twice a year:

> I really like it that the space here is really simplified, there is no decoration that would be disruptive for me. The walls are just plain, in the centre is the Virgin Mary. All this calm gets inside you, things don't distract you. [...]
>
> Those first years I always went there (to the Abbey) with a specific question on my mind and I have always been surprised when the answer was a completely different one for a different question. So, I have learnt little by little, that I rather don't ask those questions, but just remain in silence and wait for what will come.[12]

By contrast, the Benedictines from the Venio Community at Bílá Hora are very different. They live in the monastery, but the monastery is located in Prague, capital of the Czech Republic. The sisters also have civilian jobs, so they are in contact with the outside world relatively often. However, distinction practice happens here too: there are enclosed areas for sisters only, as well as a physical wall between the monastery and the hectic street outside. Nevertheless, in

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JONVEAUX, 'Internet in the Monastery', *On-line - Heidelberg Journal of Religions on the Internet* 14, 2019, pp. 61–78.

[12] Guest from Nový Dvůr, November 2018.

Figure 36. *Church of the Abbey of Our Lady at Nový* Dvůr. Photo: the monastery archive.

Figure 37. *Venio Community at Bílá Hora.* Photo: Marek Liška.

Figure 38. *Sisters from the Venio community.* Photo: Bára Alex Kašparová.

the case of the Venio Community in Bílá Hora, the boundary between the outside world and the monastery does not necessarily take place only within the walls of the building.

Talal Asad in his work understands religion through the concept of embodied tradition. He has pointed out that embodied, habituated practices are a key part of religious tradition.[13] This 'embodied monastery' which is interwoven in the everyday practices of the sisters, recreates this boundary between the monastery and the outside world, even when the sisters from the Venio Community are employed in a 'normal', 'outside world' job. The oldest sister of the Venio Community even told us in an interview:

> If you go out into the world as a nun, it is a great challenge to realize whether you really are a consecrated person, whether you really live as a Christian. [...] Then it is good for humility and spiritual life. It is a long task, a lifelong issue, to remain an identical person both inside and out.[14]

Life Rhythmization

In addition to the crucial praxis of distinction which allows the emergence of specific temporality because it helps to recreate a boundary between the monastery and the outside world, there is another important technique of embodied monastic temporality. We called

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[13] Talal *ASAD, Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, Baltimore 2009, pp. 125-167.

[14] Sister from the Venio Community, October 2016.

this life rhythmization, which refers to the ways in which institutions organize collective or individual time. In the words of the *Regula Benedicti* it is called *ordo temporum*, the order of time (RB 48), which reflects *ordo orationis,* the order of prayer (RB 8-18).

It is obvious that even lay lives outside the walls of the monastery are under the obligation of schedules and repeated regularity. However, the monastic life rhythmization is different because it not only strictly organizes the day of the monks and nuns, but more importantly it is an instrument that helps to reorient attention from the secular world to the Divine, and as such it changes the quality of temporality.

Father Prokop from Nový Dvůr emphasized the importance of time management and its connection to work:

> Our day is full but balanced. From the morning alarm till evening bedtime, we have always something to do without too much restraint. We aren't usually weary, nor do we want any holidays. A person could live like this for fifty years and still develop as a person. You should note that there were no vacations or holidays in the preindustrial era. People lived in their own rhythm and they were much less worn out. We try to do the same. Even when a young person who just came into the community brings habits of the outside world with him and takes a long time to change them. However, it doesn't mean that we do sloppy work. Serious work and a calm approach do not exclude each other.[15]

As we can see, he understands rhythmization through work ethics which are different in the monastery from the outside world (it is especially interesting in comparison with previously mentioned sociological theories) and in this sense, produces a different ('more balanced') experience of time. We could understand this as a different normative setting in this institution which helps to reproduce different regimes of temporality.

However, monastic life rhythmization is done not only through specific 'cultural' norms. Various techniques play a key role in constructing temporal regimes too. The most obvious example of dividing daily time is the practice of Divine Office (Liturgy of Hours), which is one of the core practices of monastic spirituality. Regular daily prayers have many functions and their primary functions are not necessarily connected to institutional temporality, even though their effects help to construct it. We have observed a number of important moments in the community when the practice of *Divinum Officium* plays a key role. It includes a way to a state of constant prayer. The practice of *Divinum Officium* also strengthens the relationships within the present community, and it recreates the continuity of tradition through belonging to long-term tradition, which will be explained in the following section.

In relation to rhythm and the construction of specific monastic temporality, the Liturgy of Hours also works as a kind of spiritual reminder. Through the regular practice of the Divine Office, God can be recalled into everydayness and attention reoriented from mundane topics back to God. Through this practice, even everyday moments are somehow 'consecrated', thus lived in more mindful manner. One of the sisters from the Venio Community at Bílá Hora said:

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[15] Father Prokop, Nový Dvůr, March 2017.

> I remember when I stopped peeling the potatoes (and said to myself): What are you doing? You are not thinking properly; your thoughts are not concentrated. And then I knew you had an incredible chance to pray. And since this moment, I use it quite happily and I have the impression that I come to what [...] was close to what the contemplative Benedictines really do.[16]

Another sister from the Venio Community told us that even if it is not possible for her to be with her sisters for all Divine Office because of her employment, she is with them in her mind and prays with them. Divine Office should not be understood in this way only as set of specific moves and psalms, but more as instrument of reorientation of attention.

Moreover, dividing the day by Divine Office also changes the work rhythm and length of working hours in the monastery. For example, when one of authors worked with the monks in Nový Dvůr, there were only four working hours in the day and the periods of work alternated with the time for Divine Office. The rest of the day was dedicated to another activity. Father Prokop, a leader of the novices at Nový Dvůr, told us that the work and prayer balance is of the utmost importance for the monastery. According to him the monastery cannot survive for the future if there are too many financial or intellectual activities, or social work. He even said:

> We are really here for God – we are really trying to live with the Lord every day, to give our heart to the Lord completely. If it is so, everything else always straightens up.[17]

This specific time rhythm in the monastery is also set by the regularity of the masses and the periodicity of the liturgical calendar. It is also established in the Rule of Saint Benedict that time management is different for summer and winter, for Lent and Easter, for ordinary days and days of festivities such as the admission of novices, giving of vows or passing away of monks. It is a complicated system, but it brings all the monastery inhabitants into the same rhythm with nature, liturgy and personal life.[18]

Enacting a Long-Time Tradition

Besides distinction practice and life rhythmization, there is another very effective way in which a monastic institution strengthens its specific temporal regime. It is in enacting the long-time tradition of particular monastery life, or of monastic life in general, into the level of the everyday. Understanding a chosen way of life or someone's home as something lasting more than thousand years inevitably changes one's perspective. This strong sense of participation in something long-lasting (or even eternal) reformulates individual goals, priorities and pace. This is an inspiration for many dimensions of life in monastic institutions: from the architecture – monasteries are built for number of generations – to the work ethics – there is no reason for a temporary solution, because various projects could be planned in a century-long schedule. It is especially visualized in Nový Dvůr – beyond the altar in the church are doors which lead to a cemetery. It is not only a symbolic reminder of *memento mori*, but also a way of reconnection with past generations of monks.

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[16] Sister from the Venio Community, October 2016.

[17] Father Prokop, Nový Dvůr, March 2017.

[18] Columba STEWART, *Prayer and Community: The Benedictine Tradition (First Edition edition)*, Maryknoll, N.Y. 1998, pp. 125-127.

The strategy of enacting long-time tradition could be also illustrated by the example mentioned of broadcasting martyrologues during meals in Nový Dvůr. This also works as a reminder of Catholic spirituality as a thousand-year-old chain of sacrifices for faith. It repeatedly reframes individual life experience through the perspective of the longer monastic (or Roman Catholic) tradition.

This different time frame of individual life through the long-lasting existence of the monastery is also linked to another strategy whereby monastic institutions tend to change the individual perception of temporality. We refer to it as eschatological framing. This discursive technique works with the image of the urgency of the coming End of the World. Even the *Regula Benedicti* includes this kind of eschatological framing:

> And if we want to escape the pains of hell and reach life everlasting, then, while there is still time, while we are still in the body and are able to fulfil all these things by the light of this life, we must hurry to do now what will profit us for eternity.[19]

This quotation also shows us the intricate play between this eschatological framing – the urgent imperative of the End – and the almost eternal duration of monastic life, a technique which was described previously. At first sight, they are in contradiction. One must hurry to achieve these goals. On a second look, this 'profit for eternity' from the quotation also in some way enacts the long-time framing because the minor goals of everyday life are not so significant. Importance dwells in eternity. The pace of the outside world is not important within the walls of the monastery.

Monastic Temporality as Way of Communication between Society and the Community

Contemplative monasteries in the predominantly atheist (or agnostic) Czech society often face a number of misunderstandings. However, we have found that one of the limited ways in which Czech society is able to understand monastic life (or better, the institution of monastic life) is through the different temporal regimes in monasteries, which are particularly visible in public media discourse. The press often refers to monasteries in a manner which indicates that they have some special value for contemporary society in connection with the fact that it moves at too fast a pace:

> Monasteries offer great sanctuary, especially to who seek rest. Contemporary modern society needs to recover from the demanding lifestyle, which we all must live, willingly or not. Although, monasteries were here as places of meditation for centuries, they could offer today what believers and non-believers all need more than ever before in the rush of modern life.[20]

The role of the monastery is, especially in public media discourse, frequently explained as a haven for people who want to escape from accelerated modern time – often described through terms the 'silence' or 'place of withdrawal'. However, it is not only a figure of speech.

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[19] *Regula Benedicti*, pp. 1-6.

[20] Barbora VRABLÍKOVÁ, *1 polský a 5 českých klášterů, ve kterých můžete složit hlavu* [1 Polish and 5 Czech monasteries in which you can lay your head] [on-line], 2015, G.cz, [consulted 1 August, 2021], accessible from: https://g.cz/6-ceskych-a-1-polsky-klaster-ve-kterych-muzete-slozit-hlavu.

Lay people – believers or not – find value in a monastery through the idea of 'being able to stop'. A journalist who spent a week in Nový Dvůr described it in his article:

> I was comparing life to a train that most people leave only at the final stop. And I remembered Father Prokop's answer, when I asked him just yesterday what his advice to modern people would be. He said: Human beings have never had so many resources for their development, and never before did the world run so recklessly forward as today. It is good to stop and think for a while – where is everything going? What is our goal?[21]

The space which allows us to share some of monastic way of life is usually the guesthouse. The Benedictine tradition of guesthouses also highlights the problematic nature of negotiation between monasteries and predominantly secular Czech society on the level of face to face interaction beyond public media discourse.

Guesthouses fulfil the duty of hospitality, mentioned even in the *Regula Benedicti*.[22] This tradition is nowadays practised in various ways. In some monasteries the possibility of accommodation is limited, and visitors live directly among the monks. On the other hand, there are monasteries where the guesthouses are large and generous, and the accommodation of guests forms a significant part of the monastery's income. However, in the monasteries at Nový Dvůr and Bílá Hora, the guesthouses are relatively large and open, but their income usually covers only their costs. Accommodation for this reason becomes a subject for moral bargaining.[23]

In this sense, guesthouses create a tangible space where the monastic environment meets the outside world. In such contact, visitors are able to transform their understanding of monastic silence as space for spiritual life.

A similar experience is described by one of the lay parishioners from the Venio community:

> For me it is such a spiritual place. One can come, talk about spiritual topics, and we have the possibility to organize a spiritual retreat here. It actually began as twenty-four hours spent in the monastery, when we (mothers) needed this. As soon as the children could have been home with their dads for twenty-four hours, we bugged out (laughter). It suits us mainly because we are able to be here in silence and participate in prayers with the sisters. For me it also means to spend time 'with myself'. It is a kind of 'biblical mountain', where one can watch one's life from 'above'.[24]

Silence in this narrative is a tool for life reflection, for being 'with myself'. Because of its unique structure and organization, a monastery is able to offer the conditions for such experience. It has single rooms, accessible chapels, the possibility to participate in Divine Office. This possibility for guests to share 'monastic silence' (and monastic temporality is an

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[21] Alan CEDRIK, 'Modli se a pracuj', [press], *Instinkt*, 2009.

[22] *Regula Benedicti*, pp. 53-51.

[23] SPALOVÁ – JONVEAUX, 'The Economy'.

[24] Parishioner Jana, Břevnov, 2018.

integral part of this), works for the general public as a way of understanding monasteries as something relevant.

Various sorts of people are interested in sharing the monastic silence. Some of them are believers who come to a monastery to share their spirituality. Other cases are friends, relatives or other groups, for example, children's church choirs. On the other hand, monasteries sometimes serve as conference facilities for seminars or meetings (although still of a specific kind). Sometimes they will accommodate even tourists. However, spending time in a monastery represents for a large number of visitors a particular spiritual wellness, a practical or symbolic opportunity to leave the outside world for a moment. A monastery is a sought-after place even by people without any Christian background exactly for that purpose. The most striking example of this are managers who seek spiritual haven here to restore their energy and motivation to continue their high-power jobs.[25]

The question of who is a suitable visitor in a monastery became rather urgent because different kinds of people take an interest in monastic life. That is naturally an important part of informal negotiations between the monks and nuns and the outside world. In some cases, the visitors' motivations are met with disagreement or confusion from monks and nuns.[26]

Figure 39. *The room in Nový Dvůr's guesthouse invites the guests for a meditative stay. Silence is kept in the whole building.* Photo: Tereza Sedláčková.

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[25] Jonveaux categorises the types of monastery visitors as 1. seekers of God, 2. seekers of tradition, 3. seekers of their own selves, 4. seekers of their roots and 5. seekers of the exotic. See in Isabelle JONVEAUX, *Moines, corps et âmes: une sociologie de l'ascèse monastique contemporaine¸* Paris 2018, pp. 101-111.

[26] It could be illustrated by the text from the web presentation of the Abbey in Nový Dvůr. On the page about

However, it is mostly argued that even people who are looking 'just' for silence and withdrawal from the world could meet God in the monastery. Furthermore, some of the Czech Benedictine monasteries understand this society's needs and they actively try to respond to them. For example, one of the sisters from the Venio community said that she sees her role in the outside world as someone who can show other people how to live life more slowly and mindfully.

Discussion: Temporal Sources of Modernity

In this contribution, we have attempted to show that an inquiry into time and temporality is not only a beneficial analytical perspective into the inner dynamics of the monastic institution but at the same time offers a useful way of grasping the uncertain relationship between contemporary Czech society and the institutions of consecrated life. The techniques described, introduced in the previous text, show how each monastery recreates its own specific temporality.

This specific temporality also becomes a space for monasteries to renegotiate their position in Czech society, which monasteries sometimes more or less reluctantly decide to use (and sometimes not to use). At the very same moment, a study of time in the monastic environment reveals something important about society itself. This paper began with the claim that monasteries have served as sources of modern techniques of time management.[27] But what we have found now is different – society understands (at least partially) the role of the monastic institution as a source of alternative time, described by terms such as 'slow pace', 'silence', or 'balance'. It is one of the sources of their attractive power for visitors.

However, Benedictine tradition as a source of societal alternative is a topic for discussion for the global community of Benedictines. It is registered especially as an opportunity in the time of environmental crisis. This can be illustrated in the case of the publication *Listening to the Earth: An Environmental Audit for Benedictine Communities*.[28] This is a practical manual focused on the ecological and sustainable aspects of communities. In the foreword, Joan D. Chittister OSB conceptualizes the current environmental crisis as a call to 'Benedictine mission', comparing it with a similar historical crisis in the sixth century, when Benedictinism brought a new system of order, a new pattern of life, and a new commitment to the land and to life.[29] According to her, Benedictines need to take over the leadership role in a global crisis, because they are suitable for that: 'Clearly the whole world needs Benedictinism again, needs a mindset that cares for the tools of life 'as if they were vessels of the altar. We need a sense of balance, of enoughness, of stewardship and a sense of the eternal presence of God. We need a life lived in harmony with the seasons, the sun, the self and the other.'[30] We have captured similar discussions about the Benedictine style of life as an opportunity to rethink the modern world through the lens of monastic temporality.

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guesthouses there is a part with the title 'What did they go to see in the desert?' where monks explicitly deny access to tourists or people who want to visit a abbey for the sake of tourism, see: *Receiving Guests at Novy Dvur* [on-line], Abbey of Nový Dvůr, [consulted 1 August, 2021], accessible from: http://www.novydvur.cz/en/guests.html

[27] MUMFORD, *Technics*, pp. 12-18.

[28] William L. BARLETT, *Listening to the Earth: An Environmental Audit for Benedictine Communities*, London 2006.

[29] Joan CHITTISTER, 'A Benedictine consciousness whose time has come again', in: William Barlett, *Listening to the Earth: An Environmental Audit for Benedictine Communities*, London 2006, p. VII.

[30] CHITTISTER, 'A Benedectine consciousness', pp. VII-VIII.

It could be argued that the core of the monastic tradition has not changed much during the last three or four hundred years – with respect to the inevitable changes and variations of truly lived spirituality. It is society and its pace – or its time regime – that has changed. Through the perspective of time we could understand more about our contemporary world. So, this contribution concludes with another question – if the monasteries were the sources of new temporality before, could they serve as such once again?

Conclusion

This contribution shows what kind of role time and temporality play in communication between Benedictine monasteries and contemporary Czech society and how its specific institutional temporality is constructed. The main aim of this text was to show how something as abstract as time could be an object of organizational politics and economic activities and how it could be used as a way to understand the relationship between the monastery and the outside world.

Reflection on the specific connection between the conceptualization of time and the monastery has its own long tradition in modern sociology. Zerubavel especially argues that the monasteries and their time organization have laid the foundation of a modern perception of time.[31] During the research, we also found monasteries as institutions with a specific temporal regime. Several key techniques have been identified in this process: distinction praxis, life rhythmization and enacting long-term tradition. The specific temporality also becomes in the Czech context an important possibility for the monasteries to negotiate their position in contemporary Czech society, because the Czech public is able to understand monasteries as places were time flows more slowly and as such, for a large number of visitors it represents an opportunity to leave daily life and reflect upon it.

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[31] ZERUBAVEL, 'The Benedictine ethic'.

Sources, Forms and Functions of Monastic Historiography of the Early Modern Age in the Czech Lands (2014-2016)

Jan Zdichynec

The project focuses on monastic historiography during the early modern period as a specific type of historical narrative. It aims to survey the wide production of texts from various sources which often served as base for the historical works of that period. It also attempts to examine their representative character, as well as their classification and evaluation. Apart from the creation of a list of different types of sources, the project also seeks to compare their forms and functions within the context of different Catholic Orders, as well as to contribute to the interpretation of understanding one's own past and the self-presentation of individual Orders.

One of the main outcomes of the project was a list of the narrative sources accessible via an internet database. This register of narrative sources is hosted by *The Bio-Bibliographical Database of Members of the Religious Orders Living in the Czech Lands in the Early Modern Age (BBDR),* which contains modules enabling the evidence and description of manuscripts and old prints according to accepted standards.

The BBDR was created in 2010 and was conceived as a space for collecting information on the life of religious communities following the principles common for similar structures.

The biographical part of the database [10. 1. 2018] comprises 17,730 personal entries and corporations. These entries are divided into several categories according to their comprehensiveness. The basic entry is composed of information about the name of the Order of which a given person was a member, and of the basic data (date of birth, death, profession, and possibly ordaining and entry into the Order). The more advanced category contains a description of at least a part of the career. Full entries cover the life of an individual from the entry into an Order until their death (or departure from the Order); ideally, information on their parents and life prior to entering the Order is also added. The most frequently represented Orders are the Capuchins and Jesuits followed by the Premonstratensians and Piarists. Special attention was paid to the historiographers of the individual Orders.

Currently the database of manuscripts contains 2,453 entries on sources from various collections. The cataloguing consists of three segments: the actual codicological description, the identification of the manuscript (location, owner, etc.), and specially created fields which categorize the manuscript as regards its genre, content and authorship. For the *genre identification* the basic criterion is the chronological relation between the origin of the source and the events it describes. The next criterion is the formal sectioning of the document. If the basic unit in a manuscript describing immediate events *(the present time)* is the day, we refer to it as *diarium*; if it is the year, we refer to it as *annals*, which are similar to the Jesuit *literae*

annuae. Books of notes of the particular monk lie on the threshold between an ego-document and a historical source.

Works dedicated to the past can be divided according to their overall conception into the *gesta*, which are narrated against the background of the individual superiors' activities, the *chronicles*, which capture events over the individual years, and *history*, i.e. works of more elaborate conception. *Calendaria* represent a special type – the works abandon linear chronological conception, replacing it with anniversaries of various historical events. *Memoirs* are manuscripts on the threshold of the writer's past and presence reflecting the individual's personal memories, while *memoir books* are books that capture the important events of an institution. The final criterion for determination of the genre is the author or the broadness of the recorded events – on the one hand, there are personal diaries and on the other hand, there is the history of the religious house, province or even the entire order.

The main feature that divides the biographic sources described is attention to detail of the record, which goes hand in hand with the reason for which the particular manuscripts were written. The briefest sources include *registers*, while *catalogues* bring more information, and the most detailed information is captured in the *lives (biographies) of the brethren and sisters* where we can find much information on their lives. *Autobiography* represents a less common source of similar content. Information of a biographical character is also provided by *elogia*, which were written in memory of a deceased monk to accentuate his virtues and merits. *Necrologia* contrast with the elaborated elogia, being limited to a mere observation of the death of the religious. Another group of sources brings information on specific events in the monks' lives (e.g. *books of professions, elenchi ordinarionum*).

Other essential issues, which demand attention in description and characterization of the monastic historiography, are connected with the authorship of the extant texts.

One way to develop the database is to link it with an electronic edition of sources. Equally important is the upkeep of the collected data and the removal of obstacles to easy searches.

Monastic Itineraries

Kateřina Charvátová and Radka Ranochová

The website 'Klášterní stezky' (www.klasterni-stezky.cz), meaning Monastic Routes, or Monastic Itineraries, is quite recent, but the idea of the presentation of monasteries and their history to a wider public already has a history. It was first proposed by historians who wished to broaden the impact of their results beyond the limits of the academic community, so that they will become accessible to all those interested. Unfortunately, the grant agencies of the Czech Republic did not consider our vision of the 'Monastic Itineraries', originally limited to the Cistercian institutions, and modelled on 'The European Route of Cistercian Abbeys' (2010), existing in many European countries, interesting. Yet interest in publicity for monasteries and their history persisted. The Czech Republic is a strongly atheist land, and monasteries and their meaning are not very popular or fully comprehensible here. This makes us feel the need to engage in this matter. When it became clear that the project would not get funds, we chose a 'bottom-up' initiative. An association of volunteers, a working group comprising historians and other members of the academic community, as well as those working in both existing and extinct monastic centres, emerged in 2014. In our meetings we dwelt on issues such as how to best propagate monastic structures, and how to raise the public awareness of the meaning and significance of the monasteries.

These prolonged discussions resulted in an intention to create a website as a common tool of this working group, with the proviso that the website will serve all traditional monastic Orders on the territory of the Czech republic – Benedictines, Premonstratensians, Cistercians, possibly also the Mendicant orders. Preference was given to the presentation of those institutions of which the managers are members of our working group.

The goals of the website have been set as follows: 1. The website should, first and foremost, yield high-quality information on monasteries and the life of the Order; 2. at the same time, it should provide information for visitors; 3. special emphasis should be laid on education and information on educational programmes offered in particular member sites.

In 2016, a website called ' Klášterní stezky' (Monastic Itineraries) was created according to the abovementioned criteria. The website was opened to the public on July 1st, 2017 (http://www.klasterni-stezky.cz/). Texts about monasteries and monastic life were written by Kateřina Charvátová and Radka Ranochová, two graduate students of the Faculty of Education.

'Klášterní stezky' is a Czech-language website, without ambitions to address the public abroad. The goal is to propagate Czech monasteries in the Czech Republic.

The website 'Klášterní stezky' has a simple structure, easy to understand and to manage. Basic information is contained in the main menu, offering the following chapters:

Life of the Order, Monasteries, Education, Materials, Questions and News.

The 'Life of the Order' chapter is one of those essential parts offering information on the individual orders, their history and everyday life, of standard academic quality level. Much as any other internet encyclopaedia, it enables the interlinking and explaining of special terms connecting with monastic themes (the Rule, the *Ofiicium Divinum*, the persons in monasteries, etc).

The second, and no less important chapter, is 'Monasteries'. It contains 27 institutions which may be looked at either as an alphabetic list, or on a map. The information set provided on them always has the same structure. It will serve equally a tourist, a school teacher, or a person interested in monastic history. Simple icons give first-sight information: is the monastery living or defunct? Is it open just in the tourist season, or all through the year? Is there a bookshop, or only souvenir sales? Are there guided tours, or is there a museum exposition? Information on divine services or educational programmes is also provided. Every monastic page appends a Photo-gallery.

A number of defunct monasteries are presently managed by various institutions whose websites are not always interlinked. The website brings information on all the institutions represented and their programme menus to facilitate the orientation of all those interested in monasteries. The 'Klášterní stezky' website provides all the information on any monastery in one and the same place. References are of course included, as we have no interest in replacing the websites of particular institutions.

The next segment is that on the history of the house, from its foundation up to the present. This is based on our own research and experience, and on specialized literature. A third part, which you will find in every monastic description, includes practical information for visitors. This gives the opening hours, entrance fees, variants of visitors' circuits and various special activities taking place within the monastic premises.

The last part of the 'Monasteries' chapter concerns the educational activities offered within the houses in question. The menu is varied: from programmes on the history of the relevant Order, on the history of the site, and everyday life in it. It includes information on natural sights and on monastic gardens, as well as on workshops, especially *scriptoria* and bookbinding plants. All categories include basic information on the contents of the programme, target groups, capacity, prices and time demands. In recent years the activities offered in monasteries to schools and to families visibly grew in volume. Some of them are interconnected with school tuition, and may help teachers along, offering materials for preparatory studies, and follow-up work at school after their return from the monastery. However, educational programmes are not offered by all monasteries.

'Education' is one of the messages of the website presented, and for this reason we assign an independent chapter to it in the main menu. This chapter subsumes, in one place, the education offers of all the participating monasteries; for easy use, the offer is divided according to the target groups, taking into account the age of the pupils and students. No other unified and comprehensive review of offers for schools exists in the Czech Republic.

The 'Klášterní stezky' website is not our only enterprise with a heritage theme of the Department of History and History Didactics of the Faculty of Education of Charles University.

In addition to professional interest in the medieval history of the Cistercian order, the department shared in several projects which were aimed at the cultural heritage, its presentation, and mainly at heritage education.[1] We deem the relation to cultural heritage to be of utmost importance for the preservation of the monastic heritage. We can protect only what we understand, and what we know. If this works, then an event which shocked most of the population of this country in July 2017, would be unthinkable. At that time, two youths celebrating their eighteenth birthday set a sixteenth-century wooden church in the Ostrava region on fire, probably intentionally. In a hot summer night, the building caught fire quickly, leaving but a miserable heap of ruins.

In recent years, the Department of History of the Faculty of Education participated in a project entitled Educational Programme for the Czech Cultural Heritage,[2] of which the main bearer was the National Antiquities' Institute. This successful project, awarded the prestigious Europa Nostra prize in 2017,[3] was aimed at education in monuments, including monastic houses. Our experiences with the preparation of education programmes for monasteries enable us to offer help to monasteries in this area too. This is not only to register already-existing programmes, but also to participate in the preparation of new ones.

One of the first projects of support for schools and their cooperation with various memory institutions resulted in the origin of a 'Monasterium' website, with the subtitle 'Do not be afraid of monasteries'.[4] This presents a wealth of information on particular parts of monasteries, from churches to administrative buildings, with photographs and a basic information texts. 'Monasterium' is addressed first and foremost to schools. In an amusing form, it presents activities in the spaces in question, and prepares for visits to any monasteries in the vicinity of the schools, or for their final assessments. It contains research lists for pupils, and three

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[1] The first Project is *Metodika pro implementaci Výchovy ke vztahu ke kulturně historickému dědictví do školních vzdělávacích programů* [Methodology for the Implemntation of Education in Relationship to the Cultural and Historical Heritage of School Educational Programmes, 2006-2008; the project was funded by the Ministry of Education Youth and Sports]. You can read more about it in: Dušan FOLTÝN (ed.), *Prameny paměti. Sedm kapitol o kulturně historickém dědictví pro potřeby výchovné praxe* [Springs of Memory. Seven Chapters about Cultural and Historical Heritage for the Needs of Educational Practice], Praha 2008. The second Project is *Kulturně historické dědictví jako východisko pro rozvoj znalostí, schopností a dovedností žáků ve vzdělávání pro udržitelný rozvoj místních komunit* [The Cultural and Historical Heritage as a Starting Point for the Development of the Knowledge, Capability and Skills of Pupils in Education for the Sustainable Development of Local Communities, 2009-2012]; the project was founded by the Ministry of Education Youth and Sports as well. You can read more about it in: Dušan FOLTÝN – Hana HAVLŮJOVÁ (eds.), *Kulturní dědictví a udržitelný rozvoj místních komunit ve školní praxi; Kulturní dědictví a udržitelný rozvoj místních komunit* [Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development of Local Communities], Praha 2013; Dušan FOLTÝN – Hana HAVLŮJOVÁ (eds.), *Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development: Eight Case Studies from Czech Schools; Kulturerbe und nachhaltige Entwicklung: Acht Beispiele aus der tschechischen Schulpraxis; Kulturní dědictví a udržitelný rozvoj: Osm příkladů z české školní praxe*, Prague 2012; Hana HAVLŮJOVÁ – Jana LEŠNEROVÁ (eds.), *Kulturní dědictví a udržitelný rozvoj místních komunit ve školní praxi: Metodická doporučení a příklady dobré praxe pro učitele základních a středních škol* [The Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development of Local Communities in School Practice], Praha 2012.

[2] This project is officialy called: *Vzdělávací role Národního památkového ústavu: Edukace jako klíčový nástroj zkvalitnění péče o kulturní dědictví České republiky* [The Educational Role of the National Heritage Institute: Education as the Key Instrument in Improving the Care of the Cultural Heritage of the Czech Republic]. The project was funded by the Ministry of Culture. You can read more about it in: Hana HAVLŮJOVÁ et al., *Památky nás baví 1-5,* [Monuments entertain us 1-5] Praha 2015.

[3] *Educational Programme for the Czech Cultural Heritage* [on-line], April 05, 2017, European Heritage Europa Nostra Awards, [consulted 20 September, 2017], accessible from: http://www.europeanheritageawards.eu/winners/educational-programme-czech-cultural-heritage/.

[4] *Monasterium aneb nebojte se klášterů* [Monasterium or do not be afraid of monasteries, on-line], [consulted 20 September, 2017], accessible from: http://monasterium.kub.cz/.

ready-made programmes for teachers, which may be carried out on monastic premises with the pupils.

The 'Monastic Itineraries' website has been active for almost three months. It is a modest site, in accordance with the fact that it has emerged without grant support, out of interest and enthusiasm for the theme. The only limited financial assistance that we have received came from the Faculty of Education, which paid for certain technical tasks, and thanks to which doctoral students could lend a hand in filling in the site.

Pondering upon the further expansion of the website, we realize that it will depend on whether we shall secure what we most sorely miss – namely funding. We definitely wish to maintain the offer of educational activities and other devices, interesting for families and schools. We also intend to include more specialized texts, of course, only if we find specialists well-versed in the questions in consideration. Most desirable would be texts from such disciplines as art history, archaeology, landscaping, ecology and the like. In the future, we also aim at enriching our website by further educational materials. One of the tasks in question would be preparation of a series of itinerant expositions on themes of monastic life, history and so on, the contents of which could subsequently be placed in the website.

We said at the beginning that the website emerged out of meetings with managers and representatives of monasteries. Such meetings will continue, as we deem personalized support, mutual inspiration and personal contacts to be of the highest importance. Moreover, we are interested in feedback to our website in the form of the opinions of managers of present-day monastic sites. Another way to the interconnection of academic and monastic spheres could be seen in cooperation in the choice of BA and MA university theses covering hitherto unprocessed stages of history of individual monasteries (the modern age, for instance). We shall be most content if we succeed in contributing towards the abovementioned interlinking of the academic and non-academic (monastic) spheres. And if we thus facilitate an opportunity for at least a few pupils and students to forge a better relationship with the monasteries, the greater will be our joy.

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(Trans)missions: Monasteries as Sites of Cultural Transfers focuses on the Catholic tradition of consecrated life (vita religiosa) from the High Middle Ages to the present. It gathers papers by authors from various disciplinary backgrounds, in particular art history, history, anthropology and translation studies. Finally, it includes two short reports on Czech projects on monastic topics. The chronological and geographical scope of the book is focused on the Western tradition from the High Middle Ages up to the present, specifically in the territory of Central Europe and Spain along with its overseas colonies. The region of Central Europe was interconnected with the Spanish Empire through the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs, allowing the given topic to be studied in a broader international context, and to involve the Central European and Spanish territories in the global flow of information, thus incorporating the regional and national histories of individual European countries into global history. This involvement is also enabled by the study of interconnecting themes, such as cultural transfers within and between the Old and the New World, information flows between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, the processes of individual and social identity formation, representation and othering of women, and the missionary activities of mendicant orders in the New World, together with their translation practices; and by the contextualization of monastic history and related themes within the processes of European internal and external colonization and evangelization.

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