

# Acta Inter Culturalia

The Cult of Isis Io from  
Egypt to Pompeii

A Historical Perspective  
of Indian Cuisine

Lithuanian Patron of the Order  
of Malta

Turkish Culture in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century  
Venetian Art

Branding of the Grand  
Egyptian Museum

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ARTICLES  
/ ANALYSIS



Sara Kitat

Professor in Tourist Guiding Department, Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, Egypt

## Between Egypt and Pompeii: The Cult of Isis Io in Egypt

**Abstract:** The relationship of Io with Isis seems to be a particularly intricate religious interchange in the development of the Hellenistic and later Roman cult of Isis. This paper aims to examine one of the aspects of the Greco-Egyptian interrelation in religion through the cult of Io assimilated with goddess Isis. In Greek mythology, Io, a priestess of Hera, was a beautiful lady who was loved by Zeus. She became pregnant with a child of Zeus called Epaphus. The young bull Epaphus was equated with the Memphite Apis bull. During the reign of Ptolemy II, Lycophron described Isis as mother of Ephaphus. Koptos became the main worship center for Isis Io till the fourth century AD. During the Nile flood, certain ceremonies were held in the honor of Isis Io. Juvenal described the role of Isis Io as a Nile deity in the region of the first cataract. Isis Io seemed to receive veneration in Canopus. The arrival of Io at Canopus was represented at the Casa del Duca di Aumale and the Isis Temple in Pompei. Many literary sources throw the light on Io and Isis who were regarded as religious models of fertility, Nile waters, prosperity as well as civilized world. Furthermore, a broader universal meaning was given to Isis Io as symbol of salvation and liberation; concepts that were closely related to Isis even after Christianity.

**Keywords:** Io, Isis, Nile, Apis, Canopus, Pompeii

The relationship of Io with Isis seems to be a particularly intricate religious interchange in the context of the development of the Hellenistic and later Roman cult of Isis. By the early Roman times, invoking shapes of goddess Isis were attested and crossed the frontiers of Egypt such as; Isis Canopus, Isis Euthenia<sup>1</sup> and Isis Io. This paper aims to examine one of the aspects of the Greco-Egyptian interrelation in religion through the cult of

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<sup>1</sup> Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 330-331; Soheir Bakhoun, *Dieux égyptiens à Alexandrie sous les Antonins: recherches numismatiques et historiques* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2002), 110-111.

Io assimilated with goddess Isis. It approaches the aspects of the assimilation between Isis and Io based on the context of the literary evidence and tragic art.

The myth of Io is mentioned in different versions of the Greek mythic sources. The writings of *Aeschylus*, namely *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, and *The Suppliants* and *Prometheus Bound*, as well as *The Library* by *Apollodorus Mythographus* are the most remarkable sources of Io's myth. However, the most ancient source of such myth is attested in the seventh century *Aegimius* of *Hesiod*.<sup>2</sup> In Greek mythology, Io was a beautiful young maiden, daughter of Inachus, the river of Argos and the city's mythical king. She was also described to be a priestess of Hera at Argos. During wandering in the gardens, Zeus saw the young lady and fell in love with her. Zeus formed a cloud in a sunny day to hide his new love from his wife Hera. The latter became suspicious and decided to investigate her husband. Meanwhile, Zeus succeeded in transforming his new lover Io into a marvelous white heifer in order to protect his mistress from his jealous wife Hera. Another version of the myth claims that it was Hera who transformed Io into a cow.<sup>3</sup>

Zeus presented the stunning cow as gift to his old wife. After that, Hera told Argus was a monster with thousand eyes to guard the cow. On the other side, Zeus he sent his son Hermes to defeat Argus and set his lover free. Zeus' son succeeded in his mission and cut off the head of this monster. Being very angry, Hera sent a gadfly to follow and sting Io. Io wandered far from land to land, trying to escape from the gadfly. She travelled to Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine till she reached Egypt as far as Memphis.<sup>4</sup>

In Memphis, Io, defined as "*an ox-eyed bull-maid*", was kidnapped. This was mentioned in verses 1291-5 of the *Alexandra* give Cassandra's account as follows; "*Ruin seize first the Carnite (Phoenician) sailor hounds,*

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Aegimius*, fr. 294, 296; Rachel Gottesman, *The Wanderings of Io: Spatial Readings into Greek Mythology*, in: *Dossier: Mothers and Maternities in Ancient Greece* (Paris-Athens: Editions of the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, 2013), 240-251.

<sup>3</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Greco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Alexander S. Murray, *Who's who in mythology: classic guide to the ancient world* (London: Bracken Books, 1988), 46-49, 210; Arianna Magnolo, "Io as Isis: A Lycophroean Myth in Nonnus," *Literature* 2 (2022): 375; Rachel Gottesman, *The Wanderings of Io: Spatial Readings into Greek Mythology*, in: *Dossier: Mothers and Maternities in Ancient Greece* (Paris-Athens: Editions of the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, 2013), 240-251.

<sup>4</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Greco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Peter Bently, *The Hutchinson dictionary of world myth* (London, Oxford: Helicon in association with Duncan Baird, 1996), 104; Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina, Zeus Sarapis: die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1995), 67-68.

*the merchant wolves, who carried off the ox-eyed bull-maid girl from Lerna to bring her as a fatal bride to the lord of Memphis, and raised the torch of hatred between the two continent.*"<sup>5</sup> Referring to the etymology of Epaphus, the young bull Epaphus was equated with the Memphite Apis bull. His mother, who is known as the "bull's maid," is essentially Io in the shape of a cow. This was mentioned in later versions of the myth of Isis that gave birth to the bull Apis. The tale of Io was written by the Hellenistic poet Lycophron.<sup>6</sup>

Zeus is the bull that pursued Io in the same way that he was the bull that conceived Europa. Zeus approached the horned cow (Io) "*in the fit likeness of a cow-mating bull*," claims Aeschylus, but when Io reaches Memphis, Zeus gives her an impregnating touch, resulting in the transformation of the bull and cow into human beings even if their offspring, Epaphus, is still a young bull. Thus, it is obvious that an etymology of Epaphus is being served. His mother, who is known as the "bull's maid," is essentially Io in the shape of a cow. Although it is not included in Plutarch's narrative, it is also true of the late theory on Isis: she gives birth to the bull Apis.<sup>7</sup>

The son of Io, namely Epaphos, was destined to be Egypt's first king. Through her son, Io became the ancestress of many heroes and her descendants spread throughout the ancient world. For many generations, they became rulers of Aigyptos, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and reached as far as the Arab lands. Finally, the descendants of Io returned to Greece-Kadmos (Cadmus) founding the royal house of Thebes and Danaos (Danaus) that of Argos.<sup>8</sup>

Zeus was the one who ordered Hermes to bring Io to Egypt, where she would be venerated as Nile goddess who could control over the Nile and the

<sup>5</sup> John Gwyn Griffiths, "Lycophron on Io and Isis," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1986): 472.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 473; Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, "Io in Alexandria," *Römische Mitteilungen (RM)* 90 (1983): 35-47; Arianna Magnolo, "Io as Isis: A Lycophronean Myth in Nonnus," *Literature* 2 (2022): 375-376.

<sup>7</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Aeschylus (Supp. 301-313); John Gwyn Griffiths, "Lycophron on Io and Isis," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1986): 473.

<sup>8</sup> Rachel Gottesman, *The Wanderings of Io: Spatial Readings into Greek Mythology*, in: *Dossier: Mothers and Maternities in Ancient Greece* (Paris-Athens: Editions of the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, 2013), 244-258. [The descendants of Io were Aigyptos – father of the Egyptians, Phoinix – founder of the Phoenicians, Arabos – father of the Arab tribes, Belos – master of the worshippers of god Baal, Cilix – founder of Cilicia in Asia Minor, Thasos – founder of the Island Thasos, Abas – founder of the Abantes from the Island of Euboea, Danaos – founder of the Greek Homeric named as the Danaans, Europa and Libya – gave their names to the continents, Kyrene – founder of the Greek colony in north Africa. For further details see: Martin Litchfield West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure, and Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 76-89, 177-178.]

winds.<sup>9</sup> The myth represented Egypt as a similar locative sample of the city of Argos. Both places enjoyed safety, fertility, and social intimation like almost all lands and cities overlooking the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>10</sup> According to Io's myth, the cow Io fell in the Nile water. The Nile god rescued her and Isis turned the poor Io into her original shape as a young beautiful woman.<sup>11</sup> In another episode of the myth, when Io reached Egypt, Zeus turned her back into a human figure. Io became pregnant with a child of Zeus called Epaphus.<sup>12</sup>

Under Ptolemy Philadelphus, Lycophron compiled comedic texts and authored plays for the Library of Alexandria. The myth of Isis Io was mentioned by this poem. He described Isis as mother of Ephaphus (the Egyptian Apis). This assimilation between Isis and Io represents an obvious example of the Greco-Egyptian interrelation in religion.<sup>13</sup> It seems that that Isis Io was also venerated in Alexandria, particularly the island of Pharos. According to Ovid, followed by Martila and Statius, the *iuvenco Pharia*, the heifer of Pharos was the heifer of Isis-Io. The poet Statius refers the arrival of Io to Egyptian land and states that '*now she is the queen of Pharos*'.<sup>14</sup>

Plutarch, in *De Iside et Osiride* 37, mentioned that, according to Mnaseas, "*Dionysus, Osiris and Serapis are linked to Epaphus*."<sup>15</sup> In addition, Herodotus, who was obviously affected by the description of Lycophron, referred

<sup>9</sup> Luke Roman, Monica Roman, *Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman mythology* (New York: Facts On File, 2010), 265; Arianna Magnolo, "Io as Isis: A Lycophronean Myth in Nonnus," *Literature* 2 (2022): 378.

<sup>10</sup> Rachel Gottesman, *The Wanderings of Io: Spatial Readings into Greek Mythology*, in: *Dossier: Mothers and Maternities in Ancient Greece* (Paris-Athens: Editions of the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, 2013), 245-254.

<sup>11</sup> This tale was pictorially represented in Isis Temple in Pompei in Italy; Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina, Zeus Sarapis: die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1995), 67-68.

<sup>12</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Peter Bently, *The Hutchinson dictionary of world myth* (London, Oxford: Helicon in association with Duncan Baird, 1996), 104; John Gwyn Griffiths, "Lycophron on Io and Isis," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1986): 472-477; Luke Roman, Monica Roman, *Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman mythology* (New York: Facts On File, 2010), 266; Jane Chance, "Re-memembering Herself: Christine de Pizan's Refiguration of Isis as Io," *Modern Philology* 111, no. 2 (2013): 133-157.

<sup>13</sup> John Gwyn Griffiths, "Lycophron on Io and Isis," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1986): 473; Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, "Io in Alexandria," *Römische Mitteilungen (RM)* 90 (1983): 35-47.

<sup>14</sup> Ovidius, *Ars Amatoria*, 3.635; Ovidius, *Fasti*, 5.619; Ovidius, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, 1.1.38; Statius, *Silvae*, 3.2.102; Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, "Io in Alexandria," *Römische Mitteilungen (RM)* 90 (1983): 160-161.

<sup>15</sup> Arianna Magnolo, "Io as Isis: A Lycophronean Myth in Nonnus," *Literature* 2 (2022): 380, note 11; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 37; Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, "Io in Alexandria," *Römische Mitteilungen (RM)* 90 (1983): 35-47.

to the similarity between Isis and Io as follows; “*The statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representation of Io; and the Egyptians, one and all, venerate cows much more highly than any other animal.*”<sup>16</sup> In another statement, Herodotus described that “*Apis in Greek is Epaphus.*”<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Herodotus (3.27) gave a good account about the festival of the epiphany of Apis-Epaphus in Memphis by the reign of Cambyses.<sup>18</sup>

The role of Isis, as a mother of God Apis, was confirmed by the excavation at North Saqqara which were published by Emery and Smith. The excavated cow burials, named by Emery as the Iseum, were related to Ist tA mwt n Hp “*Isis mother of Apis.*” The latter phrase was repetitively mentioned in the prayers dating back from the reign of Hakories of the 29<sup>th</sup> dynasty (393 B.C) to the reign of Ptolemy XIV (41 B.C). These prayers were written in demotic in red ink and found on numerous limestone fragments in the site.<sup>19</sup> Isis was usually depicted protecting the sacred bull of Apis, number of the Carian stelae from Saqqara dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. usually represent in most scenes the standing bull of Apis bull and being flanked by either Isis or Thoth.<sup>20</sup> Numerous stelae and various artifacts from Egypt feature Carian inscriptions. Additional sources confirm the presence of Carian soldiers in Egypt. It is likely that a significant community resided in Memphis, with their burial sites located at Saqqara. The Carian language is represented using Greek characters, although it remains not entirely comprehended.<sup>21</sup> The same pose of Isis as a standing deity embracing Apis

<sup>16</sup> Nigel Guy Wilson, *Herodoti historiae, libri I-IV*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2, 41, 2; Arianna Magnolo, “Io as Isis: A Lycophronean Myth in Nonnus,” *Literature* 2 (2022): 376-377.

<sup>17</sup> Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus book II (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, 43) (Leiden: Brill, 1976), ii. 171-172; John Gwyn Griffiths, “Lycophron on Io and Isis,” *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1986): 473.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 475-476.

<sup>19</sup> Walter Bryan Emery, “Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1969-70,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971): 9-12.

<sup>20</sup> Günther Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 170-174.

<sup>21</sup> See: Olivier Masson, *Carian inscriptions from north Saqqara and Bubyn* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1978). [During the Saite Dynasty, it appears that the Carians were quite prevalent throughout Egypt. Their connection with the king, as well as with the indigenous culture and population, seems to have been strong, and their interest in the local religion was apparent. As the Twenty-sixth Dynasty advanced, it culminated in a civil conflict between Apries and Amasis around 570 BC. Amasis appointed a considerable number of Carian merchants in Memphis. Mercenaries had become such a significant and integral component of the military forces over an extended period that the military structure underwent considerable transformation. This situation, along with the escalating threat posed by Persia, may have contributed to this reextended period that the military structure

bull with her winged arms is found in the main tomb of the Catacomb of Kom el-Shokafa.<sup>22</sup>

Goddess Isis, assimilated with her Egyptian counterpart Hathour, was described to be a cow (Hesat). The Hesat cow was attested as early as the Pyramid Texts to the end of the Roman times. In the Pyramid Texts, she appeared to be the mother of God Anubis and the mother of the deceased king.<sup>23</sup> The Hesat cow was described to be the mother of the sacred Mnevis bull and was described to suckle number of sacred bulls including the white bull.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the Hesat cow was entitled to be the mother of Apis bull at Memphis. Hesat cow was defined to be Hathour in Atfih and was assimilated with Isis as early as the Ptolemaic period. A stela from the era described the death of the cow goddess Isis and the subsequent mourning and embalming rites.<sup>25</sup>

Some scholars linked between the name of Io and the Egyptian word iAH iaH<sup>26</sup> which means the moon. However, there is no textual evidence confirming any lunar function for this deity.<sup>27</sup> However, there is no clear proof confirming this hypothesis. It is more accepted that Io refers to a legendary woman in the Greek myth. Io's connection with the Nile flood was attested later in the Greek and Latin writings dating back to the second century AD.<sup>28</sup> For instance, the relation between Io and Neilos is mentioned in the *Nonnus, Dionysiaca* 32. 65 as follows; "I [Zeus] loved Inakhos' (Inachus')

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underwent considerable transformation. This liance: Joanna Sarah Labudek, *Late period stelae from Saqqara: a socio-cultural and religious investigation*, master's thesis (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2010), 58-60.]

<sup>22</sup> Marjorie Susan Venit, *Monumental tombs of ancient Alexandria: the theater of the dead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 135-140, figs. 114, 118.

<sup>23</sup> PT 2080; PT 1029.

<sup>24</sup> CT III, 61 c; John Gwyn Griffiths, "Hesat (kuh)," *LÄ* II (1977): cols. 1170-1171.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.; Richard H. Wilkinson, *The complete gods and goddesses of ancient Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 173-174.

<sup>26</sup> Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Printed for the Griffith Institute at the University Press, 1964), 11; WB I, 42, no. 7; Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar: being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. (London: published on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, by Oxford University Press, 1957, 1973), 618.

<sup>27</sup> M. Malasie, *Iside ellenistica*, in: Ermanno A. Arslan et al. (eds.), *Iside il mito, il mistero, la magia* (Milano: Electa, 1997), 114; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 270.

<sup>28</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 270.

*daughter Io, the wandering heifer, from whom beside the Neilos (Nile) came the line begun by Epaphos and primeval Keroessa (Ceroessa).*"<sup>29</sup>

There is a marble statue that is now preserved in Louvre Museum depicting Isis Io (fig. 1). The head of the deity is adorned with two horns over her curly hair that is sculptured in the Libyan style. In addition, the uraeus, poppies, as well as the cobra decorated her crown. Io became Isis who "*brings the flood of Egypt.*" Koptos became the main worship center for this shape of Isis. Her cult continued in this place till the fourth century AD. During the Nile flood, certain ceremonies were held in the honor of Isis Io.<sup>30</sup>

The Roman poet Juvenal<sup>31</sup> described the role of Isis Io as a Nile deity through his description of a Roman dam in the region of the first cataract. The dam was located between Egypt and Ethiopia whose capital was Meroe. Juvenal says; "*when the white Io (Isis) orders, she will travel to the end of Egypt. She will bring the water back which she brought from the hot Meroe.*"<sup>32</sup> Isis was assimilated with the Greek Io and were employed together in the same religious and ritual context.<sup>33</sup>

Like her husband Osiris, Isis myth was clearly connected with the River Nile and its annual inundation.<sup>34</sup> The powers of goddess Isis revived the Nile every year. Isis was the one "*who makes the Nile to swell and overflow, who makes the Nile to swell in his season.*"<sup>35</sup> In spell 473 of the Coffin Texts,

<sup>29</sup> Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* (Loeb classical library, vol. 344, 354, 356), transl. William Henry Denham Rouse (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), 377.

<sup>30</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; M. Malasie, *Iside ellenistica*, in: Ermanno A. Arslan et al. (eds.), *Iside il mito, il mistero, la magia* (Milano: Electa, 1997), 114; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 270.

<sup>31</sup> Juvenal is a Roman poet in the late first and early second century AD. The "Satires of Juvenal" is his most important writings. For further details see: William S. Anderson, *Essays on Roman satire* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 14-15.

<sup>32</sup> Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina, Zeus Sarapis: die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1995), 105-106.

<sup>33</sup> Laurent Bricault, *Isis Pelagia: Images, Names and Cults of a Goddess of the Seas* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 148.

<sup>34</sup> Françoise Dunand, *Le Culte d'Isis Le Bassin Orientale de la Mediterranee*, vol. I, *Le Culte d'Isis et les Prolémées* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 216-217; Margaret Bunson, *A Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 126; Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14-16, 23, 166; Alain Blottière, *Petit dictionnaire des dieux égyptiens* (Cadeilhan: Zulma, 2000), 62.

<sup>35</sup> Michel Tardieu, *Isis. Magicienne dans les papyrus grecs et coptes*, in: Yves Beonnefoy (ed.), *Dictionnaire des mythologies et des religions des sociétés traditionnelles et du monde antique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 595; Jean Leclant, *Isiaques (cultes): chez les Grecs et dans l'Empire romain*, in: Yves Bonnefoy (ed.), *Dictionnaire des mythologies et des religions des sociétés*

the goddess provides the deceased with pure water as follows; “*It is Isis who will give me water.*”<sup>36</sup>

During the night, Isis’ tears resulted in raising the waters of the Nile which was believed to be the dead Osiris.<sup>37</sup> By this way, Osiris new water was regenerated by the tears of Isis every year. Witt considered that Isis is “*the female embodiment of the Nile’s annual reawakening*”.<sup>38</sup> According to the Egyptian myth, Isis’ tears after her lost husband caused the inundation of the River Nile.<sup>39</sup> This belief was mentioned for the first time in Pyramid Texts. The night of the Nile flood was called in these texts “*the night of the great flood, tears from the great goddess*”. This concept continued in Egypt till the Græco-roman period and even in the Christian times.<sup>40</sup>

In the second-third century A.D, many texts are addressed to Isis to raise the water of the Nile. One of these hymns says ‘*Give dew and water with the Nile waters*’. There is another legend of Isis that explains the flood of Egypt. This myth probably dates back to the Middle Kingdom. It tells us that when Isis found the corpse of her husband, she beat her wings above

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*traditionnelles et du monde antique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 588; Gwendolyn Leick, *A dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern mythology* (London: Routledge, 1991), 95-96.

<sup>36</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, vol. II (Oxford: Printed for the Griffith Institute at the University Press, 1964), 109; CT VI, 14.

<sup>37</sup> Françoise Dunand, *Le Culte d’Isis Le Bassin Orientale de la Méditerranée*, vol. I, *Le Culte d’Isis et les Ptolémées* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 216-217; Margaret Bunson, *A Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 126; Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14-16, 23, 166; Alain Blottière, *Petit dictionnaire des dieux égyptiens* (Cadeilhan: Zulma, 2000), 62.

<sup>38</sup> Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 15.

<sup>39</sup> Alain Blottière, *Petit dictionnaire des dieux égyptiens* (Cadeilhan: Zulma, 2000), 62; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d’histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 255-257; René Lachaud, *Les déesses de l’Égypte pharaonique: le chant des Neter* (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1993), 38; Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit; Daten und Riten. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, Heft 5 (Meisenheim am Glan, A. Hain, 1963), 14.

<sup>40</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 108-109; Alain Blottière, *Petit dictionnaire des dieux égyptiens* (Cadeilhan: Zulma, 2000), 62; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d’histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 255-257; René Lachaud, *Les déesses de l’Égypte pharaonique: le chant des Neter* (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1993), 38. [In the Christian times, it was thought that a miraculous drop fall from the sky and caused the Nile inundation. This drop fell in a night called (*Lelet El Nuqta*) which means “*the night of the drop*”. For further details see: Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d’histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 257.]

his mummy. This beating apparently referred to the blow of the Etisan winds that caused the Nile flood.<sup>41</sup> She even let the air reach the nostrils of the dead Osiris or the Nile.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, Isis Io seemed to receive veneration in Canopus. Before the foundation of Alexandria, Canopus was almost the main port. It was also the capital of the Menelait Nome.<sup>43</sup> Although the importance of this site began to decline by the foundation of Alexandria, Canopus was mentioned by Greek historians. For instance, Hekataeus mentioned that this place was a piece of desert. On the other hand, Aeschylus confirmed that Canopus was an inhabited city.<sup>44</sup> In addition to its commercial role,<sup>45</sup> Canopus became a very important religious cult center during the Græco roman period. Ammianus Marcellinus described this city to be “a *very pleasant place with temples and cheerful hostels*.” A temple for Osiris once existed in this town. Its foundation table was discovered during the reign of Mohammed Ali. According to the dedicatory inscription, this temple dates back to the reign of Ptolemy II (285 -246 B.C.). A certain festival was celebrated in the honor of God Osiris there as a Nile and fertility deity. This festival was held in the

<sup>41</sup> René Fourtau, “Le Nil: son action géologique en Égypte,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien* 5, no. 3 (1894): 93; Lewis Spence, *Ancient Egyptian myths and legends* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 81-83; Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14-16, 23, 166; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 62, 257-259.

<sup>42</sup> Lewis Spence, *Ancient Egyptian myths and legends* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 81-83; Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14-16, 23, 166; Alain Blottière, *Petit dictionnaire des dieux égyptiens* (Cadeilhan: Zulma, 2000), 62; Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 258-259.

<sup>43</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 142; Evaristo Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Ægyptum: a guide to the ancient and modern town, and to its graeco-roman museum* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1922), 349; Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 368-369.

<sup>44</sup> Evaristo Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Ægyptum: a guide to the ancient and modern town, and to its graeco-roman museum* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1922), 350; Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, “Das Heilige Bild von Kanopus,” *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 24 (1929): 52.

<sup>45</sup> Canopus gained a superb reputation in trading woven materials, perfumes, salted fish, dishes, sweetmeats, henna, and unique shapes of hats. This type of hats was named by the Alexandrians πέτασα χανωβικά. The canal connecting Canopus and Alexandria facilitated transporting the goods of this city to and from Alexandria. Canopus played also a very important role in entertainment and recreation. Parties and celebrations were held on the banks of its canal; Ammianus Marcellinus described the nice weather of this town; Evaristo Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Ægyptum: a guide to the ancient and modern town, and to its graeco-roman museum* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1922), 350-351.

28<sup>th</sup> of Khoaik and was known by the festival of Kikellia. However, details about this festival are not known.<sup>46</sup>

Concerning Isis in Canopus, she was venerated in the Serapeum temple of Canopus where worshippers of Isis practiced incubation to heal their disease. Lucius described the Isiac sacred mysteries in Canopus there which depended on the blind obedience. Lucius described one of the newly priest of Isis as follows; “*having begun to be the servant of the goddess, you will afterwards feel all the more the enjoyment of your freedom.*”<sup>47</sup>

In Canopus, a remarkable shape of Osiris, and a less popular one of Isis appeared, namely Osiris Canopus and Isis Canopus. His body takes the shape of an earthenware jar<sup>48</sup> whose stopper takes the shape of Osiris head.<sup>49</sup> Isis Canopus appeared on the Roman coins by the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD.). On this type of coins, Isis Canopus appeared in profile beside her husband Osiris Canopus. The later wears the atef crown. The two Canopic deities are crowned with wreathes of flowers. They are now preserved in the British collection. On the observe, the head of the emperor is depicted in profile. As for the reverse, it reveals the shape of Isis Canopus crowned with the sun disc and the ureaus. Isis Canopus was usually represented in front of the temple of Serapis either alone or with Osiris-Canopus.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, a Roman pendant of Osiris Canopus and Isis Canopus is

<sup>46</sup> Richard Lepsius, *Das Bilingue Dekret von Kanopus in der Originalgrosse, mit Übersetzung und Erklärung Beider Texte*, Erste Teil (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1866), 15, 18.

<sup>47</sup> Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 134-135, 191; Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, “Io in Alexandria,” *Römische Mitteilungen (RM)* 90 (1983): 35-47.

<sup>48</sup> Jean-Pierre Corteggiani, *L'Égypte Ancienne et ses Dieux; Dictionnaire illustré* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), 401; Edward Morgan Forster, Miriam Alliot (ed.), *Alexandria: a history and guide and Pharos and Pharillon*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2004), 142; Evaristo Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum: a guide to the ancient and modern town, and to its graeco-roman museum* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1922), 350; Soheir Bakhoun, *Dieux égyptiens à Alexandrie sous les Antonins: recherches numismatiques et historiques* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2002), 121; Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, “Io in Alexandria,” *Römische Mitteilungen (RM)* 90 (1983): 35-47.

<sup>49</sup> Edward Morgan Forster, Miriam Alliot (ed.), *Alexandria: a history and guide and Pharos and Pharillon*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2004), 142; Soheir Bakhoun, *Dieux égyptiens à Alexandrie sous les Antonins: recherches numismatiques et historiques* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2002), 121; Jean Leclant, *Isiaques (cultes): chez les Grecs et dans l'Empire romain*, in: Yves Bonnefoy (ed.), *Dictionnaire des mythologies et des religions des sociétés traditionnelles et du monde antique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 588.

<sup>50</sup> Sara Kitat, *Water Divinities in Egypt during the Græco-Roman Period. A religious, archaeological and tourist study* (Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University, 2010), 142; Soheir Bakhoun, *Dieux égyptiens à Alexandrie sous les Antonins: recherches numismatiques et historiques* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2002), 132; Robert A. Wild, *Water in the cultic worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 113-126.



Fig. 1. Head of Isis-Io



Fig. 2. *Io, Argos and Hermes*, fresco of Pompeii, 60-79 AD



Fig. 3. *Io at Canopus*, fresco from Pompeii, late 1st century BC – first half of the 1st century AD

preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 10.130.1514). The golden pendants dates back to the second century AD.<sup>51</sup>

The iconography of Io and Isis were found in the temple of Isis at Pompeii.<sup>52</sup> The iconography of the arrival of Io at Canopus in Pompeii reflects the spread of the Isiac cult in the Roman world, particularly in Pompeii. Many paintings, frescoes, and statues confirm this fact. The cult of Isis stood for universal human feelings like love, devotion, sadness, and compassion that many women could identify with. She was connected with women on their most fundamental level as a mother goddess. In the community. She embodies the ideal loving wife, especially when considering her status as Osiris' wife. In the well-known myth of Osiris' death and resurrection, his wife Isis plays a role. She must first mourn her spouse, and Heyob notes that women may be able to relate to lamenting for a lost husband, son, or sibling. Isis was indisputably universal deity: she was regarded the queen of all deities, the divine protector of humans, as well as controller of all natural phenomena including rain, wind, and inundation. She was the goddess of agriculture, spinning and weaving, and the one who could heal with her magical powers.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> "Pendant: Osiris and Isis of Canopus," *The Met*, accessed 20 April 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547933>.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Steven Bianchi, *Images of Isis and her cultic shrines reconsidered. Towards an egyptian understanding of the Interpretatio Graeca*, in: *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 503-504.

<sup>53</sup> Cassidy Meyers, "The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World," *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 7-10; Sharon Kelly Heyob, *The cult of Isis among women in the Graeco-Roman world* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 1, 44-46.

Admittedly, the most remarkable foreign cult in Pompeii was the cult of Isis. The famous temple of Iseum stands as clear evidence of the cult of Isis in this city. The temple is located in the theatre district and dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C and completely rebuilt after the earthquake that occurred in 62 AD. In the *Ekklesiasterion* of the temple two scenes are found, the first one represents Io accompanied with Mercury and Argos and another part shows Io with Egyptian deities, namely Isis, Nephthys, Hermanubis and Harpokrates. In this scene, the myth of Io's transformation is pictorially represented. Hermes (Mercury) is going to slay Argos, the protectors of Io, who is transformed into a cow through the conspiracies held of Hera (Juno) (fig.2).<sup>54</sup>

The second scene represents the arrival of Io at the city of Canopus and being welcomed by Isis. This fresco painting is found on the southern wall of the temple of Pompeii (mann inv. 9558) and is regarded the master scene of Pompeii.<sup>55</sup> Io is supported on the back of an Egyptian deity recognized as the Nile god.<sup>56</sup> Io is figured being carried by the Nile god to be saved from the bestial iconography to be restored once again to the civic world.<sup>57</sup> Io is remarked here with the two cow horns on her forehead and is welcomed by the Egyptian goddess Isis. On her right side, two priests wrapped in white robes. and is seated next to her son Harpokrates with his raised finger at his mouth as god of silence and secrets. Isis is shown sitting with a cobra wrapped around her arm and placing one of her feet on the crocodile; a purely Egyptian motive representing her protective powers. Similar to this, a snake is wrapped around one arm evoking the healing iconography of the Roman goddess Hygeia. On her right side, two priests are shown

<sup>54</sup> Cassidy Meyers, "The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World," *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 8; Giovanni Casadio, Patricia A. Johnston, *Mystic cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 220-221, fig. 12.1.

<sup>55</sup> Cassidy Meyers, "The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World," *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 8; Giovanni Casadio, Patricia A. Johnston, *Mystic cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 220-221, fig. 12.2.

<sup>56</sup> Anu Kaisa Koponen, "Egyptian Cults in Pompeian Domestic Wall Paintings," *Tangible Religion* (2021): 194-202; Eric M. Moormann, "The temple of Isis at Pompeii," in: Laurent Bricault, Miguel John Versluys, Paul G. P. Meyboom, *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 146-147, fig.6; Robert Steven Bianchi, *Images of Isis and her cultic shrines reconsidered. Towards an egyptian understanding of the Interpretatio Graeca in: Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 502-504, fig. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Cassidy Meyers, "The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World," *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 8; Giovanni Casadio, Patricia A. Johnston, *Mystic cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 220-221, fig. 12.2.

wrapped in white garments.<sup>58</sup> In addition to this scene, the arrival of Io at Canopus was pictorially represented at both the Casa del Duca di Aumale (VI 9, 1) (mann inv. 9555) (fig.3).<sup>59</sup>

Biancchi interpreted the iconography of Io being raised by the Nile god is because of her image which was prevented to enter Egypt. Thus, Io, who perhaps personified the Mediterranean Sea, was raised on the shoulders of the Nile god to be received by Isis.<sup>60</sup> The western part of the southern wall of Pompeii is not unfortunately missing. It apparently represented the beginning of the Io's myth; Io accompanying the most important Olympian god, namely Zeus. The couple Zeus and Io connects one of the aspects of the classical Greek myth with that the myth of Io in Egypt.<sup>61</sup>

Casadio believed that the scene of Io and Isis with the theme inspired by Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses*. The hero Lucius, appreciated the liberation and release of Io by goddess Isis. Thus, the two scenes of Isis and Io at Pompei integrate together to represent the concepts of salvation (*salus*) and liberation by Isis from any dangers and misfortune to be after that be welcomed and involved in the context of Egyptian deities.<sup>62</sup>

The cult of goddess Isis was clearly connected with the concept of salvation; a relation that continued after the spread of Christianity. The role of Isis as a goddess of salvation and liberator of all kinds of dangers was stated by Apuleius from the second century AD as follows; "*Weep no more, end your lamentations. Banish sorrow. With my aid, your day of salvation is at hand. So listen carefully to my commands.*"<sup>63</sup> In Book 11, Isis addressed her speech to Lucius and said; '*But if you deserve to win my divine approval by diligent service, you will come to know that I alone can prolong your life even*

<sup>58</sup> Anu Kaisa Koponen, "Egyptian Cults in Pompeian Domestic Wall Paintings," *Tangible Religion* (2021): 194-202; Eric M. Moormann, "The temple of Isis at Pompeii," in: Laurent Bricault, Miguel John Versluys, Paul G. P. Meyboom, *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 146-147, fig. 6; Robert Steven Bianchi, *Images of Isis and her cultic shrines reconsidered. Towards an egyptian understanding of the Interpretatio Graeca* in: *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 502-504, fig. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 503-504.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.; Giovanni Casadio, Patricia A. Johnston, *Mystic cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 220-221, fig. 12.2.

<sup>61</sup> Eric M. Moormann, "The temple of Isis at Pompeii," in: Laurent Bricault, Miguel John Versluys, Paul G. P. Meyboom, *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 146-147, fig. 6.

<sup>62</sup> John Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI) (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, vol. 39)* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 275; Cassidy Meyers, "The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World," *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 8; Giovanni Casadio, Patricia A. Johnston, *Mystic cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 220-222.

<sup>63</sup> Apuleius, *Metamorphosis/The Golden Ass*, book XI.

*here on earth beyond the years appointed by your destiny.*<sup>64</sup> The Isiac cult involved initiation into the cult and the promise of salvation. Alvar threw the light on the initiation of Isis as follows; “*It was performed in a manner of voluntary death and salvation obtained by favor.*”<sup>65</sup>

In this perspective, Balch believes that the tragic paintings and frescos found in the Greek and Roman houses, in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii for example, would have provided a meaningful cross-cultural background for understanding Paul’s Gospel of Christ’s passion.<sup>66</sup> If this suggestion is true, people would have had a cultural background for appreciating the pathos of Io’s voyage. It is safe to suppose that many people had compassion for her. This would imply that Io’s frescoes served as an effective propaganda for the cult of Io assimilated with the Egyptian goddess Isis. The Pompeiian frescoes paintings seemed to integrate together to present a comprehensive theme of Io’s wandering and her journey till she met and was saved by Isis. Thus, the frescoes of the Isis and Io at Pompeii were an effective tool in illustrating what Isis could bring to the lives of her worshippers.

From this preview, it could be stated that the relation of Isis and Io is one of the intriguing samples of the Greco-Egyptian religious interrelation which continued till the end of the Roman times. Many literary sources throw the light on Io and Isis who were regarded as religious models of fertility, Nile waters, prosperity as well as civilized world. Furthermore, a broader universal meaning was given to Isis Io as symbol of salvation and liberation; concepts that were closely related to Isis even after Christianity.

## List of figures

Fig. 1. Head of Isis-Io, marble. Louvre Museum, Paris. Source: M. Malasie, *Iside ellenistica*, in: Ermanno A. Arslan et al. (eds.), *Iside il mito, il mistero, la magia*, (Milano: Electa, 1997), 114

<sup>64</sup> Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, transl. Patrick G. Walsh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 222; Cassidy Meyers, “The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World,” *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 11.

<sup>65</sup> Jaime Alvar Ezquerro, *Romanising oriental gods: myth, salvation and ethics in the cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*, ed. Richard Gordon (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 12-134; Cassidy Meyers, “The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World,” *Classics 304: The Graeco-Roman World – Pompeii* (2016): 11.

<sup>66</sup> David L. Balch, “The suffering of Isis/Io and Paul’s portrait of Christ crucified (Gal. 3:1): frescoes in Pompeian and Roman houses and in the temple of Isis in Pompeii,” *Journal of Religion* 83 (2003): 26.

Fig. 2. *Io, Argos and Hermes*, fresco of Pompeii, 60-79 AD, 4th style. National Archaeological Museum, Naples. Source: <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=7905> (accessed 29 May 2023)

Fig. 3. *Io at Canopus*, fresco from Pompeii, late 1st century BC – first half of the 1st century AD, 3rd style. National Archaeological Museum, Naples. Source: <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=7899> (accessed 3 April 2023)

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## Exploring the Journey of Indian Cuisines: A Historical Perspective from Ancient to Colonial Period

**Abstract:** The objective of this study is to provide a socio-historical analysis of the development of Indian food. The research, which is based on a detailed examination of several records, focuses on four historical periods, each of which had a notable and enduring influence on Indian food. Whenever possible, comparisons with contemporary Indian food have been made. This study tracks the development of Indian food and cuisine from the prehistoric to the Vedic periods, when the cooking of the time was influenced by religious texts, particularly the Hindu scriptures, and concluded with the Mughal invasion of the Indian subcontinent.

Lastly, a critical analysis of how European colonization affected Indian food is presented, along with a possible look for commonalities between the culinary tastes of the individuals who lived through these different stages. The analysis's findings show the fascinating influence of complex relationships between a number of sociocultural elements on how Indian food has developed. Towards the end of the report, some directions are noted for further research.

**Keywords:** Indian Food, Culinary Art, Journey, Culture

### Introduction

The goal of this essay is to chronicle the development of Indian food, an area that is shockingly understudied in the literature on gastronomy. According to renowned novelist E. M. Forster, India is distinct in its status and enigmatic in numerous aspects, making it an intriguing subject of study. Its food culture has a rich history with many delectable turns and twists, among other things, supporting the idea that Indian culture can be understood through its cuisine. In reality, sociocultural factors have traditionally influenced gastronomic preferences across a wide

range of cultures.<sup>1</sup> Understanding Indian cuisine requires an understanding of its culinary history. For a very long time, cooks maintained a royal court in each of the confederated kingdoms of India. It was in these kitchens that culinary discoveries occurred, with new dishes being produced and old ones being recreated. Commoners' cooks or housewives would attempt to replicate those delicacies in their kitchens using whatever supplies they had on hand. India has experienced a flavourful journey that has given rise to modern Indian food. This journey allows one to socio-historically trace the relationship between societal and personal decisions, religious and mundane obligations, and karma and its consequences.<sup>2</sup> The origins of Indian cuisine, particularly in the Vedic era, can be traced back to the attribute of *Guṇa*, a term from Hindu philosophy that denotes excellence or uniqueness. The three *Guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, were thought to take the form of "vegetarian, spicy, and carnivorous" in their manifestations.<sup>3</sup> In ancient Hindu civilizations, people's dietary choices were influenced even by the *ahimsa* principle.<sup>4</sup> The Mughal invasion and European colonialism of India brought forth a number of geopolitical and social upheavals that put this intellectual tradition under pressure. This essay has provided a brief historical overview of Indian cuisine, covering the prehistoric era to the European colonial era. It has also shown how the development of food in India is intricately linked to a number of variables, including social class, availability and affordability of raw materials, culture, religion, ethnicity, and financial status.

## Methodology

We thoroughly analysed documents to gather data for the study. We took thorough notes as we examined old religious texts from newspapers, memoirs, travelogues, study articles, poetry, history books, and books about food cultures. All of the notes were confirmed using data gathered from many sources. Next, we looked for trends in the data and categorized the information according to the four food culture patterns that are most commonly discovered: European colonization, Vedic, Mughal, and Prehistoric. We

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<sup>1</sup> Konganda T. Achaya, *The story of our food* (Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Ltd., 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Patricia Brown, *Anglo-Indian food and customs* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Alan Brill, *Rabbi on the Ganges: a Jewish-Hindu encounter* (London: Lexington Books, 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Jayanta Sengupta, "Nation on a Platter: the Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal," *Modern Asian Studies* 44 (2010): 81-98.

methodically arranged the data for each age, with a primary focus on talks on how food evolved as a result of the close interaction between sociocultural elements and the availability of raw materials needed for food preparation.

## Result and discussion

### Prehistoric Period

In India, the eating patterns of the prehistoric period are still partially unknown.<sup>5</sup> Similar to literature, understanding cuisine from other eras has proven to be challenging. The type of food consumed by the people back then may be ascertained from written recipes, but language is still a hurdle, particularly when it comes to prehistoric India.<sup>6</sup> The information available on people's eating patterns tells an episodic tale of survival and the shift to an agrarian society.<sup>7</sup> Anthropological evidence and cave paintings discovered in Indian states like Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Punjab provide the knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

At Harappan excavation sites, bones of cattle, goats, sheep, buffalo, and pigs have been discovered. Sheep, goats, and cattle might have been farmed for their flesh, but they might also have been tamed. Zebu cattle, which are indigenous to the Indus Valley region, were the only breeds used for cattle husbandry.<sup>9</sup> There have also been discovered the bones of wild creatures like gharial, deer, and boar. Fish and poultry remnants were also found in addition to these. The preferred method for cooking meat was grilling. The animal would either be sliced into bite-sized pieces or roasted whole over an open flame. Similar to contemporary tikkas, these portions were punctured onto a skewer and cooked. The animal was positioned over the fire and secured onto a rotating stick. Wide-mouthed bowls have been found in archaic pottery, suggesting that boiling was once again a method of preparation.<sup>10</sup>

The inhabitants living in the Indus Valley ate grains and pulses.<sup>11</sup> Around 4000 B.C., a variety of pulses were brought to the Indus Valley

<sup>5</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950).

<sup>6</sup> Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian exchange: biological and cultural consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub. Co., 2003).

<sup>7</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950).

<sup>8</sup> Konganda T. Achaya, *The story of our food* (Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Ltd., 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Kavita Gangal, *Models of the Neolithic dispersal in Southern Asia*, Thesis, Dissertation (Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Dwijendra Narayan Jha, *The myth of the holy cow* (London: Verso, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Jean-François Jarrige, , Richard H. Meadow, "The antecedents of civilization in the Indus Valley," *Scientific American* 243 (1980): 122-137.

from Western Asia, including chickpeas, red lentil, and green peas. Archaeological sites also had wheat and barley in addition to the legumes. Barley was one of the main grains during the Vedic era, when their use persisted. We ate rice much later.

At excavation sites, several stone tools of various sizes have been found. There have been discovered large saddle querns, which were presumably used to grind grains to manufacture flour. With the querns, two different kinds of stones might have been utilized: a smaller one for rolling, similar to a rolling pin, and a bigger, heavier one for pounding on things. Spices would have been ground using curry stones. It is still unknown, though, if the spices were traded or acquired through barter or were farmed locally.

## Vedic period

Foods and their effects on the human body have been covered in a number of significant Vedic works on medicine, yoga, literature, religion, and other subjects. These include the Upanishads, Caraka's Caraka-Saṃhitā, and Patanjali's Yoga Sutras. Without sacrificing the need for flavor and health, the Vedas have highlighted the relationship between spirituality and dietary choices.<sup>12</sup> It is now possible to make some tighter connections between the details of Indian cuisine from the Vedic era thanks to recent research that highlights the linguistic commonalities of food items used across cultures.<sup>13</sup>

The Vedic era came after the fall of the Indus Valley Civilization. Indo-Aryans inhabited the northwest corner of the Indian subcontinent during this time. Back then, the majority of Aryans were pastoralists. Their food and other items like butter and curd were made from milk.

For the Aryans, food was both a source of strength and a gift from God. There are several references to the grains that were consumed in those eras in the four Vedas: Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda.<sup>14</sup> The majority of Aryans first ate barley as a primary diet. Other crops like wheat, sugarcane, and millets were then cultivated. Additionally, lentils – mostly red, green, and black – were cultivated. Afterwards, the Aryans began consuming rice and other cereals.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> J. M. Mehta, *Vedic wisdom: selected verses from the Vedas for material gain and for spiritual happiness* (New Delhi: V & S Publishers, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> Konganda T. Achaya, *The story of our food* (Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Ltd., 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Preetam Sarkar et al., "Traditional and ayurvedic foods of Indian origin," *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 2 (2015): 97-109.

<sup>15</sup> Romesh Chunder Dutt, *From the earliest times to the sixth century B.C.*, in: A. V. Williams Jackson (ed.), *History of India* (London: Grolier Society, 1906).

The Vedas make repeated mention to sweetcakes known as apupa. Today, it is named Apupa or Malpua and it was manufactured using barley flour. Cakes made of the batter would be deep-fried in ghee. The fried cake was dipped in honey just before serving. Malpua is now served with a variety of condiments due to the numerous varieties that have emerged over time. These days, milk and refined wheat flour or semolina flour are used to make the batter. The batter is spread into flat cakes and fried in ghee, just like in the Vedic original. The cakes are steeped in sugar syrup flavoured with jiggery (cane sugar) syrup or saffron instead of honey. They are served with rabri, a dessert created by heating milk, sugar, and spices until it boils, and they are garnished with chopped almonds and pistachios.

Dhana, fried barley, was offered to the gods in addition to being consumed as food. The Vedas make reference to saktu, or ground barley seeds. Many kitchens today use sattu, a flour produced from ground pulses, which may have originated from saktu. Boiling barley with milk produced a porridge known as odana. Another dish, known as karambha, is still well-liked in some areas of Gujarat and consists of yogurt and barley.

It is likely that Hindus in what is now Punjab utilized animal meat. Slaughterhouses are referenced in the literature, and animals like as cows, goats, buffalo, and bulls were killed for their meat. The Aryans brought the custom of eating horse flesh, but the indigenous people did not appear to take well to it. Nonetheless, there have been reports of bulls and cows being killed for their meat.<sup>16</sup> Most meats were cooked over charcoal on spits or in clay ovens. One might compare the present discussions about meat eating and its effects with the use of meat as a survival tactic.<sup>17</sup> Sesame seeds had a significant role in rituals and as food. They would be crushed to obtain oil, used to bread, or cooked with vegetables. As flavourings, we utilized mustard seeds, pepper, and turmeric. The Vedas describe a wide range of fruits and vegetables, such as gourds, jujubes, water chestnuts, dates, bael fruit (*Aegle marmelos*), mangoes, and lotus roots and stalks. These ingredients are not all that different from what's found in Indian kitchens nowadays.

The Rigveda mentions sura, which suggests the existence of alcoholic beverages throughout Vedic times but discourages their consumption. The beverage has only been described a few times, sometimes in combination with soma. Soma was revered as an elixir and the beverage of gods. Although the exact plant used to make the beverage is still unknown,

<sup>16</sup> Dwijendra Narayan Jha, *The myth of the holy cow* (London: Verso, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> Vaclav Smil, "Eating Meat: Evolution, Patterns, and Consequences," *Population and Development Review* 28 (2002): 599-639.

historians have proposed some candidates.<sup>18</sup> It might be ragi, a kind of millet. In the Eastern Himalayas, ragi is still used to manufacture marua, a highly intoxicating beverage. The plant mentioned in the literature that was used to make the soma drink could potentially be cannabis.<sup>19</sup> Fly agaric mushroom is yet another recommendation due to its intoxicating properties.<sup>20</sup> Brahmins prepared Soma and offered it to the gods.<sup>21</sup> When and when fermentation occurred is unknown.<sup>22</sup> The effects of soma are a topic of discussion.<sup>23</sup> Some experts contend that the drink described in the Vedas was only thrilling and not intoxicated, despite one area of research viewing the description as intoxicating.<sup>24</sup>

One significant component of the Indian social structure that influenced Indo-Aryan food intake and culture was the caste system, which dates back to approximately 1000 BC.<sup>25</sup> The caste system's structural manifestations, which justified unfair practices thought to be transmitted through ancestry and profession, fostered a sense of purity in people's eating and drinking customs. Higher caste priests known as brahmins frequently followed a vegetarian diet inspired by the sattva school of thought. Shudras, the lowest caste, on the other hand, practiced eating animal flesh and other tamasic customs. It is possible that politicians from the upper castes will use this to make some eating habits seem better than others. It's probable that widespread food demonization contributed to the strengthening of the caste system. Regretfully, dietary patterns are still influenced by the caste system today.<sup>26</sup>

The descriptions of the cuisine from around 500 BC are not included in any treatises on their own. Rather, the memoirs of Western writers and thinkers who traveled to India during that historical period have these data.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Scott Pokras, "The Medical Anthropology of the Anti-aging Soma and Hoama of the Indian Samhitas," *British Cactus & Succulent Journal* 9, no. 4 (1991): 92-97.

<sup>19</sup> Chris Bennett, *Cannabis and the soma solution* (Waterville, Or.: TrineDay, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> R. Gordon Wasson, "The soma of the Rig Veda: what was it?," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 169-187.

<sup>21</sup> Harry Falk, "Soma I and II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 52 (1989): 77-90.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Henry Fielder, "On the Rise, Progress, and Future Prospects of Tea Cultivation in British India," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 32 (1869): 29-37.

<sup>23</sup> John Brough, "Soma and Amanita muscaria," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 34 (1971): 331-362.

<sup>24</sup> H. K. Sharma, B. M. Tripathi, Pertti J. Peltö, "The evolution of alcohol use in India," *AIDS and behavior* 14 (2010): 8-17.

<sup>25</sup> Colleen Taylor Sen, *Feasts and fasts: a history of food in India* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Christina Sathyamala, "Meat-eating in India: Whose food, whose politics, and whose rights?," *Policy Futures in Education* 17 (2019): 878-891.

The social practices of food and drink have been eloquently recorded by Xuan Zang, a knowledgeable monk from China, and Megasthenes, an ambassador of Alexander and Chinese visitors such as Fa-Hsien and I-Ching.<sup>27</sup>

## Mughal Period

After 700 AD, Muslim emperors centered in Sind (now in Pakistan) began to invade India in an attempt to get access to the nation's wealth. Over the succeeding millennia, other warlords – Muhammad of Ghazni, Bakhtiyar Khalji, Mahmud of Ghazni, and others – made persistent attempts. But until the Mughals arrived in India in the sixteenth century, no Muslim empire was able to prosper and endure.<sup>28</sup>

The Mughals brought with them an abundance of innovative and inspiring culinary ideas that continue to have a significant impact on Indian culinary customs.<sup>29</sup> Without taking into account the Mughal influence, Indian cuisine culture would be unimaginable, much like architecture, art, music, and language.<sup>30</sup> The Afghans, who were the Mughals' ancestors, had a rich culinary heritage. Naan, or Afghan flatbreads, are now a staple in most Indian eateries and homes. These breads might have been influenced in part by Mesopotamian and Egyptian breads.<sup>31</sup> In Afghanistan, koftas are meatballs made from ground beef that are flavoured with onions and additional spices. Although different meats are sometimes used in place of beef, Indian koftas are quite similar to their Afghan cousins. Koftas are created in the eastern and southern parts of India from shrimp and fish. After that, the meatballs are served with a sauce composed of cashew paste, milk, and stock. In a vegetarian variant, paneer or grated veggies are used in place of the meat. The Afghan confection known as jalebi has blended in so seamlessly with Indian cooking that most people hardly remember where it came from. The process of making jalebi involves frying a refined flour batter in ghee or oil, followed by soaking it in sugar syrup that is frequently flavoured with saffron to give the dish its colour and aroma. It is served simply, either with rabri or with rose petals. One of the more recent additions to Indian

<sup>27</sup> Konganda T. Achaya, *The story of our food* (Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Ltd., 2003).

<sup>28</sup> Gommans, Jos J. L. *Mughal warfare: Indian frontiers and highroads to empire, 1500-1700*. London: Routledge, 2002.

<sup>29</sup> Divya Narayanan, "What was Mughal cuisine? Defining and analysing a culinary culture," *Interdisziplinäre Zeitschrift für Südasienforschung* (2016).

<sup>30</sup> Dirk Collier, *The great Mughals and their India* (New Delhi: Hay House India, 2016).

<sup>31</sup> Karen Rhea Nemet-Nejat, *Daily life in ancient Mesopotamia* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998).

cuisine is phirni, an Afghan delicacy cooked by boiling soaked rice with milk, almonds, and khoa.

Modern Indian cuisine has been influenced by the rich and spicy curries and meat-loving lifestyle of Mughlai cuisine. It's crucial to remember that until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, Indian cooks were not familiar with many of the ingredients used in the majority of dishes that pass for Mughlai cuisine.<sup>32</sup> These commodities include tomatoes, potatoes, and chilies. This is the result of innovation and modernization in the food industry. Rulers' memoirs, such as the Akbarnama and the Baburnama, contain a wealth of knowledge regarding diet and eating customs.<sup>33</sup> There have also been discovered manuscripts of what appear to be Persian-language cooking manuals.

Since the Mughals followed Islam, it was banned for Muslims to eat pork in imperial courts. In a similar vein, Hindus disapproved of and abstained from eating beef. Buffalo meat appeared to be a suitable substitute for beef. Goat and mutton meat were both extensively eaten, with mutton being more popular than the latter. A variety of poultry were also eaten, including ducks, quail, and chicken.<sup>34</sup> Even now, the most popular meats consumed in India are mutton and poultry, along with shellfish like shrimp and fish, even if politics has an impact on cuisine as well. During the Mughal era, Akbar, the most powerful and prominent of his father Humayun's kings, refrained from making the same error of utilizing cows as sustenance. The consumption of beef by Humayun's warriors incited the Rajputs, the Hindu nobility. Akbar even went so far as to almost become a vegetarian in order to appease Hindus and retain his hegemony.<sup>35</sup> But the emperors who came after Akbar were not as adept at handling the politics of food as Akbar was.

Mughlai cuisine is known for its unique aroma. The spices that are utilized give food its characteristic aromatic flavour. The Mughals exchanged spices with other Indian kings. Both coriander and cumin were probably grown nearby and are still widely used throughout India. Kashmir was the source of the pricey spice saffron, which is prized for its pleasant floral aroma. Cardamom, pepper, nutmeg, ginger, and other spicy spices were introduced from Southern India, close to the Malabar Coast. They also brought

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<sup>32</sup> Divya Narayanan, *Cultures of food and gastronomy in Mughal and post-Mughal India*, dissertation (Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Baburnama: memoirs of Babur, prince and emperor* (Random House Publishing Group, 2007).

<sup>34</sup> Kerry Ward, *Networks of empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> Colleen Taylor Sen, *Feasts and fasts: a history of food in India* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).

turmeric from there. It's interesting to note that these areas continue to produce spices of a very high calibre.

A chronicle of Mughal food dates back to the *Ni'matnama*, or the *Book of Delights*. It was a cookbook put together in the fifteenth century by Ghiyath Shah, the Sultan of Malwa. It is thought that the document entered the Mughal kitchens during Akbar's conquest of the Malwa Sultanate in 1562. The book has comprehensive cooking instructions along with small graphics featuring the king as the main character. It also includes a list of foods and a classification system that indicates whether ones are fit for a king, poor man's food, or worthy of being served to a king. There are recipes for several types of sambusas in the *Ni'matnama*. Sambusas are prepared with a refined wheat pastry that is filled with a spicy, savory filling and then deep-fried. Venison was used as the filler for sambusas.<sup>36</sup> The major ingredients of the stuffing of samosas, a popular snack nowadays, are potatoes, peas, and onions. In contemporary India, samosas remain a beloved tea snack among the masses.

Many Indian homes still prepare karhi, a dish made from chickpea flour, yogurt, and sour milk that is referenced in the *Ni'matnama*. It comes with pakoras, which are fried vegetable fritters. Karhi in Gujarati is made sweeter by adding jiggery or sugar.

The *Ni'matnama* mentions several dishes that suggest a Central Asian culinary influence. Sambusa is one illustration of that. Some other foods of this type are kufta, yakhni, shurba, kabab, and sikh. Sikh cuisine consists of seasoned minced meat cylinders cooked on tandoor skewers. Shabu is a soup, and yakhni is a broth cooked with seasoned meat.

There is evidence of Central Asian influence in a number of dishes listed in the *Ni'matnama*, sambusa, sikh, kabab, yakhni, shurba, and kufta. Sikh is a skewered mixture of spicy minced meat that is grilled in a tandoor. Yokni is meat broth cooked with spices; shurba is soup. In addition to conventional spices, a range of exotic aromatics were utilized, including ambergris, camphor, rosewater, and nutmeg (musk). Aromatics were not the only products made with unusual fruit.<sup>37</sup> A range of unusual meats, such as partridges, rabbits, goats, mountain sheep, pigeons, and quails, were called for in the book's recipes. Certain meats are uncommon in contemporary Indian cuisine. While ambergris is no longer used in Indian cooking, nutmeg is still widely used. In Mughal times, rice surpassed wheat in popularity. One of the numerous rice preparations included in the *Ni'matnama* is khichri.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Norah M. Titley, *The Ni'matnama Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu: the Sultan's Book of Delights* (Routledge, 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

It's a savoury, often spice-free porridge prepared with rice and lentils. There are many different types of khichri that may be found in Indian homes, and the process and ingredients used vary depending on the location. It is frequently given to sick people since it is nourishing and simple to digest. There have been more historical accounts of khichri than the Ni'matnama. Around 300 B.C.E., Seleucus, who served as Alexander the Great's infantry general, discovered that rice was frequently cooked with pulses in India. Moreover, Ibn Battuta refers to it as kishri during his time in India in 1350. According to his description, kishri was a rice meal made with green gram, or mung beans. One of the first European explorers to reach India, Afanasy Nikitin, was a Russian trader who wrote about khichri in his book *Khozheniye za tri moray* (The Journey Beyond Three Seas). During the Mughal era, Khichri gained popularity, particularly under Jahangir.<sup>39</sup> Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak lists seven khichri varieties in *Ain-i-Akbari*. The meal is also mentioned in Aurangzeb's letters to his son Bahadur Shah I, along with biryani.

Another cookbook, *Nushka-i-Shahjahani*, also known as *Nushka u Namak*, contains the recipes for everything from breads and stews to sweetmeats that were made in the emperor Shah Jahan's kitchens. The ten food-related chapters go over the various breads, pottages, meat meals, and other rice dishes like zerbiryans and pulao. The breads include recipes for roti (a round flatbread made from wholemeal flour) and naan (a leavened oven-baked flatbread), but there is no mention of paratha, an Indian flatbread formed of layers of cooked dough (thus it was added later). There were two types of meat dishes: *do pyazas* and *qaliyas*. The term "*do pyazas*" comes from the preparation method, which calls for adding *piyaz* (onion) twice (*do*). There are additional references to omelets, porridges, and kebabs. Preserves such as jams and pickles, fried breads, desserts, and puddings are featured near the end of the collection. Lastly, several fundamental methods for preparing yogurt and cheese curds are covered. One cheese that is frequently used in Indian cooking is paneer (also known as *panir*), which is primarily utilized as a source of protein in vegetarian meals. Making the cheese curd for Paneer involves adding an acidic fruit or vegetable (such as lime juice) to milk.

The cookbook *Khulasat-i Makulat u Mashrubat*, also known as *Alwan-i Ni'mat* or *Khwan-i Alwan-i Ni'mat*, dates back to Aurangzeb's reign. It comprises forty chapters, each of which describes a different category of dish, such as *nan-ha* (breads), *qaliya* and *do pyaza* (meat curries), *sag*, *bharata*, *dal* (pulses and lentils), *zerbiryan* (layered rice dish), *khandawi* (savoury

<sup>39</sup> Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Jahangirnama: memoirs of Jahangir, emperor of India* (New York: Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in association with Oxford University Press, 1999).

cakes made from pulses or gram flour, *salan-ha-i hindi* (Indian sauce-based dishes), *khichri*, *shola* (dish with rice, meat, pulses, and vegetables), *kulthi* (sweet sticky rice), *thuli* (sweet thick preparation with milk and flour), *tahiri* (rice and meat dish), *halim* (meaty stew made with wheat and barley), *kashk* (gruel with wheat and meat), *ash* (pottages), *bara* (fried cakes), *jughrat wa sikharn* (yogurt-based dishes), *shirbirinj* (rice pudding of Iranian origin, *Bara*, or fried cakes; *jughrat wa sikharn*, or yogurt-based dishes; *shirbirinj*, or rice pudding of Iranian origin; *firni*; *faluda*, or cold dessert made with milk, rose syrup, vermicelli, and basil seeds; *panbhatta*, or fried soaked rice in sherbet; *sambusa*, or fried bread; *gulgula* and *khajur*, or sweet dumplings; *malida*, or sweet powdered dough mixture; *shirni*, or sweetmeats; *murabba*, or jams; and *achar*, or pickles. There are also chapters on simple tasks like shelling coriander. Many of the recipes, particularly the breads, rice dishes, *khichri*, meat curries, jams, and pickles, are taken from the previous editions. Today's Indian kitchens sometimes prepare *sag*, *khandawi*, *salan*, *shirbirinj*, and *phirni*, among the other unusual recipes described in this book. *Dal* has become a mainstay, particularly in These days, *phirni* are frequently prepared in Indian cuisine. *Dal* has become a mainstay as a source of protein, particularly in vegetarian homes. *Biryani* is served with salad, more especially *mirchi ka salan* (chillies curry in peanut gravy). *Faluda* is prepared on special occasions and has gained popularity as well. It is typically served with ice cream on top, while one version asks for jelly cubes to be added to the sherbet.

The greatest biryanis may currently be found in places like Hyderabad, Delhi, Lucknow, and Kolkata. The use of nutmeg, cinnamon, cardamom, and cloves for perfume, the use of saffron to colour the rice, and the flavour created by cooking meat and vegetables with rice are just a few of the common preparation techniques seen throughout the nation. There are differences, yet there are also parallels. The flavours of saffron and coconut predominate in this spicy Hyderabadi Biryani, which is created with Basmati rice, which also contributes to the scent. Gravy made from brinjal (eggplant) is served with it. The taste of the Kolkata Biryani is defined by the addition of meat and ghee (clarified butter), even though it also uses Basmati rice and saffron. Boiled eggs and potatoes are also included. Instead of using Basmati rice, the Lucknowi Biryani uses a paste composed of cashew nuts and curd, as well as aromatic spices like nutmeg and star anise. The Lucknowi Biryani is served with beef gravy, and the saffron flavour is not as noticeable. While the Mughals dominated most of Northern and Northwestern India, they did not have as much control in Southern India. This did not stop their cuisine from gaining popularity in the south, either. As diplomats, nobility from the courts of Nawabs and other Southern Indian rulers visited Mughal towns, bringing with them tales of the food they had

consumed and occasionally recipes. Southern Indian Mughal cuisine frequently used a varied combination of ingredients or preparation techniques.

Many recipes from Mughal kitchens have been integrated into modern Indian food. Reliance on wheat has decreased as a result of the rise in rice consumption during the Mughal conquest. Because of this, rice has emerged as India's main crop, and Indian food would be incomplete without it. A large assortment of sweetmeats and pastries were also brought by the Mughals. India is home to a vast array of milk-based desserts and sweets, the most of which date back to the Mughal era. Therefore, it is possible that Indian food as it exists today originated during the Mughal era.

## Colonial Period

The Portuguese began constructing their colonial empire gradually during the Mughal era, when they ruled most of India. The Portuguese sought to send earnings back to their home country, in contrast to the Mughals who hoped to acquire the territory and settle here. One of the primary motivations for the Europeans to look for a sea passage to the Indian subcontinent was spices.

Due to the product's strength in the trade market, it was decided that starting commerce with India was essential. But as a result of the monarchs' and the royal class's excesses and riches, their goals were shifted, and colonization took precedence over trade.<sup>40</sup>

Vasco da Gama arrived in the Malabar Coast of Calicut in 1498, a thriving port where Hindu, Arab, and Chinese traders traded spices, textiles, and a host of ostentatious products.<sup>41</sup> Ports saw a rise in the commerce of ideas, plants, and animals as the Portuguese Empire grew. This was known as the Columbian Exchange, and it had a significant impact on how different regions prepared their food.<sup>42</sup> After capturing Goa in 1510, they established Estado de India (State of India) with Goa as its capital. Spices were soon grown for trade all over the Malabar Coast. Many Islamic and Hindu traditions and customs were challenged and eventually abandoned.<sup>43</sup> Those that were impossible to get rid of were prohibited. They presented

<sup>40</sup> Michael Chazan, Mark Lehner, "An Ancient Analogy: Pot Baked Bread in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia," *Paléorient* 16 (1990): 21-35.

<sup>41</sup> Roger Crowley, *Conquerors: how Portugal seized the Indian Ocean and forged the first global empire* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015).

<sup>42</sup> Nicole Boivin et al., "Indian Ocean Food Globalisation and Africa," *The African Archaeological Review* 31 (2014): 547-581.

<sup>43</sup> Kavalam Madhava Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese* (New Delhi: Voice of India, 1997, 1929).

a range of dishes prepared with beef and pork and questioned the refusal to eat those proteins. The Hindu custom of cooking rice without salt was also abandoned. Tulsi, or holy basil, was forbidden to grow.

India was first exposed to cheese by the Portuguese. A semi-soft smoked cheese prepared from cow's milk is called bandel cheese. It is one of the very few native cheeses in the Western style that is crumbly and dry. The cheese curd known as chhana is another Portuguese invention in India.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, some contend that curdling milk was a pre-existing practice. It is quite likely that a Portuguese cheese resembling chhana served as the model for many Bengali desserts, including rasgulla and Sandesh.<sup>45</sup> Rasgullas are dumplings in the shape of balls that are cooked in a mild sugar syrup until the syrup steepens into the chhana and semolina dough. After that, they are kept in sugar syrup, which is frequently flavored with rosewater or saffron strands.<sup>46</sup> In Odisha, another eastern state in India, Rasgulla is called Rasagola. According to current study, Rasagola was made in the thirteenth century AD at the Jagannath Temple in Odisha. Though the sweet dish sangesh is described in medieval Bengali literature, such as Krittibas' Ramayana, the original recipe was probably substantially different from the one that is served today. Although chhana cheese is most likely used to make modern-day Sandesh, there are alternative versions of the dish that only use milk and sugar instead of chhana. Sandesh is often produced by combining sugar and chhana over low heat. There have been instances where khejur gur has been used as a sweetener.<sup>47</sup> The Columbian Trade, which brought crops like potatoes, okra, chillies, pineapples, papaya, cashew, peanuts, maize, guava, custard apples, and sapodilla, is arguably the Portuguese contribution to Indian food that has had the biggest impact. It is thought that tomatoes were imported to India via commerce with other Asian civilizations, who then obtained them through trade with Spain. Tomatoes are not native to India. Today's Indian curries typically have tomato-based gravies. As though they were a native plant, potatoes have been included into contemporary Indian cuisine.<sup>48</sup> As per the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, India ranked third in terms of potato production in 2007 with 26,280,000 tonnes and third in terms of consumption in

<sup>44</sup> Michael Krondl, "The sweetshops of Kolkata," *Gastronomica* 10 (2010): 58-65.

<sup>45</sup> Colleen Taylor Sen, *Portuguese Influence on Bengali Cuisine*, in: *Food on the move: proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1996* (Devon: Prospect Books, 1997), 288-298.

<sup>46</sup> Krishna Sikund, "Food Culture in Calcutta," *India International Centre Quarterly* 17 (1990): 220-228.

<sup>47</sup> Chitrita Banerji, "A Sweet Fragrance in Winter," *Gastronomica* 12 (2012): 83-86.

<sup>48</sup> Nicole Boivin et al., "Indian Ocean Food Globalisation and Africa," *The African Archaeological Review* 31 (2014): 547-581.

2005 with 17,380,730 tonnes.<sup>49</sup> Indian food has also incorporated maize. A common street snack is corn that has been grilled on the cob and seasoned with lime, salt, and red chili powder. Some recipes for foods in west India call for maize kernels, and in Punjab, a flatbread known as makki ki roti is made with cornflour.

Goan food has a lot of Portuguese influence, and many recipes are modifications of Portuguese fare. The recipe for carne de vina d'alhos evolved into vindaloo an extremely spicy, sweet-and-sour pork curry. In contrast to the Portuguese recipe, vindaloo was dried out to facilitate transportation over extended distances. Goa is home to the Portuguese soup known by the same name, caldo verde, which is cooked with potatoes and kale and is spiced up with ginger and black pepper. Additionally, the soup's kale is swapped out for spinach. A paste of crushed peanuts, shredded coconut, and an intricate spice blend are used to make the Goan curry known as Xacuti Chicken. Chacuti de Galinha is a Portuguese meal that is comparable. A few bread varieties were also brought by the Portuguese, such as the pau (oven-baked bread rolls). Today, pau is used in a lot of street meals around the nation, such as vada pau, which are fried balls of mashed potato and spices served with various relishes in a bread roll, and bhaji pau, which are tart, spicy curry made with tomatoes and potatoes and served with roasted butter bread rolls. Portuguese baked goods called bibinca are produced by stacking seven layers of cake – made with flour, sugar, ghee, egg yolk, and coconut milk – on top of one another to create a pudding. Making bibinca for Christmas is a Goan custom.<sup>50</sup>

Many substances used in India are described in Garcia de Orta's book *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India*. Garcia de Orta was the Portuguese viceroy's physician in India. Notes on pepper, banana, galangal, turmeric, betel, and bhaang (cannabis preparation), as well as asafoetida, are included. He talks about how asafoetida is overused in India, particularly in Hindu kitchens, and he mentions the strong fragrance of the dried latex of a shrub called *Ferula*.<sup>51</sup> Bananas were prepared by roasting them and then serving them with wine and cinnamon. Bananas were sliced in half, fried in sugar, and then served with cinnamon sprinkled on top in another dish. The extensive usage of bhaang was also suitably mentioned.

<sup>49</sup> FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), *New light on a hidden treasure: International year of the potato 2008: an end-of-year review* (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Jayanta Sengupta, "Nation on a Platter: the Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal," *Modern Asian Studies* 44 (2010): 81-98.

<sup>51</sup> "Asafetida," *Scientific American* 12, no. 19 (1857): 152.

The French developed trade with India and made Pondicherry their capital after the Dutch entered the East Indies' commercial sector.<sup>52</sup> The local cuisine there reflects their legacy. French foods like ragout, a stew with a strong garlic and fragrant flavor, and rum-soaked Christmas fruitcake are among the dishes that have been included into Pondicherry's cuisine. The French-dish Fish Bouillabaisse is prepared locally as meen puyabaisse.

The British began their colonization with the same goals of trade as the earlier invaders. Their first trading post in India was established when they first anchored at the port of Surat. In order to support the English community in India, the commerce mostly entailed the import of English goods like ham, cheese, beer, and wine and the export of goods like silk, sugar, salt, opium, and tea. The British succeeded in forcing the French out of Bengal with the critical Battle of Plassey in 1757, laying the groundwork for their eventual domination.<sup>53</sup> In the middle of the eighteenth century, the British also drove the Dutch out of Bengal, ending the prosperous Dutch trade that had been supported by the Mughals.<sup>54</sup> The area of brewing is where the British have had the biggest impact on Indian food. British-opened taverns offered wine, beer, rum, and other British alcoholic beverages. Such establishments served punch, a popular beverage. It was created by combining five ingredients: sugar, spices, rosewater, arrack, and citron juice. The word "paanch" comes from the Hindi word "five."

Ale in particular was a favourite beverage of the British in India. Quinine was later found to have antimalarial qualities, and when it was combined with soda water, tonic was created. In bars, it was served as gin and tonic and partnered with gin. Rumour has it that India is where gimlets, or gin with lime juice, originated. Twelve breweries were founded in India throughout the next fifty years, starting with the first in the Solan District of Himachal Pradesh in 1830.

The majority of the tea that was shipped from Chinese plantations to England was enjoyed by the British. The natives of North-eastern India, where the British found tea growing wild, utilized the herb for pickling and infusing food. Subsequently, the British established tea plantations in Assam, which subsequently extended to Darjeeling in the Himalayas, the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India, and even Lanka. Nonetheless, the beverage was uncommon among Indians. Officials were unaware of the surplus on lands that were formerly farmed for export to Britain only after the

<sup>52</sup> Kerry Ward, *Networks of empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>53</sup> Michael Edwardes, *The Battle of Plassey and the conquest of Bengal* (Borodino Books, 2017).

<sup>54</sup> Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the economy of Bengal, 1630–1720* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014).

British were forced to leave.<sup>55</sup> The tea that the Indians drank was flavoured with milk and spices and is known as chai today. The story of coffee planting in Southern India is similar to that of tea cultivation, however the expansion of coffee was not as noticeable as that of tea because it was mostly grown for local use.

Indian kitchens now use vegetables grown by the British, such as oranges, carrots, cauliflower, spinach, and cabbage. Made with minced onions and chilies, omellets gained notoriety as a brunch dish served at nightclubs.

Christian missionaries discovered that converting the Hindu populace to Christianity was a genuine mission as time went on and the British took control of the nation. Conversion to Christianity was made possible by a number of internal issues, including the caste system, untouchability customs, oppression of particular groups of people, lack of access to health-care, and other issues. In addition to hospitals and schools, the converted Christians began emulating English eating customs. However, a group of Anglo-Indians developed that assimilated the majority of English customs and traditions. They have been credited with developing a unique cuisine that entailed cooking English ingredients in Indian techniques.<sup>56</sup> Anglo-Indian cuisine is known for its roasted beef, meat and potato curry, jalfrezi (meat or fish stir-fried in a dry sauce with vegetables), pepper water or rasam (spicy beef broth), and dry fry (beef cooked with onions, tomatoes, and spices with very little oil). In India, rasam and jalfrezi remain popular to this day. Along with celebrating Christmas with roast turkey or duck and plum pudding, they also cooked Portuguese-inspired Goan foods such vindaloo, balchow (meat or shellfish cooked in hot tomato chilli sauce), and foogath (vegetables sautéed with onion, garlic, and mustard seeds). Pan-Indian cuisine was introduced in certain respects by Anglo-Indian cuisine.

## Conclusion

the goal of the study was to provide a historical overview of the variety of Indian cuisine. This document represents a modest attempt to compile a number of historical tidbits on the evolution of food in India. The satisfaction of attempting to bring together the philosophy, consumption, beauty, and transmission of food cultures is immense, even though there is pressure to provide “gastrosemantics” or how a culture orchestrates the

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<sup>55</sup> Charles Henry Fielder, “On the Rise, Progress, and Future Prospects of Tea Cultivation in British India,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 32 (1869): 29-37.

<sup>56</sup> Michael Chazan, Mark Lehner, “An Ancient Analogy: Pot Baked Bread in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia,” *Paléorient* 16 (1990): 21-35.

centralization of food through a well-organized attempt.<sup>57</sup> There aren't many mainstream journal publications about Indian cuisine available, and this study is by no means a comprehensive analysis of the subject's history. There is a thin line between risking oversimplification and concentrating just on a certain age or place, but in this case, the danger has been avoided by concentrating on a few key elements of each era while keeping track of advances occurring throughout the subcontinent. To shed light on some of the gastronomic habits and preferences, a few philosophical and historical facets of the historical cultures are emphasized. Some of the areas our paper has opened up can be explored by future researchers. Manuscripts from the Vedic eras will be worth examining closely for food culture if languages of the past are understood. Since religious rituals frequently involved food, studying the religion will unavoidably enlighten us about the cuisine and ingredients that were accessible to the populace. Dividing the subcontinent into significant sections and limiting the study of the evolution of cuisine to those areas may also be beneficial. Finally, given the new interest in food politics in India, it will be worthwhile to investigate the historical development of food politics in the nation.

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<sup>57</sup> R. S. Khare, *Food with Saints: an aspect of Hindu gastrosemantics*, in: R. S. Khare (ed.), *The Eternal food: gastronomic ideas and experiences of Hindus and Buddhists* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 27-52.

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## Św. Kazimierz Królewicz – patron czy wzór postępowania dla rycerzy Zakonu Maltańskiego?

**Abstract:** The article *St. Casimir the Prince – patron saint and role model for the knights of the Order of Malta?* reaching for the lives and other source information concerning St. Casimir, indicates the possibility that the Hospitallers possessed the relics of the prince in the past. The findings made organize the current knowledge concerning St. Casimir and confirm the importance of his cult in the formation of knightly and masculine traits in the Order of Malta and, what is worth emphasizing, do not question the possibility of worshipping St. Casimir by members of the Order of Malta. On the other hand, the instructions of the Order indicate that the term “patron of the Order of Malta” is reserved for the only Patron of the Order of Malta, who is St. John the Baptist. No other saint or blessed of the Order holds this title, from which it can be concluded that St. Casimir, in the light of Maltese documents, also does not meet the criteria of being a patron for the Hospitallers, although he may be a worthy model for imitating nobility in conduct and practicing virtue.

**Keywords:** St. Casimir the Prince, the Order of Malta, the Cult of St. Casimir

Polski królewicz Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, syn Kazimierza IV Jagiellończyka i Elżbiety Rakuszanek urodził się 3 października 1458 r. w Krakowie. Był drugim z kolei spośród sześciu synów króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (Władysław II Jagiellończyk – ur. 1456, św. Kazimierz – ur. 1458, Jan I Olbracht – ur. 1459, Aleksander Jagiellończyk – ur. 1461, Zygmunt I Stary – ur. 1467, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk ur. 1468). Miał też siedem siostr (Jadwiga Jagiellonka – ur. 1457, Zofia Jagiellonka – ur. 1464, Elżbieta Jagiellonka – ur. 1465 (zm. w 1466 r.), Elżbieta Jagiellonka – ur. 1472 (zm. w 1480/1481 r.), Anna Jagiellonka – ur. 1476, Barbara Jagiellonka – ur. 1478, Elżbieta Jagiellonka – ur. 1482). Był wnukiem Władysława Jagiełły (zm. 1434).

Od szóstego roku życia opiekę nad królewiczem sprawował ochmistrz Stanisław Szydłowiecki, a następnie profesor filozofii i teologii Jan z Kęt, który przygotowywał Kazimierza do sakramentu bierzmowania, oraz Szymon z Lipnicy, który jako bernardyn był jego spowiednikiem.

Przez wiele lat wychowawcą Kazimierza był również ks. Jan Długosz, który o swoim uczniu napisał: „Był młodzieńcem szlachetnym, rzadkich

zdolności i godnego pamięci rozumu”<sup>1</sup>. Zaś na wieść o tym, że królewicz ma objąć tron węgierski, zanotował w swojej *Kronice*, iż „raczej powinno się go zachować dla ojczystej ziemi, niż oddawać obcym”<sup>2</sup>. Jak pokazała historia słowa te okazały się poniekąd prorocze, gdyż Kazimierz królem na Węgrzech nie został... Przyczynił się do tego spłot kilku wydarzeń, który rozpoczął się po śmierci króla Czech, Jerzego z Podiebradu (1420–1471), kiedy to Czesi zaprosili na swój tron starszego brata św. Kazimierza, Władysława II (1456–1516). Został uroczyście koronowany na Hradczanach w 1471 roku.

W tym samym czasie na Węgrzech wybuchł bunt możnowładców przeciw królowi, Maciejowi Korwinowi (ur. 23 lutego 1443 r. w Koloszwarze (obecnie w Rumunii), zm. 6 kwietnia 1490 r. w Wiedniu – król Węgier i Chorwacji od 1458 r., oraz Czech od 1469 r.). Kazimierz, jako siostrzeniec panującego przed Maciejem Korwinem Władysława V Pogrobowca (ur. 22 lutego 1440 r. w Komarnie, zm. 23 listopada 1457 w Pradze - książę Austrii (od 1453 arcyksiążę) w latach 1440–1457, król Czech (Ladislav Pohrobek), Węgier i Chorwacji (jako Władysław V) w latach 1453–1457) wydawał się być naturalnym następcą tronu, toteż pomimo tego, że miał dopiero trzynaście lat, zaproszono go, by przyjął koronę i objął władzę. Po uzyskaniu zgody ojca, w październiku 1471 roku, królewicz wraz z 12 tys. armią wyruszył na Węgry. Niestety, kiedy wraz z wojskiem zbliżał się do Pesztu, możni węgierscy zmienili zdanie i odmówili Kazimierzowi poparcia. Wówczas młodzieniec uświadomił sobie, że nie zdoła pokonać 16 tys. armii węgierskiej pod wodzą króla Macieja, wycofał się i pod koniec grudnia powrócił do Polski z mocnym postanowieniem dążenia do doskonałości i budowania pokoju. Za pewne przypieczętowanie jego postanowień uznać można przystąpienie przez całą rodzinę królewską w 1472 roku do Konfraterni Zakonu Paulinów w Częstochowie oraz decyzję Kazimierza, że nigdy się nie ożeni i pozostanie w stanie dziewiczym do końca życia<sup>3</sup>.

Po porażce, której doznał królewicz na Węgrzech, zamieszkał na jakiś czas w Dobczycach, przebywał też w Tyńcu i Nowym Sączu, po czym powrócił jeszcze na kilka lat do Krakowa, gdzie od 1475 roku, do grona nauczycieli synów królewskich dołączył włoski humanista Kallimach (Filip Buonacorsi).

<sup>1</sup> Wincenty Zaleski, *Święci na każdy dzień*, Warszawa 1997, s. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Alicja Wysocka, *Św. Kazimierz: Królewicz, który nie bał się być świętym*, dostęp online: 20.08.2019, <https://liturgia.wiara.pl/doc/419365.Sw-Kazimierz-Krolewicz-ktory-nie-bal-sie-byc-swietym>

<sup>3</sup> Józef Swastek, Kazimierz, św., w: *Encyklopedia Katolicka KUL*, t. 8, Lublin 2000, kol. 1275; Wincenty Zaleski, *Święci na każdy dzień*, s. 117.

W 1475 roku Kazimierz wraz z ojcem udał się na Litwę, a potem do Prus Królewskich, gdzie mógł przysłuchiwać się obradom sejmu oraz brać udział w zjazdach generalnych. W 1476 roku podczas sejmu w Malborku, osiemnastoletni wówczas Kazimierz, zabrał nawet głos, a jego wystąpienie zostało dobrze przyjęte przez słuchaczy.

W styczniu 1478 roku królewicz wziął udział w zjeździe generalnym szlachty w Piotrkowie i w obradach sejmu w Radomiu, a później w Brześciu.

W 1481 roku z powodu spisku kniaziów ruskich władca sam pozostał na wschodzie, Kazimierza natomiast mianował wielkorządcą Korony (namiestnikiem królestwa) jako *secundogenitus Regis Poloniae*. Przez dwa lata (1481-1483) rezydując głównie na dworze w Radomiu Kazimierz administrował Polską, wprowadzając m.in. oszczędności w wydatkach państwowych, stając w obronie pokrzywdzonych (zachował się m.in. jego list do mieszkańców Wrocławia z 11 lutego 1482 r., w którym zapewniał o skutecznym zwalczaniu rozbojów na pograniczu śląsko-polskim) i wspierając jałmużną potrzebujących.

Na wezwanie ojca, wiosną 1483 roku Kazimierz przybył do ojca do Wilna, gdzie pomimo doskwierającej mu gruźlicy, pełnił funkcję podkanclerza koronnego. Będąc na tym stanowisku przyczynił się do rozwoju architektury miasta - przekazywał fundusze na budowę kościołów i klasztorów. W tym czasie zgodnie z prądami duchowości szkoły franciszkańskiej (przede wszystkim obserwanckiej) i *devotio moderna*, akcentującymi ascezę i surowość życia, królewicz codziennie przyjmował komunie św., uczestniczył w adoracji Najświętszego Sakramentu, spełniał praktyki pokutne: rozdawał jałmużnę, pościł, sypiał na podłodze, nosił włosienicę. Często też skracał czas przeznaczony na sen i nocami wymykał się z pałacu, by w pokorze modlić się u drzwi kościołów. Jego ulubioną pieśnią był średniowieczny hymn łaciński z XII wieku zaczynający się od słów: „Dnia każdego, Boga swego, chwał, o duszo, Maryję” (*„Omni die dic Mariae, mea laude anima”*), który w zapisie na pergaminie, włożono po śmierci do jego trumny. Opisy z Żywota wskazują na umiłowanie i uzdolnienie królewicza do głębokiej medytacji, ocierającej się o stany mistyczne. Jak podaje Wołodkiewicz: „W kościele będąc częstokroć, jakoby zmysłów pozbywszy i w duchu zachwycony, tak gorącym sercem Panu Bogu się modlił, iż posilenia ciała potrzebnego zapominał i gdyby go byli rodzicy podczas obiadu albo wieczerzy częstym sług posyłaniem od modlitwy nie odwabiali, cały dzień na niej bez pokarmu i posiłku cielesnego mile by i ochotnie przetrwałby był”<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Żywot św. Kazimierza Królewica polskiego i Książęcia litewskiego. W Wilnie roku 1606 przez Mateusza Chryzostoma przełożony. Przydane są modlitwy nabożne i hymny do św. Kazimierza,*

Podczas sprawowania powierzonych mu funkcji i obowiązków osoby postępujące według niego źle wzywał do siebie i napominał, zachęcając do pojednania i poprawy, co odpowiada także etymologii imienia Kazimierz, które pochodzi od słów *kazi* – kazać i *mir* – zgoda, pokój, oznaczających osobę „wprowadzającą zgodę”<sup>5</sup>. Królewicz wspierał też bernardynów, w działalności których (oświata, nauczanie uprawy roli) upatrywał nadziei na zjednoczenie Kościoła wschodniego z Kościołem rzymskim, poprzez nawrócenie prawosławnych na wiarę katolicką.

Zmarł w drodze na sejm do Lublina 4 marca 1484 roku w Grodnie, w wieku 26 lat. Został pochowany w katedrze wileńskiej w kaplicy Matki Bożej, gdzie lubił się modlić. Można powiedzieć, że jego duchową sylwetkę dobrze wyraża fragment z Księgi Syracha: „Będąc jeszcze młodym, zanim zacząłem podróżować, szukałem jawnie mądrości w modlitwie. U bram świątyni prosiłem o nią i aż do końca szukać jej będę. [...] Dusza moja walczyła o nią i z całą starannością usiłowałem zachować Prawo; ręce wyciągałem w górę, a błędy przeciwko niej opłakiwałem. Skierowałem ku niej moją duszę i znalazłem ją dzięki czystości; z nią od początku zyskałem rozum, dlatego nie będę opuszczony” (Syr 51,13-14.19-20).

Zachowały się informacje o liście króla Zygmunta datowanym na 10 maja 1516 roku, w którym pisał do papieża Leona X (1513–1521), że już trzeci raz zwraca się z korną prośbą o przeprowadzenie procesu, w imieniu tak swoim, jak i biskupa oraz kapituły wileńskiej. Oficjalne pismo do Stolicy Apostolskiej wysłał w tym samym roku bp Wojciech Radziwiłł, zaś bernardyni wileńscy w lutym 1517 roku skierowali podobną petycję, poświadczając, że zmarłego królewicza nawet „sąsiednie i obce narody czczą i doznają jego cudownego wstawiennictwa”<sup>6</sup>.

W odpowiedzi 4 listopada 1517 roku zebrało się kolegium kardynalskie, które podjęło decyzję o rozpoczęciu procesu. Wtedy to prymas Jan Łaski i biskup Wojciech Radziwiłł przeprowadzili wstępne badania w tej sprawie i przesłali akta do Rzymu. Na tej podstawie papież Leon X wydał 15 września 1519 roku brewe, w którym dla zbadania i potwierdzenia kultu delegował na Litwę Zachariasza Ferreriego (Zaccaria Ferreri), który po przybyciu do Polski i na Litwę w 1520 roku, zobaczywszy szerzący się kult świętego oraz usłyszawszy

oprac. Jan Okoń przy współpracy Katarzyny Gary i Jolanty Rzegockiej, Muzeum Historii Polski, Warszawa 2016, s. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Według *Żywota* Piotra Skargi z 1610 roku imię Kazimierz zmieniło się w używaniu jedną literą i: po staremu z słowieńska mianowało się Każemir, to jest „rozkazuje pokój”, nie Kazimir, jakoby „psował pokój”. Mir to jest, co pokój i przymierze zowieć”. Ibidem, s. 219.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, s. 23, 149. Warto tu dodać, że kiedy w 1518 roku, po zwycięstwie wojsk polsko-litewskich nad wojskami moskiewskimi pod Połockiem, uznano, że stało się to za przyczyną zmarłego królewicza, król Zygmunt I Stary, wysłał do Rzymu za pośrednictwem Jana Łaskiego prośbę o kanonizację brata. Ibidem, s. 84-85.

opowieści o cudach, które dokonały się za jego wstawiennictwem, napisał na cześć Kazimierza oficjum brewiarzowe i mszalne, a w nim hymn po łacinie datowany na 21 listopada 1520 roku, oraz spisał jego *Żywot*<sup>7</sup>.

Spośród ułożonych hymnów o św. Kazimierzu, warto tu przytoczyć choć jeden, *Na Nieszpory*. Brzmi on następująco:

*Wesołe wdzięcznie brzmicie, polskie kraje:  
Jeśli kiedy czas dał pogodę, daje  
Teraz, gdy wasz wódz jest do nieba wzięty,  
Kazimierz święty.  
Rzymie, raduj się, któryś tak uraczył  
Książęcia tego, iż z świętymi zbracił,  
Którego sławą słyną zimne strony,  
Septentryjony.  
Ziemia, która mróz cierpi lodosieczny,  
Której i promień nie grzeje słoneczny,  
Czuje, że zimne topnieją srogości  
Z boskiej miłości.  
Ogień jest cnota przyjemna, którego  
Mocą myśl ludzka do Twórcy swojego  
Gdy się zapali, już przez czas wieczności  
Żyje w czystości.  
Ten ledwie przyszedł do pierwszej młodości,  
Wszystkich odstąpił na świecie możliwości,*

<sup>7</sup> Najstarszy spisany w języku polskim żywot św. Kazimierza Jagiellończyka, pióra Mateusza Chryzostoma Wołodkiewicza (piastował urzędy ziemskie na Litwie, był wojskim i pisarzem ziemskim na Żmudzi, w latach 1626–1633 instygatorem litewskim i sekretarzem królewskim, w roku 1629 posłem na sejm), powstał w 1606 roku, po czym zaginął bez śladu na kilkaset lat. Dzięki odnalezieniu w ostatnim czasie unikatowego egzemplarza tego tekstu czytelnicy mają dziś szansę poznać zagubiony dotąd utwór w starannym i przystępnym opracowaniu Jana Okonia przy współpracy Katarzyny Gary i Jolanty Rzegockiej. Opublikowano go w Warszawie w 2016 roku, nakładem Muzeum Historii Polski, wraz z pozostałymi żywotami świętego: pierwszą z serii biografią królewicza autorstwa legata papieskiego Zachariasza Ferreriego (1521), łacińskim dziełem Grzegorza Święcickiego (1604), służącym za podstawę przekładu Wołodkiewicza, a także powstałą niemal równolegle wersją Piotra Skargi (1610). Przy czym swoją wersję zbudował P. Skarga na idei mówiącej, że „ciałem i człowieczeństwem król każdy nauboższemu jest równy”. Jego zdaniem kierowała nie średniowieczna asceza, lecz „świadome kształtowanie siebie, zgodne z personalistyczną wizją człowieka: [który] może [on] cieszyć się wrodzoną godnością, jako dzieło stworzenia, ale musi zarazem czuć odpowiedzialność za jej wykorzystanie – im wyższa godność, tym większa odpowiedzialność”. Jan Chryzostom Wołodkiewicz jest zaś pierwszym tłumaczem łacińskiego żywota św. Kazimierza napisanego przez Zachariasza Ferreriego *Żywot przechwałebnego Wyżnawce S. Kazimierza* (1606).

Pałając Boga zawsze tą miłością,  
Szukał z pilnością.  
Chwała jest Twórcy wszech rzeczy, Ojcowi,  
I który zbawił świat, Jego Synowi,  
Także Świętemu Duchowi-śpiewajmy,  
Moc wyznawajmy.<sup>8</sup>



Ryc. 1. Strona tytułowa i okładka książki *Żywot świętego Kazimierza, królewicza polskiego i księcia litewskiego* w Wilnie Roku 1606 przez Mateusza Chryzostoma Wołodkiewicza przełożony

Do Żywota w tłumaczeniu Mateusza Wołodkiewicza dołączono spis cudów, „Brewie albo dekret ś. ojca papieża na obchodzenie dnia ś. Kazimierza, od ś. pamięci Leona X papieża kanonizowanego” oraz „Modlitwy nabożne ku ś. Kazimierzowi i Pannie Naświętszej”. Wśród nich znajduje się Modlitwa do św. Kazimierza żołnierzom należąca:

*Niezwyjężony od wszelkich żądz świata i ciała Kazimierz u ś., patronie i obrońco narodu twego, stróżu czujny granic ojczyzny twojej, hetmanie sprawny i przewodniku strapionego wojska polskiego i litewskiego, za twoją pomocą często strwożony lud pociechę odnosił, za twoim hetmaństwem maluczka garść tak wiele tysięcy nieprzyjaciół poraziła, za twoją przytomnością siła i serce żołnierzowi rosnęło, ciebie i teraz prosim, królewicu polski, książę litewskie, broń ojczyznę twą od wszelakich najazdów nieprzyjacielskich, przybysz do pocztów narodu twego, sprawuj lud twój, dawaj serca lęklwym, zastawiaj się za Kościół Boży, niech nieprzyjaciół pociechy nie odniesie. A nam serce i prawicę mężną upros u Jezusa Chrystusa, abyśmy szczęśliwie*

<sup>8</sup> *Żywot św. Kazimierza Królewicza polskiego i Księęcia litewskiego*, s. 121-122.

*poraziwszy nieprzyjaciela, w sławie i w zdrowiu Pana zastępów wielbili, który żyje i króluje na wieki wieków. Amen.*

Warto też przypomnieć *Modlitwę św. Kazimierza do Najświętszej Panny każdodzienną*, którą sam po łacinie napisał, a na polski język przełożył ks. Stanisław Grochowski. Zaczyna się ona słowami:

*Duszo moja, rzecz to twoja Wielbić zawsze Maryję. Jej dni święte, sprawy wzięte Niech w pamiętce twej żyją....*

W 1521 roku papież Leon X (ur. 11 grudnia 1475 r. we Florencji, zm. 1 grudnia 1521 r. w Rzymie) wydał bullę kanonizacyjną i wręczył ją biskupowi płockiemu Erazmowi Ciołkowi (ur. 1474 r. w Krakowie, zm. 9 września 1522 r. w Rzymie). Niestety zmarł on we Włoszech w 1522 r. w czasie zarazy, a wszystkie jego dokumenty zaginęły. Ponadto akta procesu kanonizacyjnego królewicza uległy zniszczeniu w 1527 r. podczas „sacco di Roma”, czyli złupienia Rzymu w dniach 6-14 maja 1527 roku przez niemiecko-hiszańskie wojska Karola V podczas wojny z Francją, papieżem Klemensem VII oraz miastami włoskimi. Sprawy udało się doprowadzić pomyślnie do końca, dopiero gdy za sprawą króla Zygmunta III Wazy (ur. 20 czerwca 1566 r. w Gripsholm, król Polski z dynastii Wazów i wielki książę litewski w latach 1587–1632 oraz król Szwecji w latach 1592–1599 (zachował tytuł do śmierci w 1632), zm. 30 kwietnia 1632 w Warszawie) oraz biskupa wileńskiego Benedykta Woyny i kapituły wileńskiej z misją do Rzymu, jako delegat, udał się wiosną 1602 roku kanonik Grzegorz Święcicki. Wówczas Klemens VIII (ur. 24 lutego 1536 w Fano, zm. 3 marca 1605 w Rzymie) przychylił się do prośby i na mocy brewe *Quae ad Sanctorum* z 7 listopada 1602 roku zatwierdził kult świętego królewicza, na razie tylko na Litwie i w Polsce. W tym samym roku (1602), po 118 latach od śmierci, otworzono grobowiec Kazimierza, znajdując w nim nienaruszone ciało królewicza.

Centralne obchody związane z wyniesieniem królewicza na ołtarze odbyły się w Wilnie 10 maja 1604 roku. Nie był to więc formalny akt kanonizacji, ale potwierdzenie istniejącego i żywego kultu. Ponadto w 1621 roku papież Paweł V, wpisał oficjum o św. Kazimierzu do mszału i brewiarza rzymskiego, umieszczając tym samym jego wspomnienie w kalendarzu Kościoła Katolickiego.

14 sierpnia 1636 roku relikwie (dla których w 1691 r. wykonano w Augsburgu srebrną trumnę) przeniesiono do nowego kościoła z kaplicą grobową Kazimierza, ufundowaną przez królów Zygmunta III Wazę i Władysława IV. W 1953 r. przeniesiono je z katedry wileńskiej do kościoła świętych Piotra i Pawła. Do kaplicy kazimierzowskiej powróciły dopiero w 1991 roku.

## Ikonografia i kult

Święty Kazimierz przedstawiany jest w stroju książęcym z mitrą na głowie i z lilią w ręce - co ukazuje najstarsza zachowana podobizna graficzna, czyli drzeworyt na karcie tytułowej dziełka *Vita beati Casimiri* Zachariasza Ferre-riego, wydrukowany prawdopodobnie w Krakowie w 1521 roku. Można za-uwzględnić, że późniejsze wizerunki – malarskie i graficzne – powielają ten schemat. Podobne ujęcie prezentuje na przykład obraz z 1536 r. tzw. trójreżny w kaplicy św. Kazimierza w katedrze w Wilnie.



Ryc. 2. Św. Kazi-  
mierz, tzw. Trzyrę-  
ki, prawdopodobnie  
XVI w. (po 1535 r.)

choć obecnie trudno ocenić w jakim stopniu po-  
dobizny na obrazach oddają urodę królewicza, to Ma-  
teusz Wołodkiewicz tak go scharakteryzował: „był  
Kazimierz święty wzrostu średniego, włosów czarna-  
wych, nosa pociągłego, miernej rumianości, urodziwej  
i udatnej twarzy, chodu poważnego, obyczajów układ-  
nych i wdzięcznych, tak iż powierzchwna ust, czoła  
i wszystkiego ciała jego postawa wewnętrzne umysłu jego  
piękne ułożenie na jawią wydawała”<sup>9</sup>.  
Królewicz jest też przedstawiany jako klęczący przed  
drzwiami zamkniętej katedry, by tak adorować Najświęt-  
szy Sakrament. Jego atrybutami są dwie skrzyżowane  
buławy, herb Jagiellonów, Matka Boska Ostrobramska  
oraz szarfa z tytułem hymnu znalezionej w trumnie.  
Występuje również z różańcem  
w ręku i lilią, co przypomina  
o jego pobożności maryjnej,  
która przejawiała się m.in. w kulturowanym przez nie-  
go nabożeństwie do Najświętszej Maryi Panny. Niekiedy  
przedstawiany jest wraz z innymi świętymi – biskupem  
Stanisławem i Karolem Boromeuszem. Przykładowo Jan  
Matejko w 1863 roku przedstawił królewicza na ko-  
lanach, w postawie pełnej wiary, odrzucającego ener-  
gicznym gestem dłoni herby Litwy i Polski - symbole  
wzgardzonego królestwa ziemskiego (Muzeum Narod-  
owe w Krakowie). Natomiast Józef Mehoffer wyobraził  
Kazimierza w witrażu z 1905 r. dla katedry wawelskiej.  
Spośród twórców ludowych Maciej Kutrycki z Płazo-  
wa, wykonał drzeworyt, ukazujący królewicza w nim-  
bie w kształcie serca z gwiazdkami, w kwiecistej sukni  
z gronostajowym kołnierzem i z krzyżykiem na piersi.

I choć obecnie trudno ocenić w jakim stopniu po-  
dobizny na obrazach oddają urodę królewicza, to Ma-  
teusz Wołodkiewicz tak go scharakteryzował: „był  
Kazimierz święty wzrostu średniego, włosów czarna-  
wych, nosa pociągłego, miernej rumianości, urodziwej  
i udatnej twarzy, chodu poważnego, obyczajów układ-  
nych i wdzięcznych, tak iż powierzchwna ust, czoła  
i wszystkiego ciała jego postawa wewnętrzne umysłu jego  
piękne ułożenie na jawią wydawała”<sup>9</sup>.

Królewicz jest też przedstawiany jako klęczący przed  
drzwiami zamkniętej katedry, by tak adorować Najświęt-  
szy Sakrament. Jego atrybutami są dwie skrzyżowane  
buławy, herb Jagiellonów, Matka Boska Ostrobramska  
oraz szarfa z tytułem hymnu znalezionej w trumnie.  
Występuje również z różańcem  
w ręku i lilią, co przypomina  
o jego pobożności maryjnej,



Ryc. 3. Wizerunek  
św. Kazimierza  
z *Żywota...* Mate-  
usza Chryzostoma  
Wołodkiewicza

<sup>9</sup> *Żywot św. Kazimierza Królewica polskiego i Książęcia litewskiego*, s. 81-82.

Jako święty Kościoła katolickiego (1602), Kazimierz został ogłoszony patronem Polski, a od 1636 roku jest również głównym patronem Litwy. Od 1948 roku królewicz został patronem młodzieży litewskiej (ogłosił to papież Pius XII) i zorganizowanego w tym samym roku w Rzymie Kolegium Litewskiego.

Jest również patronem archidiecezji wileńskiej, gdzie do dziś zachował się zwyczaj, że w dniu św. Kazimierza na odpustowym jarmarku zwanym *Kaziukami* sprzedaje się obwarzanki, pierniki, palmy i lecznicze zioła. Jak również archidiecezji białostockiej, diecezji radomskiej (od 1992 r.), i drohiczyńskiej oraz miasta Radom (od 1983 r.), gdzie 10 czerwca 1989 roku sprowadzono część relikwii królewicza i rozpoczęto budowę bazyliki mniejszej św. Kazimierza (2003).

Święty Kazimierz jest również patronem szkoły podstawowej w Mszanie (od 1991 r.), a także szkoły podstawowej nr 8 w Białymstoku (od 2006 r.), parafii rzymsko-katolickiej w Łodzi i kościoła pw. św. Kazimierza na Śródcie należącego do parafii polsko-katolickiej oraz Diecezjalnego Seminarium Misyjnego Redemptoris Mater w Holandii, w diecezji Haarlem-Amsterdam, w miasteczku o nazwie Nieuwe-Niedorp. Najstarszym kościołem na terenie Polski, którego patronem jest św. Kazimierz jest świątynia oo. reformatów w Krakowie, erygowana w 1672 roku. Jedna ze starszych parafii, a istniejąca do dziś, została erygowana w Pruszkowie 19 czerwca 1913 roku.

Poza tym na Litwie w XVIII wieku powstał żeński zakon sióstr od świętego Kazimierza, tak zwane kazimierzanki. W 1907 roku w Scranton (Pensylwania, USA) na prawie papieskim zaczęły pracę założone przez Kazimierę Kaupaite (1880-1940) Siostry św. Kazimierza (*Sisters of Saint Casimir*), które udzielały wsparcia w pracy edukacyjnej kapłanom zatrudnionym w duszpasterstwie emigrantów litewskich. Odłam tego zgromadzenia stanowią Siostry św. Kazimierza z Kowna, które w 1920 roku sprowadzono do Pażaislis na Litwie, a których liczebność w 1997 roku ograniczyła się do zaledwie kilku. W niedzielę 7 października 2018 roku abp Józef Kupny ustanowił w katedrze wrocławskiej Rycerski Zakon Korony Polskiej św. Kazimierza Królewicza. W dekrete erygującym stowarzyszenie metropolita wrocławski napisał: „W obliczu zagrożeń płynących ze strony współczesnego świata (...) powołuję na strażników historii i tradycji Rycerski Zakon Korony Polskiej św. Kazimierza Królewicza z siedzibą w dworze Skoroshe w Ratowicach, archidiecezja wrocławska, jako prywatne stowarzyszenie wiernych (...), 560 lat od urodzin patrona zakonu”<sup>10</sup>. Wielkim Mistrzem



Ryc. 4. Krzyż Świętego Kazimierza Królewicza, odznaczenie Organizacji Monarchistów Polskich

<sup>10</sup> Alicja Combik, *Rycerze św. Kazimierza*, w: Gość niedzielny, dostęp online: 27.09.2019, <https://www.gosc.pl/gal/spis/5072531.Rycerze-sw-Kazimierza>

powołanego zakonu został Jan Lech Skowera (symbolem tej funkcji jest buława przypominająca hetmańską), kapelanem zakonu - proboszcz parafii katedralnej we Wrocławiu ks. Paweł Cembrowicz.

Święty Kazimierz jest również patronem Odznaczenia nadawanego przez Organizację Monarchistów Polskich z Wrocławia - „*Krzyż Świętego Kazimierza Królewicza*”<sup>11</sup>. Oznakę Krzyża Świętego Kazimierza Królewicza tworzy dwuramienny krzyż Jagiellonów o wymiarach 35x50 mm, pośrodku którego nałożona jest tarcza o kształcie migdałowym z wizerunkiem postaci Świętego. Wokół postaci na obwodzie tarczy napis: „*Sanctus Casimirus/Regni Poloniae Patronus*”. Wierzchołek tarczy zwieńczony jest mitrą książęcą. Całość odznaczenia wykonana jest w kolorze „starego mosiądzu”. Krzyż noszony jest na lewej piersi na wstążce o szerokości 32 mm, barwy błękitnej z amarantowymi oblamowaniami.

Pewną ciekawostką jest fakt, że z okazji 500-lecia urodzin św. Kazimie-



Ryc. 5. Znaczki pocztowe ze św. Kazimierzem wydane przez pocztę watykańską w 1959 roku z okazji 500-lecia urodzin św. Kazimierza.

rza w 1959 roku poczta watykańska wydała specjalną serię znaczków pocztowych, zaprojektowaną przez znaną polską miniaturzystkę, Kazimierę Dąbrowską (ur. w 1890 r. w Radomiu, zm. w 1972 r. w Rzymie)<sup>12</sup>.

Według Józefa Swastka ogłoszony świętym królewicz patronuje od 1690 roku Zakonowi Maltańskiemu<sup>13</sup>. Podobnego zdania jest ks. Florian Niewiero, który starania o patronowanie przez św. Kazimierza joannitom przypisuje Wielkiemu Mistrzowi Grzegorzowi Caraffa (1680-1690), który „dokładał wszelkich starań, aby tchnąć nowego ducha w społeczność zakonną, wzbudzić w niej energię do czynu i nadal rozwijać działalność dla dobra chrześcijaństwa w zmienionych warunkach”<sup>14</sup>. Zaś według Małgorzaty Duczmał, ks. Wincentego Zaleskiego oraz brewiarza online i Wikipedii św. Kazimierz patronuje Zakonowi, któremu kapituła wileńska miała przekazać część relikwii świętego od roku 1960<sup>15</sup>. W świetle poczynionych badań

<sup>11</sup> „Decyzja Prezesa nr 1/2009 w sprawie ustanowienia Krzyża Świętego Kazimierza Królewicza”, *Organizacja Monarchistów Polskich. Portal legitymizacyjny*, dostęp: 21.07.2025, <http://www.legitymizm.org/decyzja-krzyz-sw-kazimierza>.

<sup>12</sup> 1959 *The 500th Anniversary of the Birth of St. Casimir*, znaczki pocztowe, dostęp: 22.08.2019. <https://www.stampworld.com/pl/stamps/Vatican-City/Postage%20stamps/1950-1959?year=1958&year=1959>.

<sup>13</sup> Wincenty Zaleski, *Święci na każdy dzień* (Warszawa: Wydaw. Salezjańskie, 1997), 119.

<sup>14</sup> Florian Niewiero, „Dzieje kultu św. Kazimierza w kraju i za granicą”. *Nasza Przyszłość* 33 (1970): 121.

<sup>15</sup> O dacie obrania królewicza za patrona w roku 1960 piszą: Małgorzata Duczmał, *Jagiellonowie: leksykon biograficzny* (Kraków: Wydaw. Literackie, 1996), 365-373; Wincenty

informacje te nie są niestety wiarygodne, żeby nie powiedzieć wprost, że są obarczone licznymi błędami i przekłamaniami.

Według informacji udzielonych przez Valerię Marię Leonardi, pracującą w Bibliotece i Archiwach Pałacu Magistralnego (Via Condotti, 68 - 00187 Rzym), oraz Nicolettę Zapponi Tortora (sekretarza arcybiskupa Jean'a Lafitte, Prałata Zakonu Maltańskiego) - zgodnie z instrukcjami otrzymanymi kilka lat temu od J.E. arcybiskupa Angelo Acerbi (ur. 23 września 1925 r. w Sesta Godano we Włoszech), jeśli istnieje tak zwane „coetus fidelium” (zgromadzenie wiernych) Zakonu, lepiej byłoby polecać część wyłącznie świętym i błogosławionym z Zakonu, którzy są wskazani w kalendarzu maltańskim, zatwierdzonym przez Kongregację Kultu Bożego i Dyscypliny Sakramentów i opublikowanym w zakonnym Mszale (z najnowszymi aktualizacjami), gdzie imię św. Kazimierza nie występuje.

W oficjalnym kalendarzu (wykazie) Zakonu Maltańskiego nie ma świętego Kazimierza, dlatego nie można go zaliczyć do świętych i błogosławionych Zakonu, choć dowodem interesowania się kawalerów maltańskich osobą św. Kazimierza jest książeczka napisana przez kapłana tego Zakonu Pawła Ciatti o życiu i cudach świętego Kazimierza - P. Ciatti, *La santità prodigiosa di S. Casimiro* (Lucca, 1678)<sup>16</sup>.

Termin „patron Zakonu Maltańskiego” może wprowadzać w błąd, ponieważ – jak podkreśliła Nicoletta Zapponi Tortora - jedynym Patronem Zakonu Maltańskiego jest św. Jan Chrzciciel. Żaden inny święty lub błogosławiony Zakonu nie posiada tego tytułu.

W tej sytuacji, jako jedyny prawdopodobny „patronat” św. Kazimierza wobec Zakonu Maltańskiego można uznać „patronat” rozumiany jako wzorzec duchowy i moralny godny naśladowania oraz opiekę i przychylność wobec joannitów, sprawowany na wzór mecenatu papieży i władców, którzy swoją ochroną sprzyjali wzrostowi i ewolucji Zakonu przez wieki. W dostępnych Źywotach św. Kazimierza brak jednak informacji potwierdzających takową opiekę i dobroczynność królewicza na rzecz Zakonu Maltańskiego.

Zaleski, *Święci na każdy dzień* (Warszawa: Wydaw. Salezjańskie, 1997), 119; oraz, podążając jak się zdaje za tymi źródłami, *Internetowa Liturgia Godzin* („Święty Kazimierz, królewicz”, *Internetowa Liturgia Godzin*, dostęp: 13.08.2019, <https://brewiarz.pl/czytelnia/swieci/03-04a.php3>) i *Wikipedia* („Kazimierz (święty)”, *Wikipedia*, dostęp: 13.08.2019, [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazimierz\\_\(święty\)](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazimierz_(święty))). Inną datę podaje natomiast Encyklopedia Katolicka KUL, która wskazuje jako datę wyboru Kazimierza na patrona i otrzymanie przez Zakon jego relikwii od kapituły wileńskiej rok 1690. Podobnie podaje Jakub Mames, „Czarny krzyż królewicza Kazimierza”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, nr 76 (30.03.1992): 12.

<sup>16</sup> „St. Casimir”, *New Advent*, dostęp: 11.10.2019, <http://id.newadvent.org/cathen/03402a.htm>; Florian Niewiero, „Dzieje kultu św. Kazimierza w kraju i za granicą”, *Nasza Przyszłość* 33 (1970): 121; Paolo Ciati, Roberto Ciati, w: Vittorio Capponi (ed.), *Bibliografia Pistoiese* (Pistoia: Tip. Rossetti, 1874), 116.

Sytuacja ta nie wyklucza wprawdzie całkowicie możliwej przychylności królewicza dla działalności Zakonu, wskazuje jednak na konieczność dalszych poszukiwań i badań potwierdzających możliwą ewentualną współpracę obu stron. Nie przeszkadza to jednocześnie, by polscy członkowie Zakonu Maltańskiego, jako Polacy, którzy mają szczególne nabożeństwo do czczonego w naszym kraju św. Kazimierza, oddawali mu cześć – jednak nie jako „Świętemu Zakonu Maltańskiego”, ponieważ nim nie jest. Sytuację tę mogłoby zmienić odnalezienie pisma np. Wielkiego Mistrza Grzegorza Caraffa, które potwierdziłoby nadanie Zakonowi św. Kazimierza jako patrona.

Kolejne ustalenia dotyczą relikwii św. Kazimierza, które Zakon Maltański otrzymał według jednych danych w XVII, a według innych – w XX wieku. Autorka niniejszego opracowania w 2019 roku została poinformowana przez asystentkę Wielkiego Szpitalnika Cristianę Dodi (Wielkim Szpitalnikiem był wówczas Dominique Prince of La Rochefoucauld-Montbel) z siedziby Zakonu Maltańskiego w Rzymie, iż Fra' Duncan Gallie wraz z zakrystianinem z Kaplicy Magistralnej i kościoła Santa Maria del Priorato w Rzymie (Villa Malta) przeprowadzili przegląd wszystkich relikwii będących w posiadaniu zgromadzenia (Grand Magistry). Obecności relikwii św. Kazimierza niestety nie potwierdzono, co pokazuje jak bardzo trzeba być ostrożnym wobec informacji pozbawionych naukowych źródeł i ustaleń, a promowanych i powielanych, zwłaszcza w internecie.

Pewnych sugestii, co do miejsca, gdzie mogą znajdować się podarowane Zakonowi Maltańskiemu relikwie św. Kazimierza, dostarcza Tadeusz Wojciech Lange. W artykule poświęconym komandorowi Kazimierzowi Michałowi Pacowi<sup>17</sup>, wskazuje on na Maltę, jako miejsce, do którego komandor posłał relikwie ze szczątkami królewicza, którego imię sam z dumą nosił<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Kazimierz Michał Pac herbu Gozdawa – ur. się ok. 1657 r. Był synem pułkownika królewskiego Hieronima Dominika Paca i podstolanki litewskiej Anny z Wojnów. Po śmierci ojca, wychowywał się na dworze krewnego, kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego Krzysztofa Zygmunta Paca (żonatego z Klarą Eugenią de Mailly-Lespine), który pragnąc ufundować rodziną komandorię maltańską, wysłał go w 1677 r. na Maltę. Tam, Kazimierz Michał wziął udział w czterech „karawanach”, czyli sześciomiesięcznych okresach służby w zakonnej marynarce, po czym powrócił po 5 latach do kraju jako kawaler maltański (w 1685 r. został komandorem poznańskim po Hieronimie Augustynie Lubomirskim, a w 1688 r. przyznano mu komandorię stołową na Litwie). Opiekował się kościołem w klasztorze kamedułów w Pożajściu (dziś dzielnica Kowna). W 1684 r. zmarł jego przybrany ojciec, a w rok później przybrana matka, która zapisała mu w spadku pałacyk Belvedere (dziś to rezydencja prezydenta RP). W Sejmie posłował m.in. za Żmudzi, i z Infant. Był stronnikiem Sapiechów. W 1702 r. wystąpił przeciw królowi (August II Sas) doprowadzając do zerwania obrad. Od Stanisława Leszczyńskiego otrzymał urząd marszałka nadwornego litewskiego. Zmarł w 1719 roku. [Tadeusz W. Lange, „Komandor Kazimierz Michał Pac”, *Krzyż Maltański* 10, nr 2 (2017): 40-41].

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 41.

Z Kazimierzem Michałem Pacem związana jest też historia pewnego krzyżyka, który według dawnej klasyfikacji relikwii mógł być uznany za relikwię III stopnia<sup>19</sup>. Jak podaje Jakub Mames ten wojewoda wileński i hetman wielki litewski, podczas otwarcia w 1677 r. trumien świętego (zewnątrznej srebrnej i wewnętrznej drewnianej), poprosił o wyjęcie z nich kawałka drewna cisowego, będącego szczątkiem jeszcze starszego krzyża, który włożono do trumny królewiczowi w 1484 roku<sup>20</sup>. Z tego kawałka drewna Kazimierz Michał Pac kazał głównemu sztukatorowi kościoła św. Piotra i Pawła na Antokolu w Wilnie Pietro Peretti wyrzeźbić czarny krzyż. Oprócz 14 scen o treści sakralnej, na krzyżku umieszczono kwaternę z herbem i inicjałami fundatora, który zabrał go na odsiecz wiedeńską, gdzie towarzyszył królowi Janowi III Sobieskiemu, posiadającemu również przy sobie relikwie uznanego świętym królewicza<sup>21</sup>. Według autora ostatnim „właścicielem krzyżyka w rodzie Paców był gen. Ludwik Pac, również kawaler maltański. Po upadku powstania listopadowego, nie mając męskiego

<sup>19</sup> Wydana w 2018 r. instrukcja Kongregacji Spraw Kanonizacyjnych zniosła to pojęcie, ograniczając klasyfikację do dwóch stopni: relikwii wyjątkowych (insigni) oraz potocznych (non insigni). Pierwsze to ciała lub ich znaczne części, a także cała zawartość urny z prochami zachowanymi po kremacji. Do drugich zalicza się małe części ciała lub kości oraz przedmioty używane przez świętych i błogosławionych. Za relikwie III stopnia uważano przedmioty, które stały się relikwiami poprzez dotknięcie właściwych relikwii – pierwszego lub drugiego stopnia. Były to na przykład rzeczy potarte o część ciała zmarłego świętego lub dotknięte przez samego świętego w trakcie życia. Kongregacja prawdopodobnie zdecydowała się na rezygnację z relikwii III stopnia ze względu na problemy z weryfikacją ich autentyczności, oraz uważając, że „kult relikwii nie może mieć nic wspólnego z praktykami zabobonnymi, czyli np. przesadnym klękaniem, całowaniem, ukłonami itp. Oznacza to, że relikwie jako zewnętrzne oznaki życia świętych powinny być czczone wyłącznie przez akty religijne, takie jak modlitwa, Msza św. i nabożeństwo”. Relikwia nie może być ważniejsza od Chrystusa, bo celem modlitwy jest Bóg, a nie doczesne szczątki lub pamiątki po świadkach wiary. [Maciej Kalbarczyk, „Przez świętych do Boga”, *Gość Niedzielny*, 4.01.2018, dostęp: 27.09.2019, <https://www.gosc.pl/doc/4408025.Przez-swietych-do-Boga>].

<sup>20</sup> Jakub Mames, „Czarny krzyżyk królewicza Kazimierza”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, nr 76 (30.03.1992): 12.

<sup>21</sup> Jak podaje Jakub Mames: „Na kilka lat przed odsieczą wiedeńską Sobieski próbował zmontować krucjatę chrześcijańskiej Europy przeciwko Turkom. Zwrócił się także – listem z Grodna – do Zakonu Maltańskiego. Wielki Mistrz zalecił swoim rycerzom udział w wyprawie, obiecując awanse. Sobieski chciał mieć z sobą podczas wyprawy relikwie św. Kazimierza, gdyż wśród wojsk koronnych i litewskich powszechne było przekonanie, że św. Kazimierz jest – obok św. Stanisława – najlepszym młotem na niewiernych. W październiku 1677 r. kapituła wileńska podarowała mu relikwie, które Sobieski umieścił w jednej z szufladek swego relikwiarza podróżnego i miał je z sobą podczas odsieczy wiedeńskiej. Gdy, po zwycięstwie pod Wiedniem, maltańczycy dowiedzieli się, że królowi towarzyszyły relikwie św. Kazimierza, przypisali zwycięstwo nad Turkami asystencji świętego i zapragnęli również mieć jego relikwie. Zakon wystąpił ze stosowną prośbą do biskupa wileńskiego. W 1687 r. relikwię posłano na Maltę, gdzie dotarła rok później. Nie wiem, co się z nią potem stało, ale w 1690 r. św. Kazimierz został patronem zakonu”. [Ibid.].

potomka, ofiarował krzyż gen. Ignacemu Prądyńskiemu, przyjacielowi i towarzyszowi broni. Przez kilka pokoleń krzyż pozostawał w rodzinie Prądyńskich, aż stał się własnością [mojej teściowej], Ireny z Prądyńskich Holenderskiej. Ofiarowanie krzyża Papieżowi [w 1987 r. – przyp. MK] było wykonaniem Jej ostatniej woli. Krzyż znajduje się obecnie, razem z ozdobnym albumem – ekspertyzą, w skarbcu katedry na Wawelu, już jako wotum Jana Pawła II<sup>22</sup>. Zaś wskazana data otwarcia trumien (1677) w celu pobrania relikwii, które towarzyszyły królowi Sobieskiemu i komandorowi Kazimierzowi Pacowi w odsieczy wiedeńskiej (1683) oraz udział rycerzy Zakonu Maltańskiego w tej zwycięskiej wyprawie<sup>23</sup>, i ich prośba skierowana do biskupa wileńskiego o relikwie św. Kazimierza wskazują, że właściwą datą uroczystego obrania sobie przez Zakon królewicza na patrona jest rok 1690.

Kolejnych wskazówek dotyczących relikwii św. Kazimierza ofiarowanych Zakonowi Maltańskiemu dostarcza opracowanie ks. Floriana Niewiero, który napisał, że „kawalerowie maltańscy kilkakrotnie zwracali się z usilną prośbą do Kapituły wileńskiej o część relikwii Patrona swego Zakonu. Ponieważ Kapituła ociągała się z zadośćuczynieniem tej prośbie, kawalerowie udali się z prośbą do kardynała Ursini, protektora ich zakonu, prosząc go o wstawiennictwo. Kardynał Ursini, zdaje się, niejednokrotnie pisał w tej sprawie do Wilna, prosząc o relikwie dla Zakonu i dla siebie. Jak wynika z protokołu Kapituły z dn. 11 X 1690 roku, wreszcie zgodzono się ze świętego depozytu wydzielić małe cząsteczki relikwii dla kawalerów maltańskich i kard. Ursini<sup>24</sup>”, co wskazuje na możliwość posiadania przez joannitów relikwii św. Kazimierza. Trzeba tylko ustalić, czy przetrwały do dziś, a jeśli tak, to gdzie się obecnie znajdują. Obecnie takich jednoznacznych i precyzyjnych informacji brak.

Ustalenia powyższe porządkują więc obecną wiedzę i co warto podkreślić, nie kwestionują możliwości oddawania czci św. Kazimierzowi królewiczowi przez członków Zakonu Maltańskiego przynosząc im pożytki duchowe.

Zarówno wspomniane powyżej odznaczenie, nagroda św. Kazimierza, jak i liczne patronaty w placówkach publicznych wskazują na dobroczynne i jednoczące zachowania, którymi podczas życia odznaczał się królewicz, a które poprzez wdrażane w życie hasło *Obrona wiary i pomoc potrzebującym* (*Tuitio fidei et obsequium pauperum*), realizowane są przez Zakon Maltański na co dzień. Jego postać także dziś może poprzez ludzi podejmujących służbę

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Według autora artykułu na kilka lat przed odsieczą wiedeńską, kiedy król Jan III Sobieski organizował krucjatę przeciw Turkom, zwrócił się także – listem z Grodna – z prośbą o pomoc do Zakonu Maltańskiego. Wielki Mistrz przychylił się do tej prośby zalecając rycerzom udział w wyprawie i obiecując im awanse. [Ibid.].

<sup>24</sup> Florian Niewiero, „Dzieje kultu św. Kazimierza w kraju i za granicą”, *Nasza Przyszłość* 33 (1970): 121.

publiczną przyczynić się do jednoczenia, lepszej współpracy i zrozumienia – zwłaszcza Polaków i Litwinów. Jak bowiem zauważył Jan Paweł II w swoim przemówieniu w 2002 roku: „Kolejne pokolenia rozpoznawały w Kazimierzu sprawiedliwego władcę, odznaczającego się takimi cnotami jak sprawiedliwość, umiłowanie Ojczyzny i poddanego ludu, mądrość, długomyślność i duch służby. Dlatego chętnie stawiały go za wzór dla piastujących rządy w państwie, a ci brali go sobie za patrona. Właśnie przez wzgląd na tę miłość do swego narodu dostrzegały w nim również wielkiego opiekuna, także tych, którzy podlegają władzy. Dziś, na początku dwudziestego pierwszego wieku, mimo iż tak bardzo zmieniły się realia społeczne, ten wzór i ten patronat nie tracą swej aktualności. Dałby Bóg, aby sprawujący władzę byli wpatrzeni na wzór św. Kazimierza, a wierni szukali w nim oparcia!”<sup>25</sup>.

Dotrzymywanie danego słowa, dochowanie obietnicy, to postawa i kryterium zarazem, które nadal wielu osobom pomagają odróżnić chłopca od mężczyzny. Dla rycerza dodatkowo dotrzymanie danego słowa łączy się z utrzymaniem lub utratą honoru. Niejeden oddał za to życie...

W staropolskiej mowie istnieje zwrot „dać komuś parol”, czyli słowo honoru. Ten „parol” miał swoją wielką wartość. Większą często niż to, co zapisane na papierze. Społeczność męska dbała o to, by ten kto „parola” nie dotrzymał, został przykładnie ukarany lub był ostracyzmowany. Niekiedy stosowano obie kary jednocześnie. To rzeźbiło ideał mężczyzny i męskości – wiernej ideałom, nieprzejdanej w walce o prawdę, dobro i wiarę, jak we wspomnianym już powyżej zawołaniu rycerzy maltańskich „*Tuitio fidei et obsequium pauperum*”<sup>26</sup> (Obrona wiary i pomoc potrzebującym). Dlatego pamięć Zakonu Maltańskiego o królewiczu Kazimierzu, który do ostatniego tchnienia pozostał wierny złożonym ślubom i danym słowom oraz obietnicom, była i jest nadal uzasadniona. Jego postawa życiowa może nadal inspirować duchowo kolejne pokolenia mężczyzn, rycerzy do wytrwałej pracy, dochowania tajemnic i danych obietnic.

Współcześnie dużo się mówi i pisze o kryzysie męskości, a raczej o męskości bez męstwa, które przecież uważane jest za jedną z cnót kardynalnych. Z definicji wynika, że „męstwo jest cnotą moralną, która zapewnia wytrwałość w trudnościach i stałość w dążeniu do dobra. Umacnia decyzję opierania się pokusom i przewycięzania przeszkód w życiu moralnym. Cnota męstwa uzdalnia do przewycięzania strachu, nawet strachu przed śmiercią, do stawienia czoła próbom i prześladowaniom. Uzdalnia nawet

<sup>25</sup> Cyt. za: Jerzy Adam Świdziński, *Święty Kazimierz królewicz Polski i Litwy*, w: Jerzy Adam Świdziński, *Święci władcy. Leksykon* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo SALWATOR, 2010), dostęp: 17.08.2019. [https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/T/TS/swieci/swieci\\_wladcy/salwator\\_2010\\_wladcy\\_09.html](https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/T/TS/swieci/swieci_wladcy/salwator_2010_wladcy_09.html).

<sup>26</sup> *Katechizm Kościoła Katolickiego* (Poznań: Pallottinum, 1995), 1808.

do wyrzeczenia i do ofiary z życia w obronie słusznej sprawy”<sup>27</sup>. Ogłoszony świętym królewicz Kazimierz niewątpliwie posiadał tę cnotę, dbał o nią i rozwinął w stopniu doskonałym. Warto pokazywać jego życie jako przykład dla młodych chłopców, by wyrosli z nich prawdziwi, rycerscy mężczyźni, których potrzebuje świat i nasza Ojczyzna.

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## Jacopo Palma Giovane's Mission Dedicated to Pasquale Cicogna

**Abstract:** This work, titled *Jacopo Palma Giovane's Mission Dedicated to Pasquale Cicogna*, is an analysis of the artwork *Doge of Venice Pasquale Cicogna Attending Mass at the Ospedaletto dei Crociferi with Priest Priamo Balbi*, which contains a military mission dedicated to the Doge of Venice, Pasquale Cicogna, by Jacopo Palma Giovane. The analysis focuses on the religious policies and the Turkish-Venetian relations depicted in the artwork. Jacopo Palma Giovane's drawing style aimed to strengthen Venice's ties with the Eastern Mediterranean and its influence within Christian theology. The military-focused indicators in the artist's works are studied within a political and theological context, particularly in relation to Turkish-Venetian relations during the Ottoman period, Venice's Christian mission, and the image of the Turk. Medieval Turkish carpets and Seljuk art serve as examples of how Venice's political influence in the Eastern Mediterranean was expressed through art.

**Keywords:** Jacopo Palma Giovane, Pasquale Cicogna, Turkish-Venetian Relations, Military Mission, Medieval Turkish Carpets

### Introduction

In the late phase of Italian Renaissance art, Jacopo Palma Giovane (1544–1628), one of the prominent representatives of the Venetian school, shaped his artistic production within a mission aligned with the political and religious policies of the Republic of Venice. His compositions employ a visual language that is as instructive as it is critical, prompting Venetian rulers to reflect on their historical position. These works are constructed with strong iconographic programs, embedding layers of meaning that extend beyond mere representation. Palma Giovane's oeuvre encapsulates the geopolitical dynamics of his time, ranging from the diplomatic and military relations between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire to its broader political maneuvers in the Eastern Mediterranean. His works,

particularly those centered on ideological representations of naval battles, directly reference Venice's historical experiences in the Eastern Mediterranean and its strategic positioning at the end of the 16th century. The artist's practice is also deeply intertwined with Venice's religious policies, where-in allegorical and historical references intersect to reveal how the Republic employed art as a means of constructing its identity.

This article examines Jacopo Palma Giovane's painting *The Attendance of Doge Pasquale Cicogna at Mass with Priest Priamo Balbi in the Ospedaletto dei Crociferi*. The artist, in this work addressing the military and diplomatic relations between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire – imbued with a notion of war mission–depicts the newly elected Doge Pasquale Cicogna at a Eucharistic ceremony on August 15, 1585, in the presence of a Turkish carpet. This study explores how the presence of the Turkish motif within the painting articulates Venice's ambition to construct a new war economy centered on the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, it discusses how, in the third quarter of the 16th century, the decline in Spanish and Portuguese naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean prompted Venice to reposition itself as the dominant Christian power. The article investigates how this aspiration – to transform Venice into a new Christian military force through its theological influence – was translated into a public visual statement through artistic production.

## Jacopo Palma Giovane's mission dedicated to Pasquale Cicogna

Jacopo Palma Giovane was a Venetian ecclesiastical painter who worked extensively on religious artworks financed and commissioned directly by the Church. Positioned at the political axis of Venetian art, he experimented with various drawing techniques and emerged as a distinguished figure serving the Church and its immediate milieu between the late 16th and early 17th centuries. His artistic trajectory included significant periods in Pesaro (1564) and Rome (1567), where he engaged in various workshops before returning to Venice in 1570 to establish the most crucial phase of his career within ecclesiastical circles. During this time, Palma Giovane not only served religious institutions but also produced works imbued with specific missions that aligned with the political and ideological narratives of the Republic of Venice.<sup>1</sup> The available data reveals that the artist's drawing

<sup>1</sup> David Rosand, "Palma il Giovane as Draughtsman: The Early Career and Related Observations," *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970): 148-149.

skills were highly esteemed within the artistic milieu of his time. Indeed, the fact that Bartolomeo dalla Nave, one of Venice's most influential collectors, commissioned his portrait from Jacopo Palma Giovane demonstrates that the artist was favored by the most prestigious figures of the period.<sup>2</sup> The artist was entrusted with the restoration of various mosaics in Italy, an undertaking that provided him with the opportunity to further develop his technical expertise.<sup>3</sup>

Within the Venetian school of art, Jacopo Palma Giovane is observed to have had a distinct artistic focus compared to his contemporaries. This difference primarily stems from the varying artistic concerns and influences that shaped Palma Giovane and his peers. His artistic practice was directly aligned with the Church and the Republic of Venice's policies aimed at maintaining public order. The figures in his compositions stand out with their voluminous and dynamic presence, a deliberate visual strategy intended to reinforce the political identities of both the Church and the Venetian government, as well as the symbolic missions assigned to these figures. Moreover, it is noted that the artist consciously employed black and white contouring techniques to structure his figures in a manner that enhances depth and movement within the composition.<sup>4</sup>

An analysis of the Italian artist's sketches from different periods reveals that he experimented with various stylistic approaches, often integrating multiple techniques within a single composition. It is particularly evident that he repeatedly positioned figures from different angles, refining their poses before incorporating them into his compositions. Philip Cottrell attributes the presence of diverse stylistic influences in Palma Giovane's drawings to the artist's early exposure to the Church and the Venetian government, facilitated by his close familial and social connections.<sup>5</sup>

In Jacopo Palma Giovane's sketches, a stylistic approach can be observed that, despite the rapid execution of a freely moving hand, maintains a meticulous level of detail. The artist creates volumetric illusions in his figures, rendering them perceptibly dynamic and animated. This distinctive approach is particularly evident in his sketch series for the composition of *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, preserved in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. These works strongly attest to the originality of his drawing

<sup>2</sup> Linda Borean, "Ritratti di Collezionisti a Venezia Tra Secondo Cinquecento e Prima Metà del Seicento. Alcune Considerazioni," *Artibus et Historiae* 34, no. 68 (2013): 108-109.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Prentice Hall, H.N. Abrams, 1997), 29.

<sup>4</sup> Paola Rossi, "Tra i Disegni Giovanili di Domenico Tintoretto", *Artibus et Historiae* 35, no. 70 (2014): 221-231.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Cottrell, "The Artistic Parentage of Palma Giovane", *The Burlington Magazine* 144, no. 1190 (2002): 289-290.

technique and stylistic applications, demonstrating his ability to balance spontaneity with compositional precision.<sup>6</sup> The artist does not merely treat light as a technical element but also imbues it with theological significance, deliberately applying it in his compositions. For instance, in his depiction of *The Last Judgment* at the Doge's Palace in Venice, the use of light is a fundamental compositional device. It intensifies in a vortex-like concentration behind the central figure of Christ, gradually diminishing in the opposite direction among the surrounding figures. This calculated distribution of light enhances the dynamism of the scene, reinforcing its spiritual and dramatic impact.<sup>7</sup>

The originality of Jacopo Palma Giovane's drawings and artistic talent has often remained underexplored due to classical comparative approaches that primarily assess his work in relation to his contemporaries. For instance, David Rosand's critiques, while valuable, may be misleading in their evaluation of the artist's distinct drawing technique, as they focus predominantly on technical elements and external influences, rather than fully acknowledging Palma Giovane's unique artistic agency and creative individuality.<sup>8</sup> From a technical standpoint, Jacopo Palma Giovane's drawing style should be analyzed within the broad artistic spectrum of Venetian Renaissance, Mannerism, and Baroque influences. However, his personal life, travels, and experiences cannot be examined independently from his deep entanglement with the ecclesiastical environment.

From a social perspective, the transforming societal structure of Venice from the 14th century onward must be considered within the framework of cultural theories. The influence of the *cittadini* class, which emerged as a relatively new social group imitating the behavioral and consumption patterns of privileged Venetian elites, may lead to misleading conclusions about the artist's social standing. The *cittadini*, while distinct, occupied an intermediary space in Venetian society, complicating straightforward interpretations of Palma Giovane's position within the artistic and social hierarchy.<sup>9</sup> The artist's familial connection as the nephew of the renowned Venetian painter Palma Vecchio, along with his keen observational engagement

<sup>6</sup> For the visual, you can examine plate 24 in Heinrich Schwarz's work. [Heinrich Schwarz, "Palma Giovane and His Family: Observations on Some Portrait Drawings," *Master Drawings* 3, no. 2 (1965): 208.]

<sup>7</sup> See image for: Paolo Delorenzi, *Venice: the doge's palace* (Marsilio, Venezia, Milano, Venezia: Fondazione Musei Civici, Skira, 2011), 109.

<sup>8</sup> David Rosand, "Palma il Giovane as Draughtsman: The Early Career and Related Observations," *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970): 148-149; David Rosand, *Palma Giovane and Venetian mannerism*, doctoral thesis (Columbia University, 1965).

<sup>9</sup> Monika Schmitter, "«Virtuous Riches»: The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early-Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2004): 909-911.

with his contemporaries, provided a foundation for his exploration of varied stylistic approaches in his sketches. These studies not only allowed him to diversify his artistic practice but also contributed to the development of his distinctive artistic language, reinforcing his unique approach to composition and form.

In Jacopo Palma Giovane's works, the political mission of the Republic of Venice is clearly discernible within its environmental and ideological context. Philip Sohl has analyzed many of the artist's works from different perspectives; however, the artwork examined in this study falls outside the scope of Sohl's evaluations. Nevertheless, one of Sohl's observations regarding implicit references to Ottoman policies stands out as a particularly insightful and accurate assessment in understanding the geopolitical undercurrents present in Palma Giovane's artistic production.<sup>10</sup> In Jacopo Palma Giovane's painting, *The Attendance of Doge Pasquale Cicogna at Mass with Priest Priamo Balbi in the Ospedaletto dei Crociferi* (Figure 1), a Turkish motif appears as a decorative element. Beyond serving as a mere ornamental feature, this motif functions as both a political signifier referencing a historical experience and an instrument of a war mission. While the figurative representative and agent of this mission is Pasquale Cicogna, its material counterpart is the Turkish carpet, woven in the Anatolian Seljuk artistic tradition, prominently placed in front of the Doge, draping the pulpit.

Following the 1573 Treaty of Istanbul, Ottoman-Venetian relations entered a period of religious and economic realignment. Within this context, the year 1585 should be regarded as a key moment emphasizing the significance of this transformation. Pasquale Cicogna, beyond his role as a religious figure, was also a prominent authority in Venice's commercial affairs. Consequently, any imagery included in a patronage-driven artwork associated with him inherently carries references to Venice's religious, commercial, and military policies. Moreover, the date "August 15, 1585", which Jacopo Palma Giovane deliberately incorporates into the composition, marks the beginning of Pasquale Cicogna's tenure as Doge of Venice, further reinforcing the political and symbolic weight of the scene.<sup>11</sup>

It is well known that Pasquale Cicogna faced a fierce contest against Morosini, who possessed significantly greater commercial influence, during the Venetian Doge election. However, one of the primary reasons for Cicogna's eventual selection as Doge was the strategic emphasis on his

<sup>10</sup> Philip Sohl, "Venetian Finger Painting after Titian," *Artibus et Historiae* 41, no. 81 (2020): 173-194.

<sup>11</sup> XV. AVGVSTI M.D.LXXXV.

noble Christian lineage, which was deliberately framed as a divinely sanctioned choice. This portrayal not only reinforced his legitimacy but also aligned with Venice's broader ideological and religious narratives, positioning him as a ruler whose authority was intertwined with both political strategy and divine will.<sup>12</sup> This data indicates that the war mission attributed to the figure of Pasquale Cicogna in Jacopo Palma Giovane's composition was deliberately constructed to serve a dual purpose: to strengthen Venice's commercial dominance along the Eastern Mediterranean trade routes and to reshape the region's Christian focus. Through this strategic visual representation, the painting not only reflects Venice's economic ambitions but also underscores its broader geopolitical and religious objectives in the late 16th century.

The setting in which Jacopo Palma Giovane's composition is displayed was deliberately chosen to ensure that the intended audience, who would directly engage with the artwork, could immediately perceive the visual message of the war mission. The explicit definition of this war mission within such clearly defined parameters underscores the crucial role of contemporary political dynamics in shaping its visual narrative. Indeed, the evolving Ottoman-Venetian relations between 1541 and 1638, centered in the Eastern Mediterranean, played a decisive role in accelerating Venice's efforts to revitalize its weakening domestic economy. This period saw the emergence of a highly regulated and almost unilateral economic network involving Jewish merchants, reflecting Venice's strategic attempts to counterbalance its economic vulnerabilities through controlled trade mechanisms within this complex geopolitical landscape.<sup>13</sup> In line with this strategic shift, it is evident that a new war economy was taking shape within Venice. However, Jewish merchants were not only positioned within this framework due to their Jewish identity but also because they were perceived as an integral part of Ottoman society. This perception played a crucial role in their placement within Venetian policies concerning the Eastern Mediterranean, highlighting their dual function as both economic agents and intermediaries within the complex geopolitical landscape of the region.<sup>14</sup> This data should be evaluated as an economic divergence strategy against the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>12</sup> Allison Sherman, *The Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi: Form, Decoration, Patronage* (London: Independent Publishing Network, 2020), 149.

<sup>13</sup> Benjamin Ravid, "The Legal Status of the Jewish Merchants of Venice 1541-1638," *The Journal of Economic History* 35, no. 1 (1975): 274.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-278.



Fig. 1. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Attendance of Doge Pasquale Cicogna at Mass with Priest Priamo Balbi in the Ospedaletto dei Crociferi*, ca. 1585<sup>15</sup>

It is evident that a community actively engaged in commercial activities within the Ottoman Empire was strategically directed to support Venice's war economy in line with its interests, with specific regulations implemented to facilitate this process. Given that the Eastern Mediterranean question was at the core of this dynamic, the theological context indicated by numerous visual elements gains further significance. Indeed, Pasquale Cicogna's Christian identity within the Republic of Venice stands out as one of the most explicit markers of this theological discourse. Within this framework, it appears plausible to interpret merchants operating both within the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice through a shared theological lens, positioning them within the same ideological continuum.

On the osello coin minted in 1592 in honor of Pasquale Cicogna, a non-figurative depiction of the Crucifixion is featured. This scene not only serves as an element reinforcing theological supremacy within Christian communities but also evokes the deep-rooted Christian heritage shaped by Saint Helena's cultural policies in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 4th century.<sup>16</sup> On ampullae – portable objects used by Christian pilgrims dating to the 6th and 7th centuries – various representations of the

<sup>15</sup> Allison Sherman, *The Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi: Form, Decoration, Patronage* (London: Independent Publishing Network, 2020), 198.

<sup>16</sup> 1620'de Jacopo Palma Giovane, Azize Helena ve Kudüs Psikopozu Cyriacus 'un Gerçek Haçı Bulmaları isimli çalışması, 4.yy. daki politikalarının güçlü bir göstergesidir.

Crucifixion scene can be observed. During this period, these depictions on ampullae not only conveyed an iconography associated with salvation and atonement theologies but also functioned as spatial markers of the Eastern Mediterranean. Similarly, in the composition on the osello coin minted in 1592 in honor of Pasquale Cicogna, the Crucifixion scene also emerges as a spatial signifier of the Eastern Mediterranean, reinforcing its symbolic and geographical significance.

In Jacopo Palma Giovane's composition, the Eucharistic ceremony at the Ospedaletto dei Crociferi is depicted. In contrast, the composition painted by Tommaso Dolabella, which portrays Pasquale Cicogna during a Eucharistic ceremony, is located in the Senate Chamber of the Doge's Palace, a space selected in accordance with the palace's commercial and maritime functions. Unlike Palma Giovane's work, Dolabella's composition does not include a direct Turkish motif.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, the narrative cycles in which the artwork is situated were completed during Pasquale Cicogna's tenure. Therefore, Jacopo Palma Giovane's inclusion of the Turkish motif should be interpreted as a deliberate act of mission construction, reflecting a conscious political and ideological strategy.



Fig. 2. Turkish carpet on Pasquale Cicogna's pulpit (right)

In the composition, the interior space of the church is directly depicted due to the Eucharistic ceremony taking place within. The crucified Christ sculpture, positioned within this space, is also incorporated into the composition. The Christ figure, adorned with a crown of thorns, is rendered using a voluminous and deep perspective, making it the focal point of the scene. This approach stems from the fact that the depiction of Christ on the cross carries iconographic distinctions from the crucifixion scenes of the Eastern Roman Church.

<sup>17</sup> Michela Knezevich, *The Doge's Palace in Venice*, Electa (Milano: Electa, 1994), 38-40.

In the sculpture, Christ's feet are nailed one over the other, without the support of a suppedaneum, a wooden footrest commonly used in crucifixion depictions. This representation, which directly impacts the anatomical posture of Christ, should be interpreted as a visual manifestation of theological disputes triggered by the differing doctrinal perspectives that emerged within the political framework of the Roman Empire. The work serves as one of the visual representations of the theological divisions that resulted from these ideological and political complexities.

Another significant aspect of the suppedaneum is its role as a sacred relic that facilitated the integration of the Georgian Church into the Eastern Roman Empire – a process marked by the gift of the authentic suppedaneum piece to the Georgian Church. Consequently, this object holds substantial political significance for Eastern Christian authorities with churches in the Eastern Mediterranean and is regarded as one of the symbols of Eastern Christianity's power in possessing sacred relics. Furthermore, traces of an Eastern Mediterranean-centered military mission can also be discerned in this context. In Jacopo Palma Giovane's composition, the carpet placed in front of Pasquale Cicogna's pulpit is a medieval Turkish carpet, reinforcing the political and cultural meaning of the work. Within this framework, the Turkish carpet functions as a key element that accentuates the broader ideological narrative embedded in the painting.<sup>18</sup> In her 1963 study, textile historian Agnes Geijer highlights the absence of Anatolian Seljuk Turkish carpets in Italian painting.<sup>19</sup> However, the carpet depicted in Jacopo Palma Giovane's work clearly exhibits fundamental design elements characteristic of Anatolian Seljuk carpets.

In Rüstem Bozer's various studies on ornamental designs in medieval Turkish art, it is stated that composition arrangements possess a distinctive structure; however, rather than being based on fixed values, they evolve through subtle nuances and an innovative design approach.<sup>20</sup> These designs were produced according to specific standards, exhibiting a systematic structure in which many examples demonstrate continuity or are reproduced with design variations. This indicates that originality and diversity were highly present in the composition of designs. The variability within these designs and the systematic similarities created by the motifs used

<sup>18</sup> The carpet, which has a special place in terms of technique, design and function among the medieval Turkish decorative arts, is at the center of daily life and also carries clues about Europe's religious, cultural and economic policies and commercial borders in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

<sup>19</sup> Agnes Geijer, "Some Thoughts on the Problems of Early Oriental Carpets," *Ars Orientalis* 5, no. 5 (1963): 82.

<sup>20</sup> Rüstem Bozer, "Ornamental Area Designs and Restitution Suggestions for Some Pieces of Cross Tiles from Kubadabad Palace," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 31, vol. 2 (2022): 1315-1339.

as a design language allow even a small fragment to serve as a sufficient reference point for understanding the overall design composition.

The carpet in Jacopo Palma Giovane's composition should be interpreted as a Turkish carpet featuring design characteristics from the Anatolian Seljuk period. This carpet exhibits a strong design resemblance to an example housed in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, which was preserved for centuries on the minbar of the Alaaddin Mosque in Konya, a structure dating back to the Anatolian Seljuk State.<sup>21</sup>

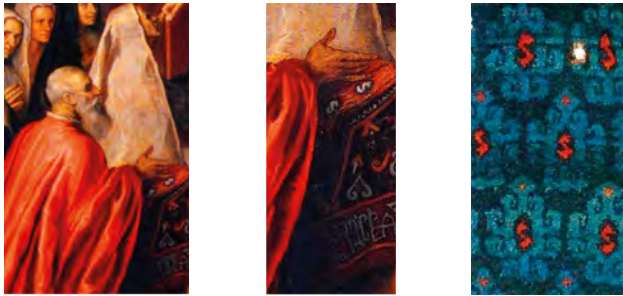


Fig. 3. Pasquale Cicogna and the Turkish carpet (left and center)

Fig. 4. The Turkish carpet in the Anatolian Seljuk style, 13th century (right)

It is stated that Jacopo Palma Giovane gained experience in the field of decorative arts during his early career.<sup>22</sup> This suggests that the artist, possessing a keen observational ability, could accurately depict the motifs on the carpet, which serves as a decorative element. Additionally, carpet designs inherently feature characteristic elements capable of conveying symbolic meaning. The central composition of the carpet housed in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, which begins after the border section, is designed with an open composition approach. This area consists of a pattern formed by an infinite motif arrangement. On a dark blue background, a light blue motif with geometric curves and a dynamic appearance is depicted. This motif corresponds to the "Türkmen Gülü" (Turkmen Rose) pattern, a well-known symbol in Turkish design symbolism.<sup>23</sup> At the center of the Türkmen Gülü motif, there is a red

<sup>21</sup> Work with inventory number 684 in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum.

<sup>22</sup> Philip Cottrell, "The Artistic Parentage of Palma Giovane," *The Burlington Magazine* 144, no. 1190 (2002): 289.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 317-318.

“S”-shaped element, which is known as *çenger*.<sup>24</sup> On the secondary border of the carpet, motifs woven in contrasting colors symbolize the Turkish conceptual system based on two fundamental principles: harmony and balance.<sup>25</sup> The border of the carpet carries a meaning that reflects harmony and balance based on principles of life, governance, and military order.

At the core of Anatolian Seljuk State policy, reaching maritime frontiers was among the primary strategic objectives.<sup>26</sup> The Anatolian Seljuk State and its administration placed particular emphasis on the construction of caravanserais (hans) along the north-south and east-west routes to protect their newly reached maritime frontiers and strengthen their settlements, as evidenced by the architectural inventory<sup>27</sup>. The mission constructed by Jacopo Palma Giovane serves as a reminder of the era of Eastern Mediterranean politics. In particular, the medieval Turkish influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, shaped by the Anatolian Seljuk State, along with the strategies, maneuvers, and outcomes of Venetian governance during this period, were repurposed as a mission in the 16th century.

The first Doge of Venice was elected in 697 AD.<sup>28</sup> Until Pasquale Cicogna, 87 Doges had held office in Venice. The Venetian rulers' decision to consolidate power under this title is closely linked to the shift of the Eastern Mediterranean trade axis toward Islamic civilizations. This position serves as evidence that Venice's trade policies were fundamentally oriented toward the Eastern Mediterranean. Deborah Howard emphasizes that, unlike Genoa and Pisa, Venice primarily focused on the Mediterranean and the Islamic civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean. She also highlights that these influences can be traced through Venetian architecture, particularly in the Doge's Palace, where some decorative details reflect impressions of Seljuk architectural elements, such as monochrome brickwork patterns.<sup>29</sup> The incorporation of such stylistic features from another region into a monumental structure should not be regarded as a conventional design practice.

The process of mutual recognition between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice, unlike other administrations, was shaped by the

<sup>24</sup> Tevhide Aydın, *Türk Halı ve Düz Dokumalarında Kullanılan Sembolik Motifler ve Kültürel Kökenleri*, doctoral thesis (Hacettepe University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Turkish Folklore, 2022), 320-325.

<sup>25</sup> Mustafa Sever, “Türk Kültüründe İki İlkeli Sistem: Kararış ve Yaruk,” *Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi* 17 (2023): 195.

<sup>26</sup> Salim Koca, “Türkiye Selçuklu Hükümdarlarının Temel İç ve Dış Politikaları ve Bu Politikalarından Güttükleri Amaçlar,” *Selçuklu Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (2016): 9-39.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>28</sup> Deborah Howard, “Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence,” *Architectural History* 34 (1991): 59.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 61. [Burada bahsi geçen Büyük Selçuklu Devleti mimarisidir.]

appointment of trained interpreters known as dragomans in Ottoman territories. Venetian dragomans were directly affiliated with the Doge of Venice and operated under his directives. They were individuals trained in language, trade, and law, ensuring effective diplomatic and commercial communication between the two Powers.<sup>30</sup> Venetian dragomans were legally recognized within the Ottoman Empire and held critical authorization to observe and report on Ottoman law and commercial activities. They were appointed as political interpreters and mediators operating within the Ottoman Empire to safeguard Venice's interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>31</sup> The 1573 Ahdname was a direct outcome of the Battle of Lepanto, and during this process, dragomans played a crucial role in ensuring the proper implementation of newly established regulations within the restructured diplomatic framework.<sup>32</sup>

The strong role of the Republic of Venice in military power and political positioning in the Mediterranean following the Battle of Lepanto has been linked to the fact that Spanish naval forces had to wait for reinforcements from the fleets they had dispatched to the American continent.<sup>33</sup> The Republic of Venice was developing far more focused strategies toward the Eastern Mediterranean. Another reason for this was its positioning as an independent and privileged religious representative, which was closely linked to developments within the Catholic League between Spain and France. The 1584 Treaty of Joinville was a bilateral agreement originating from the Catholic League between Spain and France.<sup>34</sup> However, the Republic of Venice pursued an explicit war mission focused on religion and regional trade.

## Conclusion

The mission attributed to Pasquale Cicogna by Palma Giovane is directly linked to Venice's war economy. Jacopo Palma Giovane's works illuminate the boundaries of Venice's religious and cultural policies, portraying Venetian

<sup>30</sup> Specially trained political and business translators trained at La Scuola dei Giovanni di Lingua. See: Volkan Dökmeci, "Kıbrıs ve İnebahtı Seferleri Sırasında Venedik Dragomanlarının Diplomatik Rollerini," *Tarih Dergisi – Turkish Journal of History* 76, no. 1 (2022): 137.

<sup>31</sup> Volkan Dökmeci, *İstanbul'daki Venedik Dragomanları ve Dil Oğlanları (1551-1797)*, doctoral thesis (Istanbul University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of History, Modern History, 2018), 529-534.

<sup>32</sup> Volkan Dökmeci, "Kıbrıs ve İnebahtı Seferleri Sırasında Venedik Dragomanlarının Diplomatik Rollerini," *Tarih Dergisi – Turkish Journal of History* 76, no. 1 (2022): 127-143.

<sup>33</sup> Paulino Toledo, "İnebahtı: Dünya Egemenliği İçin Akdeniz'de Yapılan Son Deniz Savaşı," çev. Özlem Şakiroğlu, *Erdem* 6, no. 18 (1990): 862.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

Doges not merely as political symbols but as figures entrusted with a mission, expected to act on behalf of Christianity. The mission assigned to Pasquale Cicogna specifically references the Turks and Eastern Mediterranean affairs. In this context, the artist's composition should be understood as a work that retrospectively encourages Venetian rulers to act, offering a political assessment that extends from the Renaissance back to the Middle Ages. The Venetian government's move to strengthen urban capital must be interpreted as part of its war preparations, with Palma Giovane's painting symbolizing this strategic direction. Within the composition, Venice's insistence on a more assertive Mediterranean policy is evident, along with an explicit reference to the Turks' role in medieval Eastern Mediterranean political and military struggles and their ongoing political and economic presence in the region. As a key figure who reinforced Venice's role in the Eastern Mediterranean and represented Christian theology, Pasquale Cicogna symbolizes Venice's ambition to establish itself as a central power in the Christian world. Additionally, the painting visually articulates Pasquale Cicogna's mission to balance both religious and political relations with the Ottoman Empire.

The Anatolian Seljuk carpet depicted in the composition should be regarded as a crucial symbol reinforcing Venice's historical and cultural tie with the Turkish presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. This carpet reflects Venice's commercial and cultural interactions with the Ottoman Empire, illustrating that carpet motifs were among the political symbols of the Seljuk period. The inclusion of a Turkish carpet in the composition serves as evidence of Venice's efforts to position itself as a dominant force through cultural and economic exchanges. Overall, the painting symbolizes Venice's strategic aspiration to become a central power in both religious and political terms within the Christian world. Pasquale Cicogna emerges as a key figure where Christian theology and Venice's economic influence in the Eastern Mediterranean converge. In this sense, the painting redefines Venetian-Ottoman relations through the lenses of faith and economy, while also demonstrating Venice's strategic orientation within the framework of its war mission.

## List of figures

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Fig. 2. Turkish carpet on Pasquale Cicogna's pulpit. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Attendance of Doge Pasquale Cicogna at Mass with Priest Priamo Balbi in*

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Fig. 3. Pasquale Cicogna and the Turkish carpet (left and center). Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Attendance of Doge Pasquale Cicogna at Mass with Priest Priamo Balbi in the Ospedaletto dei Crociferi*, ca. 1585, oil on canvas, 369 x 262 cm. Oratory, Ospedaletto dei Crociferi, Venice

Fig. 4. The Turkish carpet in the Anatolian Seljuk style, 13th century. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul

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## Museum Branding and its Impact on Sustainable Development

### Based on the Experience of The Grand Egyptian Museum

**Abstract:** The primary goal of this paper is to determine the impact of the transformation of museums into brands on the implementation of sustainable development goals, which is the cultural, social, and economic development of societies to ensure a decent life and a better future, it explains the mutual relationship between museums and sustainable development since their inception in the early 1970s to the present.

It also provides an overview of the conflict that museums face today between maintaining their non-profit status and the fact that museum institutions require extra income in addition to government support or donations to sustain their development and modernization and make them competitive to attract larger numbers of visitors, as well as support their capabilities as community communication institutions aimed at activating sustainable development within societies, It is the dilemma that the Grand Egyptian Museum brand may have been able to adapt to solve, as the Grand Egyptian Museum in itself is a non-profit institution, but for the Grand Egyptian Museum Authority, as a cultural-economic entity, the situation is different, which is what we will present during the pages of this paper.

Many museums can consider branding to be pointless at first; after all, their treasures are easily identifiable, particularly in Egypt, where our museums are known for their incredible artefact collections, so why bother when you have Tut Ankh Amun's Golden Mask? But in fact branding process for a museum provides an opportunity to distinguish itself from other museums; which will assist the museum in creating greater understanding of what it stands for, for visitors as well as the surrounding community, especially if this museum goes beyond the limits of the ordinary concept of museums, as it is more than just a place to preserve and display artefacts, but it is also an inclusive economic - cultural institution. We can define museum branding as "creating a distinctive personality with unique identity for cultural institutions concerned with the preservation, restoration, research, and exhibit of antiquities and heritage, as well as cultural and entertainment services, in order to present them to the public in the best possible way".

The primary goal of this research is to find out the impact that transforming museums into brands can have on the implementation of sustainable development goals

by using a case study on the Grand Egyptian Museum project as the first brand of a global Egyptian museum, the study was based on a series of hypothetical questions, the most essential of which are:

- Is it possible for museums to become brands? What does the term “Museum Branding” mean?
- What is the meaning of the term “sustainable development”? Was this concept created recently, or has it had a long history?
- Even though it is still a project, has the Grand Egyptian Museum Brand made a difference in the development of its surrounding community? And will it truly play a role in elevating Egypt to the top of the global cultural tourism map?

**Keywords:** Museum transformation into brands, Sustainable development evolution, Dilemma, Cultural Economic Entity, GEM Branding Strategy, Museum Branding, GEM Branding Manual, Implementation, Case Study of Grand Egyptian Museum

## Definitions of the Term Branding

The term “brand” can be traced back to Old Norse, an ancient North Germanic language from which modern Scandinavian languages evolved. Originally, the term “brand” referred to a piece of burning wood. It wasn’t until late Middle English that it was used as a verb to mean “mark permanently with a hot iron.” It referred to a mark of ownership made by branding by the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

A brand is a perspective that is fuelled by an organization’s name and has a direct impact on the character associated with it. And this identity is reflected in the products and services offered directly to customers by the organization. or services in the minds of customers by incorporating features such as a logo, design, guiding principles, and a consistent theme across all brand management. Effective branding assists businesses in differentiating themselves from competitors and building a large customer base; in fact, branding is more than a scientific knowledge; it is a form of art.

Branding is one of those ambiguous terms that can mean a variety of things to different people. Some people define branding as a logo, an identity, or a tagline, the (American Marketing Association) defines a brand as “a name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that distinguishes one seller’s goods or services from those of other sellers”.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taylor Holland, “What Is Branding? A Brief History,” *Skyword*, 11 August 2017, accessed 25 April 2021, <https://www.skyword.com/contentstandard/branding-brief-history/>.

<sup>2</sup> Marion Andrivet, “What Is Branding?,” *The Branding Journal*, 27 October 2015, accessed 18 April 2021, <https://www.thebrandingjournal.com/2015/10/what-is-branding-definition>.

## Museums Branding

Before we go any further, we must define the term “museum branding.” As a result, when we define the meaning of each word in the museum brand sentence individually, we discover that the word “brand” means “the act of creating a distinct identity for a product or service.” While the term museum refers to “an institution for the preservation, study, restoration, and display of antiquities and heritage,” when the two parties are combined, the definition will be as follows:

Museum branding is defined as “creating a distinctive personality with unique identity for cultural institutions concerned with the preservation, restoration, research, and exhibit of antiquities and heritage, as well as cultural and entertainment services, in order to present them to the public in the best possible way”. (This definition has been developed by the author)

Branding is the process of how an organization can represent itself to the public in such a way that it remains imprinted in their minds with memorable vibes, so we can safely say that branding is an essential tool for museums and cultural organizations to survive in an increasingly competitive world, museums try to attract attention from governorates, volunteers and donors by elevating the value of their institutional names, a strong brand can also serve as a guidepost by defining an organization’s core values. Even though brand or branding is not a foreign concept to the museum world, museum branding has never been easily defined in the non-profit sector, museum professionals and managers still do not fully understand the concept of branding, and misconception about branding can be a major obstacle for museums to undertake effective branding.

Museums must recognize that establishing brands and maintaining a consistent level of quality takes a significant amount of time and effort. The main key to the success of this mission is selecting an appropriate positioning; the brand must be communicated back to the target audiences; and it must be maintained and updated over time to remain relevant, the very real and substantial costs associated with this process raise questions about whether it is desirable or even appropriate for museums to devote their limited financial and human resources to brand development, and the answer is absolutely yes, as the right investment of time, effort, and money in the branding process will yield an incredible return and benefit to the museum, it will also attract many successful investments into the museum, transforming it from just a museum to a cultural institution capable of making a difference in the surrounding communities, as it will position it at the forefront of visiting destinations, whether for visitors or the general public, and it will also attract many successful investments into the museum, which will turn it from

just a museum to a cultural institution capable of making a difference in the surrounding societies.<sup>3</sup>

According to Margaret Wallace's manual on museum branding, "good branding speaks about the mission and vision to all people that a museum touches its external and internal markets in a distinctive and consistent voice." A consistent appearance and attitude help people feel familiar with the museum and at ease in expressing their loyalty". museum branding is the process of coordinating all available resources within museums to give each museum's personality and impression according to its own rules and strategies, through which the museum is marketed as planned. Museum branding should not be limited to studies and research, and it should not be considered as unnecessary luxury, in fact, museum branding has become more than just a necessity as museums must deal with major cultural and economic changes; it is also a major factor in attracting public attention to museums.

How can museums appeal to leisure consumers while distinguishing themselves from theme parks, amusement arcades, and other entertainment venues? As previously stated, museums fall into the category of values brands, which have an enduring core purpose that creates a long-term bond with those sectors of the market that share the same values, so they should be effective by offering valuable insights and solutions, in order to create a strong brand identity that can easily boost familiarity and loyalty, between the museum and its visitors.<sup>4</sup>

Museums provide a unique set of attributes such as educational programs, places of discovery, intellectual experiences, challenging, thought-provoking, innovative, and a place that can transmit you from the present to the past. These museum attributes are positive and worthy, but the important issue in an era of increasing competition is a lack of alignment between what people are looking for and what museums provide.

## Why Should a Museum Be Branded?

Almost every museum's mission includes three basic components: preservation, protection, and promotion of their collections. The first two requirements could be met by simply maintaining an object warehouse – no visitors are required, and there is no need to worry about an audience. However, the final step, promoting the collection, necessitates public participation. And it is this aspect of a museum's mission that accounts for

<sup>3</sup> Robin J. B. Ritchi, Sanjeev Swami, Charles B. Weinberg, "A brand new world for nonprofits," *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 4 (1999): 26-42. pp. 1-9.

<sup>4</sup> Sandell & Janes, 2007.

most the museum's ongoing expenses. Promoting your collection takes a lot of time and effort. Effort in marketing This is a serious effort. Effort of the educator Administrative and facility work is required. And to keep it all going, there's a development effort. It has to do with the project's promotion, which is where branding is most important.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike for-profit companies whose corporate headquarters and administrative staff are fully funded through product and service sales, museums need to be supported in large part through government funding donations as they fulfil their trusts to preserve, protect, and promote their collections. And so, the museum, as an institution, needs to be promoted among its donor base. indeed, museums as non-profit organizations, are in constant need of financial support from donors and Governments, this is the ethical dilemma that museums face, limiting their ability to evolve and keep up with the times, because the well-known characterization of museums as non-profit organizations limits their thinking and abilities to attract cultural investments and a larger number of visitors. But as for the Grand Egyptian Museum Authority (as a cultural economic entity), the situation differs greatly, as the Grand Egyptian Museum is a representation of the new concept and vision of museum entities as an integrated cultural economic independent institution, which combines the two, the non-profit museum and the cultural-economic brand entity, which works to attract investments to enhance the economy of the museum in general. profits is an essential part of its mission as an economic body not only for itself but also for the community, therefore branding is a non-negotiable point for this large entity, because it is very simply an essential factor in marketing this institution and its services at the local and global levels, also to place the Grand Egyptian Museum in its presumed position among the world's largest museum brands.

Since the brand is viewed as a mutual trust relationship between the customer and the brand, the museum must take this into consideration when developing a plan for services, products, and projects that the museum will present to the public, which must unquestionably match the strength and quality of the brand being promoted and meet public expectations.

## Definition of Sustainable Development

What is sustainable development, what is meant by it, and how can it be defined? These are the questions that come to the mind of everyone who hears the term sustainable development and is acquainted with it for the first

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<sup>5</sup> E. Holter, 2018. *Linkedin*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.linkedin.com> [Accessed 18 May 2021].

time. In the coming lines, we will simply explain the meaning of the term sustainable development and shade light on the history of the emergence and development of this concept.

The term sustainable development linguistically, as defined by the Oxford dictionary, means: “Economic development that is conducted without depletion of natural resources.” If we define each part of sustainable development separately, then we can say that: “development simply means improving and upgrading things to be better” and “sustainability it can be defined as the ability to continue and last for long periods”. Thus, the meaning of the term sustainable development is: “the ability to develop and improve for the better in all aspects with continuity for a long time.” Or as stated in another definition, “Sustainable development can be summarized as working to do more good, and do less harm”.<sup>6</sup>

We cannot deny that economic development is a necessary process, but it must be accompanied by a good use of the available natural resources. The depletion and misuse of natural resources will lead to their disappearance, since most of them are non-renewable resources, and this in turn will lead to the disruption of development processes and their unsustainability. On one hand, this is the literal meaning of the term sustainable development, especially from an economic point of view. On the other hand, and more comprehensively, the term sustainable development means the continuous development of all aspects of life including social, cultural and economic. It is desirable that the development steps be simple but enjoy continuity and permanence to have a sustainable impact. It cannot just be a project with a short lifespan that quickly ends, and its impact goes away. Sustainable development, “is the continuous effort to improve human lives without wasting resources”.

## Cultural role between past and present

Culture and cultural organizations were not considered essential support for sustainable development until recently and were not taken seriously in global research on community development. This was clearly demonstrated in the Brundtland Declaration, which discussed and reviewed all economic, environmental, industrial, and urban aspects that it considered the foundations of achieving sustainable development, however, it completely ignored the role of culture and cultural organizations as fundamental supporters of the sustainable development process.

Recently, it has been strongly argued that culture and its organizations, including museums, are a fundamental pillar of sustainable development.

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<sup>6</sup> Henry A. Mcghie, 2019. Curating Tomorrow. *ResearchGate*, p. 9.

For example, these cultural organizations have a significant economic impact as a driver of economic growth through “cultural tourism and cultural industries,” and they also contribute to environmental sustainability as well as the development and stability of societies.<sup>7</sup>

## **The Grand Egyptian Museum: new perspective and realistic implementation**

Grand Egyptian Museums showed up with new strategies to complete the long rich history of Egyptian museums, which have been and continue to be the faithful guardians of ancient Egyptian civilization throughout various eras, as the Grand Egyptian Museum belongs to the new global era of museums, which brings museums from their old personalities to new horizons, as a major contributor to the development of societies besides being the main entity in preserving the tangible and intangible heritage.

One of the most important founding pillars of the Grand Egyptian Museum is its branding strategy, which aspires to place it in the same category as international branded museums such as V&A, The Metropolitan, Louver, and others, and despite the importance of the branding strategy as a basis for building the Grand Egyptian Museum’s personality, it places it in a major challenge to demonstrate the effectiveness of that strategy in terms of implementation, and how it will contribute to transforming the museum into a productive cultural organization capable of rooting and supporting sustainable development in its surrounding community, in addition to its significant contribution to the national economy.

let us consider the positive impact that this massive entity has already had on the community, even before it opened, and pose some questions to ascertain the truth of this effect. So here are the questions, Did the presence of the museum assist in the development of the areas and axes surrounding it? Will it create new job opportunities or not, and who will benefit from these new opportunities? What is the truth about the administration company that was hired to run the museum’s services, and why was this done? Will the museum truly help to embed sustainable development principles and Egypt’s 2030 vision? Is the museum involved in the field of education and child development? Is there a genuine interest in arts and crafts?

We can say that the aim of concluding an agreement with a specialized company to manage the Grand Egyptian Museum is to bring in expertise

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<sup>7</sup> Izabela Luiza Pop, Anca Borza, “Factors Influencing Museum Sustainability and Indicators for Museum Sustainability Measurement,” *Sustainability* 8 (2016): 101.

and competencies capable of presenting and operating this important cultural edifice and tourist destination at a level comparable to, if not surpassing, the largest international museums in a way that supports the museum's role in revitalizing Tourism and economic development movement in Egypt within the framework of the principles and goals of sustainable development and Egypt vision 2030.

We are indeed in the presence of a global cultural-economic entity and a cultural brand that will be one of the world's largest cultural brands with tangible influence. These are not exaggerations or bold statements, but facts that must be taken seriously because the Grand Egyptian Museum is not only a large entity for the preservation and display of artefacts from the ancient Egyptian civilization, but it is also the largest preservation, research, and training centre, as well as a hub for scholars and researchers of antiquities. In terms of entertainment, It will have a variety of cafes and restaurants, as well as cinemas, virtual reality halls, theatre, conference hall, gift shops, retail stores, and, most importantly, workshops and the handicrafts training centre with the goal of reviving Egyptian traditional crafts, as well as vast areas of gardens with indigenous Egyptian plants such as papyrus and lotus, as a result, each visitor's trip to the Grand Museum is a one-of-a-kind experience in which they can enjoy both antiquities and information, as well as fun and entertainment.

So, because we are standing in front of this massive multi-potential entity that contains many services for visitors, we can clearly see the massive number of job opportunities of all kinds that will be available both within and outside of the museum entity, ensuring the sustainability of living for a large number of the workforce as we can imagine how many production lines will be available. The craftsmen and handicraft workshops with their exclusive Grand Egyptian Museum brand products with a pure Egyptian signature, as well as the museum's influence over the surrounding areas, where work is being done to develop a system of roads, bridges, and subway lines that will reach the nearest point in the museum while maintaining a distance. It is safe between it and the museum building so that the vibrations of the metro movements do not affect any of the artefacts inside, slums will be removed and residents will be resettled in urban housing complexes in the same area, as is the case for workers, caret owners, street vendors, retail stores, and so on. Will be legalized and integrated into the work system for the museum's surrounding area.

West Cairo area located next to the pyramids of Giza increased the value of the lands in it as soon as the foundation stone of the Grand Egyptian Museum was laid in 2002 and the value was preserved until the opening of the museum's restoration centre GEMCC in 2010, and then the actual value of the area surrounding the museum increased significantly after the construction of the main museum building. The museum's opening date

is approaching, which has become a tremendous attraction for investors to establish their projects in the vicinity of the Grand Egyptian Museum, Especially the area of 52 acres located to the north of the museum, which has become one of the most attractive areas for investment due to its distinguished location between the museum and the pyramids plateau. a comprehensive system of change to reformulate the region as a whole in a civilized way in which the pyramid plateau is connected to the museum, as well as the development of all the main axes and roads leading to the museum and the surrounding areas, as well as extending the subway lines and establishing a station for the museum, in addition to the Sphinx airport, which is only twenty minutes About the museum. It was established to serve charter flights and the tourist groups coming directly to visit the Grand Museum and the pyramids area.

It is well known that the sustainable development agenda and Egypt 2030 vision devote a large part of their attention to culture and heritage, so our vision in the educational centre is based on the idea of communicating the ancient Egyptian culture and heritage to the recipient, whether specialized or non-specialist in culture and heritage, and, of course, the non-specialists as their knowledge is most important to us. They are regarded as virginal and insufficient, as a result, they are always eager to learn about the foundations of ancient Egyptian civilization in a fun and engaging way, and we see that this is one of the most important ways to preserve and revive the heritage, as spreading and defining it to people encourages them to preserve and pass it on generation after generation, I believe that the fundamental meaning of sustainability is long-term survival and communication across generations

The Creativity and Design Centre will be responsible for developing appropriate designs for our brand's products and distributing these designs to craftsmen in their own workshops, after which we will market the products through the Grand Egyptian Museum Brand's approved sales centres in order to achieve the sustainable development strategy and Egypt 2030's vision to maximize the country's potential and competitive advantages, as well as UNESCO's designation of Cairo city as a creative city of (Crafts and Folk Art for the year 2020) that contributes to sustainable civil development by encouraging the creation, production, distribution, and promotion of cultural activities, goods, and services, as well as the revival and support of handicrafts, in order to preserve Egypt's cultural heritage and identity, based on the following axes:

- The economic axis: increasing Egypt's handicraft exports
- The educational axis: promoting technical education and emphasizing its importance.
- The cultural axis: recognizing the significance of reviving and preserving Egyptian cultural heritage.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to determine the expected impact of transforming museums into trademarks on the activation of sustainable development goals in societies, as well as whether this change has a positive impact on the museum itself in terms of improving its capabilities, developing its role, and transforming it into a cultural-economic institution for profit, and whether this positive impact will extend to society. As a result, following its transformation into a high-potential institution, the museum can create many job opportunities and assist in the operation of production lines for promotional products for the brand that represents it, but most importantly, it ensures the continuity of sustainable tourism, which is one of the most important sources of national income and one of the main engines of countries' economies, and this is what it aims to do. We attempted to clarify the role that the Grand Egyptian Museum played in implementing the goals of sustainable development and the Egyptian vision 2030 through research through its implementation on the case study of the Grand Egyptian Museum Brand, despite the fact that it is still a project under construction and has not yet entered the final stage of operation. The research also concluded that the effect of the Grand Egyptian Museum Brand on society had begun, and its results were beginning to emerge in terms of the positive changes and development that are currently taking place in the areas surrounding the museum, such as the development of the main road networks and axes, as well as the extension of subway lines, in addition to the Sphinx Airport near the museum. It has been completed and is awaiting the start of the trial operation, as well as developing the cultural and social environment for citizens by removing slums and relocating them to safe, civilized housing complexes that include school complexes, sports and cultural clubs, and the truth is that in light of the system of comprehensive change and development that is currently taking place on a large scale, we can sense the Grand Egyptian Museum's brand strength, which is backed by the Egyptian government in every way and works to develop everything that surrounds it to fit its strong identity, and in return, the museum and those in charge spare no effort in assisting the advancement of Egyptian society, which is a win-win situation for all parties.

**The result can be summarized in the following points:**

1. The branding process is more than just a name and a slogan; it is a long-term process of transforming the appearance and working methods of a specific economic or cultural entity.
2. Transforming museums into trademarks and economic-cultural entities has become a necessity in the current era for museums to continue their

- role and attract the public, especially given the enormous variety of all entertainment that people can turn to instead of going to museums.
3. The concept of museums becoming brands protects their commercial, intellectual, cultural, and artistic property rights because no advertising institution can promote the contents of any museum brand without reference and permission.
  4. A new definition of museum branding has been developed by the author during the research “Museum branding is creating distinctive personality with unique identity for cultural institutions concerned with the preservation, restoration, research, and exhibit of antiquities and heritage, as well as cultural and entertainment services, in order to present them to the public in the best possible way”
  5. Egypt, despite the multiplicity and diversity of its museums and the uniqueness of its contents, did not pursue the museum brand strategy until recently, wasting a lot of property rights that would inevitably yield financial and promotional benefit, which is something that should be rectified now.
  6. The Grand Egyptian Museum is a pioneer in the field of transforming Egyptian museums into leading brands.

At the end we can say that the relationship between museums and sustainable development is a win-win situation for both parties, and each requires the other as they form an integrated plan and a successful tool for societal development.

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# MATERIALS / SOURCES



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### O biskupie Albercie

(1) Roku Pańskiego 1198<sup>1</sup> czcigodny Albert<sup>2</sup>, kanonik z Bremy, został wyświęcony na biskupa.

(2) Po wyświęceniu lata następnego do Gotlandii przybywa i tam około 500 mężczyzn znakiem krzyża na wyprawę do Liwonii naznacza. Stamtąd przez Danię przejeżdżając, podarunki od króla Knuta i wodza Waldemara i biskupa Absalona<sup>3</sup> otrzymuje. Powróciwszy do Niemiec, w narodziny Pana wielu namaszcza w Magdeburgu, gdzie król Filip z żoną<sup>4</sup> jest koronowany. I publicznie tego króla o zdanie zapytuje, czy majątek do Liwonii udających się pod opiekę papieża ma być oddany, podobnie jak tych, którzy do Jerozolimy się

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<sup>1</sup> Właściwie 1199 r.

<sup>2</sup> Albert von Buxhövdn – ur. 1165, zm. 1229; archidiakon w Bremie (1186-1194), biskup w Ikescoli (1199-1202), pierwszy biskup ryski (1202-1229), założyciel Zakonu Kawalerów Mieczowych, z pomocą których podbił i schrystianizował Liwonię. Zob. Corliss K. Slack, *Historical Dictionary of the Crusades*, ed. 1., Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Knut VI, król Danii w latach 1182-1202; Waldemar, brat króla Knuta VI i jego następca; biskup Absalon z Lund (1179-1201), arcybiskup Lund (1178-1201), legat papieski i prymas w Danii i w Szwecji.

<sup>4</sup> Filip, książę Szwabii, król Niemiec (1198-1208); jego żona Irena była córką cesarza bizantyjskiego.

udają. Odpowiedź uzyskano [taką]: ten [majątek] przekazać pod protektorat apostoła, który wyprawę do Liwonii nałożoną dla odpuszczenia grzechów do drogi jerozolimskiej przyrównał.

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(1) O drugim roku konsekracji biskupa Alberta. W drugim roku swojego biskupstwa z hrabią Konradem z Tremonii<sup>5</sup> i Herbertem z Iburga<sup>6</sup>, a także z wieloma rycerzami<sup>7</sup> do Liwonii przybywa, mając ze sobą w towarzystwie 23 statki.

(2) Po przekroczeniu Dźwiny, siebie ze wszystkimi swoimi Bogu powierzysz, do grodu Holm przy pływa i stąd wychodząc, zaproponował, aby do Ikescoli iść. Jednak Liwowie, szyderstwo czyniący, w drodze na górę zraniwszy niektórych, Mikołaja kapłana z innymi zabijają. Biskup jednak i jego [ludzie], choć z trudem, przybywają do Ikescoli. Ich bracia i inni tam przebywający od czasu pierwszego biskupa z radością przyjmują. Zebrani tam Liwowie pokój z Niemcami na trzy dni zawarli, ale podstępnie, żeby – jak widać – swoje tymczasem wojsko zebrać.

(3) Po zawarciu pokoju biskup zszedł do Holmu i mając nadzieję na pokój, po katedrę swoją i akcesoria biskupie i inne potrzebne rzeczy posłańców na statki w Dyjamencie<sup>8</sup> wysłał. Zabrawszy ze sobą, co chcieli, i jakby w zupełnym spokoju tą samą drogą, którą zeszli, wracają. Kiedy dotarli do Rumbuli<sup>9</sup>, Liwowie, złamawszy pokój, atakują ich zaciekle, a gdy jeden statek zawraca i ucieka, drugi przejmują i prawie wszystkich, którzy na nim byli, zabijają i tak, udając się do Holmu, biskupa z jego [ludźmi] otaczają. Tam, ponieważ obleżeni ani dla siebie, ani dla koni pożywienia nie mieli, w dużej ciasnocie, ale w końcu kopiąc ziemię, w różnych dołach plony liczne i pożywienie znajdują. Tymczasem Fryzjczycy<sup>10</sup> na jednym tak wielkim statku przybywając, licznych Liwów napadają oraz w ten i inny sposób, na ile mogli, szkody im wyrządzają. Liwowie widząc to, w obawie przed większym niebezpieczeństwem pokój przywracają

<sup>5</sup> Konrad z Dortmundu – ur. przed 1190, zm. po 1225, starosta miejski.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert z Iburga – biskup pomocniczy w Iburga w latach 1184-1197.

<sup>7</sup> Peregrini – rycerze przybyli dla walki z niewiernymi wraz ze swym dowódcą; w związku z tym, że termin „krzyżowcy” kojarzy się z rycerzami udającymi się do Ziemi Świętej, tłumacze to słowo jako „rycerze”.

<sup>8</sup> Twierdza u ujścia rzeki Dźwiny, niem. Dunamunde, dziś dzielnica Rygi; osada została założona w 1205 roku przez cystersów.

<sup>9</sup> Wioska na prawym brzegu Dźwiny, dziś dzielnica Rygi.

<sup>10</sup> Fryzjczycy (łac. Frisones) – Niemcy Zachodni, wymieniani w źródłach pisanych od II wieku, przeszli na chrześcijaństwo w IX wieku.

oraz potwierdzają, a z biskupem i pozostałymi Niemcami przybywają do miejscowości Ryga, gdzie Asso i wielu innych łaskę chrztu otrzymują.

(4) O pierwszych zakładnikach przez Liwów przyjętych. Biskup jednak z powodu zdrady Liwów pokoju z nimi niepewny, skoro już tyle razy zrywali, zakładników od Annona i Kaupona<sup>11</sup> oraz innych starszych włości żąda. Ci zawołani na prośbę Niemców na ucztę wszyscy zbierają się i w jednym zostają zamknięci domu. W obawie, że zostaną wywiezieni przez morze do Niemiec, chłopców swoich, którzy na Dźwinie i w Toreidzie byli najszlachetniejszymi, w darze biskupowi w liczbie około trzydziestu oddają. On ich zadowolony przyjmuje i, ziemię Panu powierzając, do Niemiec wyjeżdża.

(5) Przed jego wyjazdem Liwowie biskupowi pokazują okolicę miasta, które nazywają Rygą, albo od Jeziora Ryskiego, albo dlatego, że jest jakby użyżnione, gdyż ma podłoże nawodnione i wilgotną powierzchnię. Nawodnione podłoże dzięki temu, że jest wodą i pastwiskami przesiąknięta, albo dzięki temu, że grzesznicy dostają w niej zupełne odpuszczenie grzechów i poprzez nią można też uzyskać pokrzepienie na górze, to jest w królestwie niebieskim; lub dlatego, że Ryga odświeżona nową wiarą i ponieważ poprzez nią okoliczne plemiona świętym źródłem chrztu są napełniani.

(6) Biskup jednak, znając przebiegłość Liwów i widząc, że bez pomocy rycerzy nic osiągnąć w tym narodzie nie może, brata Teodoryka z Toreidy z wyprawą po dokumenty do Rzymu wysyła. Ten, przyjąwszy na siebie obowiązek, [następnie] przekazawszy najświętszemu papieżowi Innocentemu, dokumenty przez niego obiecanie i błogosławieństwo otrzymał.

(7) O zakazie portu w Semigalii. Z powodu prośby i zapobiegliwości tego samego [Teodoryka] również ten wielce szanowany Rzymskiej stolicy zwierzchnik wszystkim odwiedzającym Semigalię kupcom surowo zakazuje korzystania z ich portu pod groźbą klątwy kościelnej. Po tym fakcie kupcy sami, uznając to później za słuszne, wspólnym dekretem pod zakazem stwierdzają, że jeśli ktoś w dalszym ciągu z powodu handlu wejść do niego się odważy, zostanie pozbawiony zarówno majątku, jak i życia. Dlatego też później, dwa lata po budowie miasta, gdy niektórzy chcieli złamać obietnicę, w pierwszej kolejności wszyscy kupcy nalegają, aby nie jechać do Semigalii. Oni jednak, nie zważając na żądanie papieskie i mało licząc się ze wspólną decyzją kupców, płyną swoim statkiem Dźwiną. Inni, widząc ich śmiałość, zbliżywszy się do nich innymi statkami, atakują. W końcu po pojmaniu dwóch ludzi – sternika i kapitana statku – i ukaraniu ich okrutną śmiercią, inni zostali zmuszeni do powrotu.

<sup>11</sup> Kaupo – zm. 1217, jeden z przywódców liwońskich z Toreidy.

[5]

(1) O roku trzecim. W roku trzecim swojej konsekracji biskup z rycerzami, których mógł mieć, odesławszy do Niemiec zakładników, powraca do Liwonii i tego lata na obszerным polu, który blisko portu statków mógł być, miasto Ryga jest budowane. W tym czasie biskup zabrawszy do siebie, Daniela, szlachetnego męża, i Konrada z Meyendorpe, dwoma grodami, Lene-warde i Ikescolą, wyróżnił.

(2) Następnie Kurowie, usłyszawszy o przybyciu biskupa i początkach miasta, nie z obawy przed wojną, ale na wezwanie Chrystusa, aby zawrzeć pokój, wysyłają do miasta posłańców; ten pokój za zgodą chrześcijan zgodnie z pogańskim zwyczajem potwierdzają poprzez przelanie krwi.

(3) Litwini także zgodnie z wolą Bożą, aby prosić o pokój, w tym samym roku przybywają do Rygi, gdzie natychmiast, zawarwszy pokój, z chrześcijanami więzy przyjaźni zawiązują. Ci później następnej zimy z dużą armią maszerując w dół Dźwiny, do Semigalii docierają. Jednak przed wkroczeniem na te ziemie, dowiedziawszy się, że książę połocki ze swoimi wojskami najeżdża Litwę, pośpiesznie zawracają, opuszczając Semigalię. Idąc w górę, spotykają w Rumbuli dwóch rybaków biskupich, jak żarłoczne wilki rzucają się na nich i ubrania, które mieli na plecach, zabierają. Następnie rybacy nago uciekają do Rygi i opowiadają o popełnionej zbrodni. Rycerze, uznając, że doniesienia są prawdziwe, tych Litwinów, którzy dotychczas przebywali w Rydze, łapią i przetrzymują ich w więzach do czasu zwrotu rybakom skradzionego towaru.

[6]

(1) O roku czwartym. W czwartym roku swojej służby kilku rycerzy zostawiwszy, którzy stanęli jak mur przed Domem Pańskim, biskup wraz z resztą rycerzy wyruszył do Niemiec.

(2) Po jego odejściu brat jego Engelbert<sup>12</sup>, mnich odwołany z Neuminstera, przybywa do Rygi wraz z pierwszymi obywatelami i ze swoim pomocnikiem, który uczy wymowy głosicielom Ewangelii, zaczyna głosić imię Chrystusa wśród ludu wraz z bratem Teodorykiem z Toreidy, Alabrandem oraz pozostałymi braćmi, którzy zgodnie z zarządzeniem zakonu mieszkali w Liwonii.

<sup>12</sup> Engelbert Buxhoeveden (z Neuminstera) – jeden z braci biskupa Alberta, dziekan klasztoru w Rydze (1202-1209).

(3) O pierwszym konwencie i ich przełożonym. Jego życie i jego zakon chwaląc, bracia z klasztoru Najświętszej Marii Panny wkrótce potem wybrali go na przełożonego, gdyż z tego samego zakonu, z klasztoru Seegeberg, dobrze pamiętany Meinhard, pierwszy biskup Liwów, również został wybrany, który, chcąc wychować swoich braci na podobnych sobie, założył ich klasztor w parafii Ikescoli. Jednakże ten klasztor mnichów żyjących według regulaminu zakonu i siedzibę biskupią później, w trzecim roku swojej konsekracji, biskup Albert, przeniósł z Ikescoli do Rygi i poświęcił katedrę biskupią wraz z całą Liwonią ku czci Najświętszej Bogurodzicy Marii. Również klasztor cystersów zbudował u ujścia Dźwiny, który nazwał Dyjament, czyli wzgórzem św. Mikołaja. Dla tego klasztoru poświęcił na opata swojego towarzysza w głoszeniu Ewangelii – brata Toreidy, Teodoryka.

(4) O ustanowieniu [Zakonu] Kawalerów Mieczowych. W tym czasie brat ten Teodoryk, przewidując perfidię Liwów i obawiając się, że nie będzie w stanie stawić czoła licznyim poganom, dlatego, aby zwiększyć liczbę wiernych i umocnić w ludziach wiarę, ustanowił tych braci w armii Chrystusa [Zakonie Kawalerów Mieczowych], którym papież Innocenty nadał regułę templariuszy i znak do noszenia na szacie, czyli miecz i krzyż, oraz nakazał, żeby byli posłuszni swojemu biskupowi.

(5) O zawarciu pierwszego pokoju z Semigalami. W końcu Semigalowie, którzy nie żyli w pokoju z Liwami, spalili kościół w Holmie wraz z całą wioską, oblegali długo zamek i wycofali się, nie mogąc go zdobyć. Bóg natomiast, chcąc szerzyć młodzieńską plantację wiary chrześcijańskiej i zapewnić jej wszędzie pokój, po tej wyprawie Semigalów samych do Rygi wysłał, aby zaprowadzili pokój, a tym samym, gdy pokój został utwierdzony według pogańskiego zwyczaju, tych, którzy wcześniej byli wrogami Niemców i Liwów, uczynił przyjaciółmi.

[7]

(1) O roku piątym. W piątym roku swego pontyfikatu biskup, wracając z Niemiec, przywiózł ze sobą szlachciców Arnolda z Meyendorpe, Bernharda z Seehusen i jego brata Teodoryka wraz z kilkoma innymi dostojnymi mężami i rycerzami. Z tymi nie obawiając się znośić szczęścia i nieszczęścia dla Boga, przepłynął morze i, przybywszy do Listrii<sup>13</sup>, prowincji królestwa

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<sup>13</sup> Listerby (Listria) położone jest na południowym wybrzeżu Szwecji. Na początku XIII wieku (do 1658 r.) ziemia Listrii podlegała Danii i arcybiskupstwu Lund.

duńskiego, pogańskich Estończyków z Osilii<sup>14</sup> z szesnastoma statkami spotkał. Ci dopiero co spaliwszy kościół, zabiwszy ludzi i wzięwszy kilku jeńców, splądrowali ziemię oraz ukradli dzwony i sprzęty kościelne, tak Estończycy jak Kurowie poganie zwykli robić dotąd w królestwach Danii i Szwecji. Rycerze chwycili za broń, aby pomścić straty chrześcijan, ale poganie, dowiedziawszy się, że rycerze udają się do Liwonii, w wielkim strachu skłamlali, że zawarli pokój z ludnością Rygi. Ponieważ chrześcijanie im uwierzyli, tym razem oddział ich poszedł dalej, lecz nie skorzystali ze swojego podstępku, gdyż później wpadli w tę samą pułapkę, która została na nich przygotowana.

(2) O konflikcie rycerzy z Estończykami na morzu. Mianowicie rycerze prowadzeni przez Boga dotarli cali i zdrowi do Visby<sup>15</sup>, gdzie tamtejsi obywatele i goście witają ich z radością. Po kilku dniach przybywają Estończycy z całym łupem, a rycerze, widząc ich płynących ze zwiniętymi żaglami, oskarżają, że obywatele i kupcy pozwolili wrogom chrześcijańskiego imienia spokojnie przepływać obok ich portu. Kiedy [ci] nie zwracają na to uwagi i wolą cieszyć się w pewności pokoju z nimi [Estończykami], rycerze kierują się do swojego biskupa i proszą go o pozwolenie na walkę z nimi. Biskup także, zrozumiałwszy ich racje, stara się ich odwieść od tego zamiaru – zarówno dlatego, że w walce mogliby znaleźć się w niebezpieczeństwie ze strony wrogów, jak i dlatego, że Kościół wśród pogan czekał na ich umówione przybycie i nie mogło być odstępstwa. Oni zaś, chcąc nie chcąc, nie wątpiąc w łaskę Boga, nie chcą dać się przekonać do propozycji, utrzymując, że nie ma różnicy między pogańskimi Estończykami a Liwami i proszą, żeby przyjmując ich żądania, było to odkupieniem za ich grzechy. Biskup, widząc ich zdecydowanie, uznaje, że lepiej będzie przystąpić do bitwy w posłuszeństwie, gdyż posłuszeństwo jest lepsze niż ofiara, przychyła się do ich prośby i nakazuje im, jak poprosili, mężnie przystąpić do walki z poganami o odpuszczenie grzechów. Dlatego rycerze starają się wówczas odważnie walczyć w imieniu Chrystusa i uzbrojeni potężnie w broń, statki, którymi chcieli wyruszyć dalej, pospiesznie przygotowują. Gdy Estończycy po przeciwnej stronie to zauważyli, umieścili osiem pirackich statków w niewielkiej odległości od pozostałych, myśląc, że mogą otoczyć krzyżowców wchodzących w środek i w ten sposób schwytać statki zmierzające naprzeciw nim. Niemcy więc, gwałtownie ich atakując, wdzierają się na dwa statki pirackie Estończyków, na których zabili sześćdziesięciu ludzi, a statki załadowane dzwonami, szatami kapłańskimi i schwytanymi chrześcijanami przewieźli

<sup>14</sup> Saamsala (estońska Saaremaa, łac. Osilia insula) – jedna z krain zamieszkaných wówczas przez Estończyków.

<sup>15</sup> Visby (łac. Wysbu) – miejscowość położona nad Morzem Bałtyckim, w zachodniej części wyspy Gotlandia (obecnie Szwecja).

do miasta Visby. Na trzeci [statek] piracki natomiast jeden z Niemców, silnych mężczyzn, wskoczywszy, trzyma w obu rękach miecz tu i tam, sam dwudziestu dwóch wrogów powala. Podczas gdy on trudził się ponad siły w tej rzezi, żagiel przez ośmiu ludzi, którzy jeszcze żyli, wysoko jest podniesiony i tak, gdy wiatr w niego zawiał, człowiek ten złapany zostaje pokonany i potem po zebraniu statków w jednym miejscu zostaje zabity, a statek z powodu zbyt małej liczby ludzi spalony. Po wykonaniu tak chwalebnego dzieła rycerze za odniesione zwycięstwo Bogu Wszechmogącemu podziękowali, a biskup ludzi z rzeczami, które poganie ukradli Duńczykom, czcigodnemu panu arcybiskupowi, Andrzejowi Lundeńskiemu odesłał.

Następnie krzyżowcy, nie chcąc dłużej pozostać w Visby, ruszają dalej i aż do Rygi docierają. Z ich przybycia obywatele i inne osoby przebywające w Rydze bardzo szczęśliwi naprzeciw nim wychodzą i z relikwiami zarówno biskupa, jak i wszystkich jego towarzyszy witają.

(3) O podróży Kaupona z bratem Teodorykiem do najwyższego kapłana. Następnie brat Teodoryk wraz z rycerzami, którzy przez rok służyli Bogu pod krzyżem w Liwonii, udając się do Niemiec, Liwończyka imieniem Kaupo, który był starszym Liwów i niczym król z Toreidy, zabrał ze sobą i, przez większą część Niemiec przejechawszy, Teodoryk zawiózł go do Rzymu i apostołowi [papieżowi] przedstawił. Apostoł [papież] bardzo życzliwie go przyjmując, całuje i szczegółowo wypytuje o poziom życia ludności zamieszkującej okolice Liwonii i serdecznie za nawrócenie narodu liwońskiego Bogu dziękuje. Kilka dni później ten sam wielce czcigodny papież Innocenty wspomnianemu Kauponowi podarował swój dar, to jest sto sztuk złota, ofiarowuje, a gdy ten chciał wrócić do Niemiec, żegna się z nim z wielkim uczuciem, błogosławi go i Biblię napisaną ręką świętego papieża Grzegorza do biskupa Liwonii przez brata Teodoryka wysyła.

(4) O wyprawie księcia połockiego do Ikescoli. Tego lata książę połocki z wojskiem, niespodziewanie wdarłszy się do Liwonii, atakuje gród Ikescola. Z nim Liwowie, nie mając broni, nie odważywszy się walczyć, obiecują, że dadzą mu pieniądze. Książę, przyjąwszy to, odstępuje od oblężenia. Następnie niektórzy Niemcy, wysłani tymczasem przez biskupa z machinami wojennymi i bronią, gród Holm zajmują, a kiedy przybywa książę, chcąc zdobyć zamek, dużą liczbę koni ranią, a Rutenowie, obawiający się z powodu strzał przekroczyć Dźwinę, uciekają.

(5) O pojmaniu księży i porwaniu bydła przez władcę Wsiewołoda z Litwinami<sup>16</sup>. Władca zaś z Gercike z Litwinami w stronę Rygi podążając, na pastwiskach

<sup>16</sup> W Kronice zapisano Wiscewalde cum Letonibus.

bydło obywateli kradnie, dwóch kapłanów, Jana z Vechty i Volcharda z Harpenstede, niedaleko Starej Góry w pobliskim lesie wraz z krzyżowcami porywa i zabija Teodoryka Brudegama, który wraz z mieszkańcami rzucił się za nim.

(6) O trumnie kapłanów Boskim cudem wydłużonej. W tym czasie pewien mnich imieniem Sifridus w służbie kapłańskiej z głęboką pobożnością opiekował się powierzonymi mu w parafii Holmu duszami i, służąc Bogu dniem i nocą, nauczał Liwów przykładem swojego dobrego sposobu życia. Wreszcie, gdy po długiej, szczęśliwej pracy dla Boga kres życia nadziedział, umiera. Jego ciało zwyczajem wierzących przeniósłszy ze łzami nowo ochrzczonych, tłum odprowadza. Gdy dla niego niczym dzieci kochanemu ojcu trumnę z dobrego drzewa robili, okazuje się, że jedna z desek wyciętych na wieko jest o całą stopę za krótka. Poruszeni tym, kawałka drewna, który mógłby przedłużyć deskę, długo szukają, w końcu go znajdują, dopasowują i próbują przybić do wspomnianej deski, ale umieściwszy ją po raz pierwszy na trumnie i przyjrawszy się jej bliżej, widzą, że deska wydłużyła się nie za sprawą człowieka, ale za sprawą Boga, i doskonale pasuje do trumny, tak jak sobie tego życzyli. Uszczęśliwieni z tego powodu parafianie wyrzucają niepotrzebnie wycięty kawałek drewna i po pochowaniu pasterza zgodnie ze zwyczajem wierzących chwalą Boga, który czyni takie cuda dla swoich świętych.

[8]

(1) O szóstym roku pontyfikatu. Szóstego roku biskup, bojąc się, że miasto, które dotąd zbudowane i umocnione było, z powodu niewielkiej liczby wiernych może być narażone na niebezpieczeństwo przez zasadzki pogan, podążył do Niemiec, aby zabrać rycerzy, i złożone przez siebie zobowiązanie w obronie ludzi gorliwie wypełniając, tak w Niemczech idąc, jak i stamtąd wracając w kolejnych latach, podjął pracę uciążliwą i prawie nie do wykonania.

O wojnie przeciwko Litwinom i o pozostawionych owcach. Po jego odejściu Litwini chrześcijańskie imię noszący z Liwami z Asscrade i z Lenewarde, do tej pory poganami, w liczbie prawie trzystu napadają Rygę i owce na jej pastwiskach otoczywszy, już drugi raz próbują uprowadzić. Ponieważ niewielu mężczyzn przebywało wtedy w Rydze i bało się zewsząd zasadzek z powodu bliskości lasów, z miasta niemal nikt nie odważył się wyjść, lecz mężczyźni pełni męstwa w liczbie prawie dwudziestu, śledząc wrogów od miasta, żądają owiec i po wezwaniu dla siebie pomocy Boga wszechmogącego oraz po przybyciu żołnierzy z miasta blisko Góry Starożytnej wdają się w bitwę z poganami, a zyskawszy przewagę, tak długo walczą, aż zmęczeni nie rozdzielają się wzajemnie. Liwowie także pewnym statkiem płyną w dół

Dźwiną, żeby pod nieobecność ludu miasto z innej strony zaatakować, lecz, ponieważ Pan ochrania swoich, niektórzy z miasta w ich kierunku atakują strzałami i tak zmuszają do ucieczki. Po tych zdarzeniach Litwini z Liwami odchodzą z trzema tylko zrabowanymi końmi obywateli, a Niemcy zadowoleni z uratowania ludzi i odzyskania owiec, Boga wychwalając, zwracają się do miasta.

(2) O powrocie pewnych rycerzy do Niemiec i różnych przeszkodach. Po tej zimie gwałtownej pewni rycerze, to jest Arnold z Meyendorpe i Bernard z Seehusen i kilku innych, którzy, podjąwszy krzyż już po raz drugi, pozostali tutaj, chcąc wrócić do Niemiec, po przygotowaniu rzeczy niezbędnych do drogi, statek swój przed narodzinami błogosławionej Dziewicy Maryi<sup>17</sup> wodują i sami Dźwinę przekroczywszy, ponieważ Bóg tak uczynił, z trzema statkami innych rycerzy przed portem spotykają. Na tych statkach brak Teodoryk i Kaupo z Rzymu wracali, Rygańczyków w smutku pozostawionych przybyciem swoim rozweselają. Lecz tym bardziej wzrasta radość chrześcijan, im głębiej boli i maleje wielość pogan.

(3) Żołnierze, skoro zapowiedzieli, z nurtem rzeki z towarzyszami swoimi długo trudząc się, do części Estonii docierają. Ich rzeczy i życie chcąc odebrać, Estończycy z dziesięcioma pirackimi i dwunastoma innymi statkami w nich uderzyli z impetem. Ponieważ Bóg chroni swoich, niczego złego lub bólu od wrogów nie doznają, co więcej po strzaskaniu jednego pirackiego [statku] przez chrześcijan niektórzy z pogan są zabijani, inni daremnie w morzu się pogrążają. Drugi piracki [statek] zakrzywionym hakiem szarpiąc, próbują do siebie przyciągnąć, lecz poganie, woląc narazić się na niebezpieczeństwa morza niż być zabitymi przez chrześcijan, uchodzą ze statku pojedynczo i w niebezpieczeństwie śmierci pozostałe statki, rozdzielwszy się, uciekły. Widać więc, że wszechpotężny Bóg wybranych swoich w różnych przeszkodach znajdujących się, jakby złoto w ogniu próbować nie przestaje, nigdy jednak nie opuszcza całkowicie, co więcej ze wszystkich przykrości ich wydostając, większy strach wywołuje u ich wrogów. Dlatego zaznawszy wielu trudności, zwłaszcza w głodzie i pragnieniu oraz zimnie wiele dni spędzając, a choć niewiele jedzenia mieli, pięćdziesięcioro rozbitków chrześcijańskich na brzegu stojących do siebie przyjmują, z którymi, miłosiernie postępując, pożywienie swoje dzielą. I gdy to tylko im pozostało, żeby umrzeć z głodu, oto jak nawiedziło ich Słońce Wschodzące z wysoka<sup>18</sup>: statek więc duży kupców, który, nadchodząc, tak rozdawał, jak sprzedawał im żywność, głodnych napełniając, a oni nasyceni są. Idąc

<sup>17</sup> Tj. 8 września

<sup>18</sup> Ewangelia wg Łukasza, 1,78.

jednak dalej, napotykać większe niż dotąd niebezpieczeństwa. Burza mianowicie rzuca ich między niebezpieczne skały, z których tylko, z trudem i wielkim strachem uciekwszy, do portu w Visby docierają w wigilię świętego Andrzeja i stąd po przygotowaniu środków żywności płyną ku granicom Danii. Nie mogąc przybić statku do brzegu z powodu lodu, który był niezmierny, zostawiają go w lodzie i przez Danię do Niemiec idą, zabrawszy swój dobytek.

[9]

(1) O walce z Litwinami w Rodopoyse. W siódmym roku, około Czterdziestnicy [Wielkiego Postu], kiedy ludzie ci zwykli organizować swoje wyprawy, Litwini z prawie dwoma tysiącami jeźdźców na wojnę z Estończykami wyruszają, a kiedy, płynąc Dźwiną, minęli miasto, jeden z nich, bogaty i wielmożny imieniem Suelgate ze swoimi towarzyszami do miasta zawraca. Jeden z mieszkańców imieniem Martinus, wyszedłszy im naprzeciw w spokoju wraz z innymi mężczyznami z miasta, poczęstował go miodem. Po wypiciu [Suelgate] poszedł za idącym naprzód wojskiem i powiedział do swoich towarzyszy: „Czy nie widzicie, jak drżały ręce Niemcom, którzy dali nam miód? Wiedzieli przecież o naszym przybyciu dzięki rozniesionej plotce i tak się przestraszyli, że nadal nie przestają się trząść. W tej chwili odkładamy zniszczenie tej wsi. Jednak kiedy zwyciężymy regiony, do których się udajemy, to po schwytaniu i zabiciu ludzi wrócimy do ich domu. Ledwie bowiem cały pył tego miasta wystarczy dla garści naszego ludu”.

(2) Po kilku dniach zatem, usłyszawszy o litewskiej ekspedycji, pewien szlachcic z Semigalii imieniem Viesthardus, pospiesznie idąc do Rygi, aby przestrzec Niemców, ostrzega, żeby wrogowie, którzy przeszli ich granice pokojowo, po tym jak rozpoznali układ tego miejsca, siłą nie zniszczyli miasta wraz z jego mieszkańcami. Im, niechętnym do walki przed powrotem biskupa z powodu niewielkiej liczby swoich, ten Viesthardus, będąc człowiekiem żądnym walki, do ataku ich podjudza, i obiecawszy, że im do pomocy Semigalów jak najwięcej przyprowadzi, prosi, czy przynajmniej kilku mężczyzn zaprawionych w bitwie będzie mu danych, [takich,] którzy potrafią rządzić wojskiem i szkolić je do walki. Niemcy, wysłuchawszy stanowczości jego ducha, odpowiadają, że chcą spełnić jego prośbę jedynie, jeśli z każdego zamku Semigalii jednego zakładnika, którego wybiorą, może im przyprowadzić. On z takiej odpowiedzi bardzo ucieszony do swoich z radością wraca i, zabrawszy ze sobą wskazanych zakładników, zbiera wystarczające wojsko. Przyprowadziwszy je, zakładnicy są wydani w ręce Niemców, i tak Semigalowie okazali się wystarczająco wierni, zyskują pomoc i jednocześnie ich przyjaźń.

Mianowicie rodzina biskupa wraz z braćmi rycerzy Chrystusa i Konrad, rycerz z Ikescoli z kilkoma innymi, którzy mogli być nieobecni, do wojska na zewnątrz wyruszają i na wyżynie czekają z Semigalami na powrót Litwinów.

(3) Zostają wysłani tymczasem posłańcy stosowni do Toreidy, którzy starannie potrafią zbadać drogę wrogów i poinformować. Wspomniany zatem wódz Semigalów, zebrawszy z poszczególnych domów w Rydze środki żywności dla wojska, które przybywa z daleka, przekazuje. Wracający Litwini z niezmierzonymi jeńcami i niezliczonymi stadami bydła i koni, po wkroczeniu do Liwonii powoli od domu do domu skradając się, w końcu do obozu Kaupona zawracają i, zaufawszy pokojowi z Liwami, spędzają u nich noc. Posłańcy jednak Niemców i Semigalów dyskretnie o powrót ich wypytawszy, powiadamią swoje wojsko, a następnego dnia [słowa] wcześniejszych potwierdzają kolejni posłańcy, którzy świadczą, że Litwini chcą wracać skrótem do Rodopoyse w kierunku Ikescoli. Usłyszawszy te wieści, cały oddział<sup>19</sup> cieszy się i z pewnością każdy bez wyjątku przygotowuje się do walki. Kiedy Litwini podchodzą z całym łupem i jeńcami, którzy przekroczyli liczbę tysiąca, dzielą swoje wojsko na dwie części i, w środek umieściwszy jeńców, ze względu na zbyt głęboki śnieg kroczą pojedynczo tylko jedną ścieżką; lecz wkrótce, gdy pierwsi z nich zauważają ślady tych, którzy odeszli wcześniej, domyśliwszy się zasadzki, zatrzymują się, tak że ostatni z jeńcami dogoniwszy pierwszych, w jeden łączą się szczyk bojowy. Gdy Semigalowie zobaczyli wielką ich liczbę, wielu z nich przestraszonych i nieodważających się walczyć dąży do odwrotu w bezpieczniejsze miejsce. Zauważywszy to, niektórzy z Niemców zwracają się do rycerza Konrada, usilnie prosząc, aby oni sami najpierw przystąpili do walki z wrogami Chrystusa, argumentując, że lepiej doznać chwalebnej śmierci w chwale dla Chrystusa niż zhańbić lud swoją niechwalebną ucieczką. On [Konrad] zgodnie ze zwyczajem rycerzy tak na koniu, jak i sam dobrze uzbrojony z nielicznymi, którzy byli obecni, Niemcami atakuje Litwinów. Jednak ci, przestraszeni lśniąca zbroją, a także ze strachu zesłanego przez Boga, cofają się przed nimi z każdej strony. Rozumiejąc, że Litwini są tak przerażeni łaską Boga, wódz Semigalów zachęca swoich, aby dzielnie włączyli się z nimi do walki, i tak, gdy wszystkie wojska się zjednoczyły, Litwini rozproszyli się na wszystkie strony wzdłuż drogi jak owce, a około tysiąc dwustu z nich zginęło od ostrza miecza.

(4) O ucieczce Litwinów i śmierci Suelgata. Następnie pewien z rodziny biskupa, Teodoryk Scilling, spotkawszy Suelgata, który powiedział, że zniszczy miasto Boga, widząc go siedzącego w saniach, przebija mu włócznią bok. Niektórzy z Semigalów, widząc, jak drży, głowę jego odcinają i wrzuciwszy

<sup>19</sup> W tekście łacińskim występuje estońskie słowo *malev* – „grupa wojskowa”.

na swoje sanie, które były ciężkie tylko od głów Litwinów, prowadzą do Semigalii. Wielu także ze złapanych Estończyków, gdyż i oni sami zachowywali się zawsze wrogo wobec czcicieli imienia Chrystusa, od miecza zginęło, w ten sposób chrześcijanie zjednoczeni z pogańskimi Semigalami nad obydwoma narodami, tj. Litwinami i Estończykami, odnoszą pełne zwycięstwo. Jednak po klęsce Litwinów i Estończyków Niemcy i Semigalowie skupiają się na zdobyczach obu narodów i ogromny łup, zarówno koni i bydła, jak i odzieży i broni, otrzymawszy, ocaleni z łaski Boga wszyscy wrócili do domu cali i zdrowi i chwálący Boga.

(5) Opowiadał pewien kapłan, którzy przebywał wówczas w niewoli na Litwie, imieniem Jan, że pięćdziesiąt kobiet popełniło samobójstwo przez powieszenie się z powodu śmierci mężów, ponieważ wierzą oczywiście, że z nimi wkrótce w innym życiu połączą się.

(6) Oznaczywszy więc w Niemczech wielu ludzi znakiem krzyża, w końcu pan biskup wraca na statki, zabrawszy ze sobą brata swojego Rotmara z klasztoru Seegeberg, gdyż z woli najczcigodniejszego papieża Innocentego pozwolono mu zabrać z dowolnego zgromadzenia jednego z braci, którego chciał, za swojego towarzysza. Zatem prowadzeni przez tego, który włada wiatrami i morzem, do Rygi dotarli, gdzie pan biskup przez swoich długo oczekiwany został z honorami przyjęty przez całą armię rycerzy. Był w tym oddziale wódz, hrabia Henryk ze Stumpenhusen, szlachcic Kono z Eisenburga oraz wielu innych rycerzy zarówno z Westfalii, jak i Saksonii wraz z resztą rycerzy.

(7) Zatem, skoro biskup chciał rozkrzewić pędy winorośli Pana za radą i pomocą tak wielu mężów wśród ludów, po wejściu do Dźwiny założyli w Dyjamencie klasztor cystersów mnichów, którym biskup jako opata mianował wspomnianego brata Teodoryka, i wysłał do zamku Ikescola Konrada z Meyendorpe, któremu już dawno oddał ten zamek w ramach przywileju, aby po jego ogłoszeniu Liwowie wcześniej dowiedzieli się, że biskup z rycerzami jakimiś nadchodzi, a jego samego jak synowie ojca godnie przyjęli i zgodzili się z nim, aby utrzymać pokój i dalej szerzyć wiarę.

(8) Liwowie jednak, którzy, otrzymawszy łaskę chrztu od Meinharda, pierwszego biskupa Liwonii, wyśmiewali wiarę Chrystusa i często mówili, że zmyli ją, myjąc się w Dźwinie, usłyszawszy o przybyciu biskupa z pozostałymi, do tej pory poganami, do ucieczki przygotowują się, a gdy nastał ranek, wspomnianego Konrada wołając do siebie, potajemnie próbują zabić go. Jednak przewidziana strzała chybiła, on sam, wiedząc o ich podstępie, broń swoją założywszy, ze swoimi towarzyszami do nich na zewnątrz [zamku] wychodzi

i kiedy dużo z nim rozmawiali, na każde [pytanie] także odpowiednio odpowiada. Tymczasem przybyli ci, którzy wyprzedzili biskupa. Wtedy jeszcze bardziej zaskoczeni Liwowie i do ucieczki skłonieni, szukają zbawienia na łodziach i w kierunku zamku Lenewarde z żonami swoimi i dziećmi udają się, wyraźnie tak pokazując, że nie dbają o już wcześniej przyjęty chrzest. Rycerze więc, gdy widzą, że nowo nawróceni Liwowie odstępują i niczym psy powracające do wymiocin, że zapominają o wierze, którą dawniej przyjęli, rozwścieczeni gniewem Bożym ścigają uciekających. Wkrótce jednak, gdy spostrzegają, że oni dołączają do innych pogan z Lenewarde i, opuściwszy domy, udają się z nimi do leśnych ciemności, miasto ich z użyciem ognia niszczą.

(9) O wyprawie nad Dźwinę. Następnie, gdy rycerze wracali wzdłuż Dźwiny, to Liwowie z zamku Ascrath, usłyszawszy o tych wydarzeniach, uciekają do bezpieczniejszych miejsc w lesie. Dlatego stało się [tak], że po spaleniu ich zamku z łaski Bożej, pokój z Niemcami, dawszy im zakładników, zawierają i obiecują szybko przybyć do Rygi, że tam się ochrzczą. Tak też się stało później.

(10) O zawarciu pokoju z księciem Wiaczko<sup>20</sup>. Książę Wiaczko z Kukonoyse<sup>21</sup> natomiast, słysząc, że tak silny oddział rycerzy łacińskich przybył i znajduje się w jego sąsiedztwie, to jest [w odległości] trzech mil, przez posłańca prosi biskupa o prowadzenie i po tym, jak statkiem spłynął do niego, gdy, podawszy sobie prawe ręce, pozdrawiają się, zawiera z Niemcami pewien pokój, który jednak trwał tylko przez krótki czas. Po zawarciu pokoju książę, pożegnawszy się ze wszystkimi, wesoły wrócił do domu.

(11) Po tych wydarzeniach, gdy rycerze ruszyli w drogę powrotną, w gęstwinie lasu w pobliżu drogi Memekule przez Liwów z dwóch miast, Lenewarde i Ikescoli, zostali groźnie napadnięci. Uniknąwszy bez większego niebezpieczeństwa przed tym atakiem, docierają do Ikescoli. Widząc, że zamek ten, niegdyś zbudowany przez biskupa Meynarda, był bardzo bezpieczny i opuszczony, uznali, że niegodni są takiej fortyfikacji Liwowie, którzy choć ochrzczeni, nadal byli zbuntowani i niewierzący. I z tego powodu wysłano tam Konrada, aby objął w posiadanie ten dar, zostawiają mu kilku silnych i doświadczonych w wojnie rycerzy. Chcąc zaopatrzyć go także w zboże na wypadek bitwy, pola Liwów już dojrzałe jedni sierpami, drudzy mieczami ogoławają. Nie chcąc natomiast wpaść w pułapki pogan, wszyscy uzbrojeni ścinają pola i, skoro napełnili miasto po brzegi, biskup tym faktem się

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<sup>20</sup> Książę Wiaczko (Wetseke, Vetseke) był namiestnikiem grodu Koknese, podległym księciu połockiemu.

<sup>21</sup> Koknese znajdowało się u ujścia rzeki Perse do Dźwiny.

uradował, pozostawionych tam powierza Bogu i z pozostałym wojskiem rycerzy udaje się do Rygi.

(12) O męczeństwie siedemnastu w Ikescoli. Krótko po tym rycerze, z zamku Ikescola wyszedłszy w celu zebrania plonów, zostali zabici w liczbie siedemnastu przez ukrywających się w lasach Liwów, którzy niektórych, bogom swoim ofiarując, okrutną torturą zabijają. Ani jednak tym, ani podobnym czynem wrogowie nie uciszają głosów chrześcijan za głoszenie słowa Bożego, naprawdę też spostrzegają, że dzięki szerzeniu wiary oni [chrześcijanie] codziennie, zarówno walcząc, jak i głosząc, coraz bardziej wzmacniają się.

(13) Tak jest, że wszyscy Liwowie mieszkający w pobliżu Dźwiny, z niepewnością w sercu i zmieszaniem w umyśle, dawszy zakładników, godzą się z biskupem i pozostałymi Niemcami, a ci, którzy byli dotąd poganami, przyrzekają, że się ochrzcza. Tak więc na wezwanie Chrystusa lud nieokiełznany i oddany nadmiernie zwyczajom pogańskim krok za krokiem jest prowadzony pod jarzmo Pana i, pozostawiwszy barbarzyństwa swego ciemności, prawdziwe światło, którym Chrystus jest, przez wiarę dostrzega. Dlatego słusznie pozwolono im domy i pola i to, co sprawiedliwie wydawały się utracone, odzyskać i, zbudowawszy wokół zamku Ikescola szaniec, wykluczono ich na zewnątrz i tak zarówno ci z Lenewarde, jak i z Ikescoli wracają do siebie.

(14) O wspaniałej grze, która odbyła się w Rydze. Tej zimy w centrum Rygi odbyła się najlepiej przygotowana zabawa o prorokach, aby pokazując początki wiary chrześcijańskiej, uczyć barbarzyństwo o religii. Tej sztuki treść tak nowo nawróconym, jak i poganom, którzy się pojawili, przez tłumacza najbardziej sumiennie i została wyjaśniona. Gdy jednak uzbrojeni mężowie Gedeona walczyli z Filistynami, poganie w obawie, że zostaną zabici, zaczynają uciekać, ale po cichu są zawołani z powrotem. Tak więc na krótko zamilkł kościół w pokoju uspokajającym. Ta jednak sztuka była jakby wstępem i zapowiedzią przyszłych wydarzeń. W tej zabawie były bowiem wojny, mianowicie Dawida, Gedeona i Heroda, była i nauka Starego i Nowego Testamentu, ponieważ z pewnością z powodu wielu wojen, które nastąpiły, pogaństwo musiało się nawrócić i poprzez naukę Starego i Nowego Testamentu musiało być oświecone, jak dotrzeć do prawdziwego pokoju i życia wiecznego.

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 unt<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> pene om<sup>n</sup>es ita existentes occidit<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> ira holma pcedē  
 tes<sup>ur</sup> ep<sup>iscopu</sup>m cū suis obsident<sup>ur</sup> vbi tū obse<sup>ss</sup>u<sup>m</sup> nec s<sup>ed</sup> nec equis pas  
 tū h<sup>ab</sup>ent<sup>ur</sup> sacis angustiat<sup>ur</sup> tandē ita fodientes i<sup>n</sup> diuisis fontē  
 ammonā plurimā i<sup>n</sup> obaria iuenerūt i<sup>n</sup> tū vna ita nau  
 fr<sup>on</sup>tes vescentes i<sup>n</sup> segetes lyuonū i<sup>n</sup> tendit<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e i<sup>n</sup> alijs  
 q<sup>ui</sup>ntū valent eos vāpūficant<sup>ur</sup> lyuones s<sup>ed</sup> videntes i<sup>n</sup> mal  
 p<sup>er</sup>iculū meruentes<sup>ur</sup> pace renouant<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> firmat<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> tū ep<sup>iscopu</sup> et  
 c<sup>on</sup>tes theuchonitis ad locū fuge vadit<sup>ur</sup> vbi asso i<sup>n</sup> plures a  
 ly<sup>ce</sup> grām baptisū p<sup>ro</sup>pūit<sup>ur</sup> tū tū obp<sup>ro</sup>bia lyuonū de p<sup>ro</sup>  
 paci eoz nō s<sup>ed</sup> fides quā iā m<sup>u</sup>ltociens i<sup>n</sup>is obse<sup>ss</sup>u<sup>m</sup> a lyuonib<sup>us</sup>  
 ruiant<sup>ur</sup> obse<sup>ss</sup>es ab ammonē i<sup>n</sup> caupone i<sup>n</sup> seniorib<sup>us</sup> acceptis  
 ite exigit<sup>ur</sup> v<sup>er</sup>o vocati a theuchonitis ad potatōnē om<sup>n</sup>es siml  
 uenit<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> vna i<sup>n</sup>cludunt<sup>ur</sup> p<sup>ro</sup>mo at illi timētes ne cū  
 mare i<sup>n</sup> theuchoniā deducant<sup>ur</sup> p<sup>ro</sup>p<sup>ri</sup>os suos q<sup>ui</sup> de dunac i<sup>n</sup>cho  
 reida fuerūt meliores dū ep<sup>iscopu</sup> circū t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e rep<sup>re</sup>sentat<sup>ur</sup>  
 Os ille accipit<sup>ur</sup> i<sup>n</sup> tū dūo m<sup>u</sup>ltociens i<sup>n</sup> theuchoniā vadit<sup>ur</sup> dū  
 exiit sui lyuones ep<sup>iscopu</sup> locū ciuitatis demonstrat<sup>ur</sup> quā i<sup>n</sup> pi  
 gam appellant<sup>ur</sup> l<sup>et</sup> ariga latur<sup>ur</sup> l<sup>et</sup> q<sup>ui</sup> irriguā cū h<sup>ab</sup>eat i<sup>n</sup>ferius  
 irriguū ac irriguū sup<sup>er</sup>ius irriguū i<sup>n</sup>fer<sup>ius</sup> eo q<sup>ue</sup> sit ad p<sup>ro</sup>pat  
 cū irriguā l<sup>et</sup> eo q<sup>ue</sup> ministrat<sup>ur</sup> ita peccatōnib<sup>us</sup> plenaria  
 peccatōnū remissio i<sup>n</sup> p<sup>ro</sup>ea irriguū sup<sup>er</sup>ius q<sup>ue</sup> i<sup>n</sup> regnū re  
 l<sup>et</sup> p<sup>ro</sup>fectis ministratur<sup>ur</sup> l<sup>et</sup> ariga noua fide rigata i<sup>n</sup> q<sup>ue</sup>  
 p<sup>ro</sup>eam g<sup>er</sup>es i<sup>n</sup>artum sac<sup>er</sup> baptis<sup>ma</sup>nis fonte rigat<sup>ur</sup> q<sup>ue</sup>  
 aut<sup>em</sup> sciens lyuonū maliciā i<sup>n</sup> videntes se sū auxilio p<sup>ro</sup>gnare

Riga  
 unda

ingente illa nō posse p̄fice. s̄c̄m theodici dehortenda p̄s-  
 latis expeditis munit romā. Et negotiū s̄ commissū sc̄lis  
 pape nūsticio reuelans. l̄as ab eo suuicatas. i benigne  
 p̄orectas optinuit. h̄ius i rogatu. i itauna idē verland  
 romane sedis amiles om̄ibz semigallia mercatoris cau-  
 sa frequētantibz. districte portū ip̄e s̄anathemate p̄li-  
 bet. De portu semigallie prohibito.  
 Quō s̄c̄i postea mercatores ip̄i collaudantes. eadē p̄e-  
 cū om̄um decreto s̄b iudicio ponūt. ut siq̄ illū de m̄p̄e  
 mercatoris causa ingredi p̄sumat. rebz s̄iml. i vira p̄uenit.  
 Unde postea duobz annis cūfactis post structionē cui-  
 tatis. quidā p̄missū eoz infringere volentes. i p̄mo am-  
 catonibz om̄ibz ne semigallia vadant. assidue rogant.  
 s̄ illi ap̄li mandacū nō adtendentes. i om̄ne merca-  
 torū decretū p̄uipendentes. i nauī sua dūmā descendūt.  
 Quoz ammositate ceti videntes aduocis alijs namibz  
 eos i pugnant. tandē duobz viris gubernare visibz i  
 ducere nantis exceptis i crudeli morte p̄p̄tis alij aut  
 reduere coguntur. De anno tertio.

**A**nno tertio sue consecrationis ep̄c cū p̄egnis q̄s h̄p̄e pon-  
 tificis i theuchoma obsidibz i thoma reuoc. i reg-  
 estate icampo spatiofo m̄e quē portus nantū ēē p̄o-  
 paga ciuitas edificat. Lo tēp̄e ep̄c danielē virū m̄b̄lē  
 i toradū de m̄p̄endorpe ad se colligens duobz castris  
 leneswarde. i phetola i b̄ificauit. Intim cūones au-  
 dūo aduentu ep̄c i ciuitatis i choatōnē. n̄ timore bel-  
 li. s̄ vocatōe x̄pi. p̄ pace faciēda nūcios adciuitatē

dirigunt: quia pace. Senectutibus christianis. sicut mos est paganos  
 sanguinis effusione stabilire. Lechithones et ibi sic disponit  
 te pacem querentes eodem anno pugnam veniunt. ubi statim pa  
 pace facta cum christianis amicitie fedus iniecit: qui postea hy  
 eme subsequente cum exercitu magno vnam descendentes semi  
 galliam tendunt: sed an ingressum tre audientes regem de  
 ploteche cum exercitu lechithoniam intrare: semigallus relictis  
 cum fedinardone redeunt: et in ascensu iuxta rubula duos piscato  
 res episcopi invenientes qui lupi rapaces in ipsos seunt: et vestes  
 quibus tegebant auferunt. Ne scilicet piscatores denudati si  
 ga fugerunt et in iram illam exponunt. Pegasus tunc iucare  
 intelligentes. quosdam lechithones ad huc in pugna exultantes capiunt  
 et eo usque in vinctis detinent. donec piscatoribus ablata resti  
 tui.

**P**rimo quoque sue ordina. De anno quarto. Transiit  
 trans paucos pegasus murum se pro domo domini ponentibus  
 civitas constructa: et episcopus cum ceteris pegasus in cheuchomam  
 proficiscitur. Post cuius discessum fuit ei eugelbus homo religio  
 sus de novo monasterio vocatus: pegasus cum primis viri tui  
 bz et eo cooperante. qui dat. ubi evangelizantibus christi nome  
 dilatare cepit in gentibus: cum fuit theodico de choreida. et  
 alabrando et ceteris fratribus in hyuonia sbradigione vniuersibus  
 tui vicariis et omnibus approbantes. in longo tractato tempe  
 fides de conventu viri virgis marie in puga ipsum in ipsam  
 eligunt: quia ex parte orbe de cenobio sigebatū bone me  
 more theynardus primus hyuoni episcopus est electus. qui eos in  
 mare volens. ducenti ipsorum in parrochia thestola primus in  
 tuat: quem cum ducenti regularium et episcopalem sedem postea

De pmo  
 conventu  
 pposito co  
 ru

Abbas episcopus de yhestola unquam itis sue secretis amicus  
 instituit: et cathedram episcopalem cum tota hyomma beatus  
 di. gestis omarie honori deputavit. Namque ipse ostendit  
 in monachorum ore digne asseruit: quod claustrum digne  
 more sancti Nicolai appellavit: cui cenobio consuevit  
 suum in evangelio fratrem theoditum de chorepiscopo abbas de

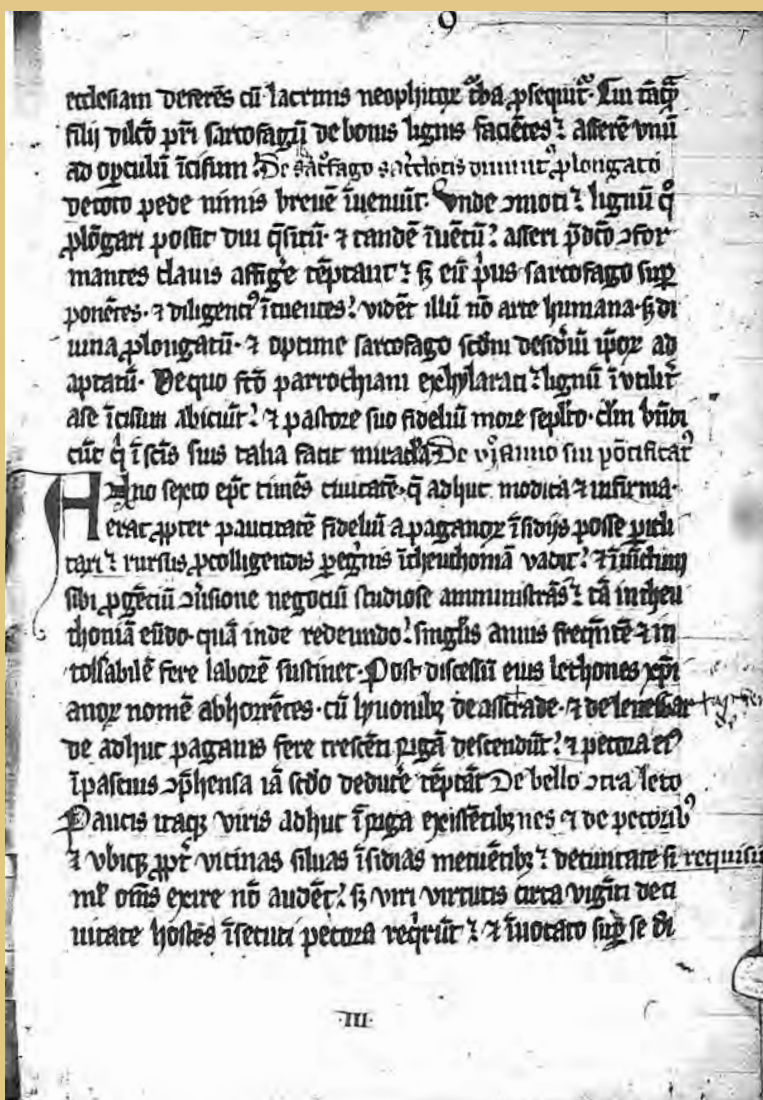
**E**odem de institutione fratrum milicie. Cronica  
 tempore guidens idem frater theoditus pater hyomma  
 multitudinem paganorum non posse resistere moribus: et ad  
 multiplicandum numerum fidelium: et ad servandam fidem et  
 ceteram fratres quosdam milicie christi instituit: quibus papa in  
 notent regiam exemplariorum misit: et signum fidei fere  
 dū dedit: filii gladii et crucis: et obedientia sui christi et man-  
 davit. Deinde semigalli pariter cum hyommibus si hunc col-  
 liam holme cum tota villa simul exierunt: et castra duo in  
 pugnantibus: et cape non valentes recedunt. Deus autem volens  
 novellam plantationem fidei christiane propagare: et ei pacem  
 ubique firmare. De pace facta cum semigallis primo  
 post eandem expeditionem semigallos ipsos per pacem facienda  
 pignora mittit: et ita pace more gentium solidata eos qui  
 antea fuerant hostes rheuthomorum et hyommum redditur ami-  
 ci. Cronica  
**A**nno quinto sui. De anno quinto. Cronica  
 theobaldus archiepus rheuthoma rediens episcopus viros nobiles  
 arnoldum de gepiendorpe. Suardum de schusen theoditum  
 cum fratre suo cum pluribus honestis viris: et militibus secum  
 adduxit: cum quibus per spem et aduersionem per totum non dormiens  
 fluctuanti pelago se amant: et perniciem hinc regni da

cū aggregiens paganos estones de oſilia iſula? cū ſedeam  
nauib; iueit. Et reuert eccleſia abſta. homib; occiſis. i q̄bā  
capitans eam vaſtauant? cāpanas i res eccleſie aſporta  
uerunt? ſicut tam etones quā curones pagani i regno da  
cie. i ſuecie hacten? ſate cōſueuant. ſi manē pegni clāpna  
xpianoz volentes vltari? ſi pagani agnoſceres q̄d lyuonia  
pgeat? timētes valde pacem ſe cū rigētib; feciſſe mētū ſi  
lib; oī credent xpiani? tūc q̄d man? eoz euacerūt. ſi doſi  
ſuis nulla eis lura reſponderēt. Irunde ſaq̄ q̄ parat erat  
eis poſtea iudic. De oſſicu pegrinor cū etonib; i mari.  
ſam pegni clo eos ducere ſam i columes vñbi pueē  
res? Atuib; i hoſpitiib; ibidē exiſtentib; lete ſuſcipiūt. Poſt  
dies aliq̄ etones tū vñuſa rapina ſua adueniūt? quo  
pegni velificare vidētes ciues i mercatores i cuſar? eo q̄  
xpiani nō ſi inimicos cū pace portū ſuū cūſtre p̄ſentant  
lib; diſſimulantib; i magis pacis ſecuritate cū eis gaude  
volentib;. pegni ep̄m ſuū adeūt. i cū eis pugnantib; h  
cēa poſtulant. Ep̄c itaq; volūtate illoz iſtelligēs eos ap  
poſito murtur reuotare? tū q̄ poſſibile erat eos abho  
rib; i pugna piclari? tū q̄ eccleſia iſtētib; poſita q̄ ad  
uentū ip̄oz poſtulat deſectū illoz ū poſſat recupare  
ſi aut oportune ip̄ortune ūtaures. i de di muſſedia nō  
diſſidētes? Ammū ſuū appoſito nolūt reflecte nullam  
iue etones paganos. i lyuones diſſerēciā affirmātes?  
rogant vt petitiōis eoz adiūtes ſi p p̄tōis eoz ip̄is dig  
netur i iuge. Vidēs ep̄c ip̄oz ſtāciā? arbitur magis  
expedire cū obediā pugnā ūre. cū melior ſit obediā

quā victima? volūtatē eorū satisfaciēs. ut cū pagani vultū in  
 flō agrediant. ī remissionē eis pccatō. sicut penerāt ī iugāt. vult  
 pegni audacter dūmicare pccatō nōie cōtendūt? et armis suis  
 poterūt accinchi? naues cū quibz erāt iuri cū festinatibz sūt  
 dū etiones exadūsa pte ītelligēt. octo pnatias ab alijs ali  
 cūculi remotis putāt se ī medio pegnos venientes posse  
 delūde. ita naues intra se sparatās cape. Theuchonici mag  
 cū spēru irruētēs ī eos. piraticas duas ad etiones īgūmūt.  
 ī quibz sexaginta viros occis. naues cāpans. īvūmētis facit  
 dotalibz. et captiuis xpīams onare. ad ciuitatē vylbu debu  
 cūm. Tercia pnatia quā ex theuchonici fūms viribz ī  
 liens? vltz manu gladiū tenet enaginatū. et hīc inde p  
 tuciens. duos ac viginti echosibz solus pstat. Inq. cede  
 vltia vires colabozante? velū ab octo viros. q. adhuc erāt sup  
 stōres ī alci dūc. et sic vltio velū exollēt. idem homo cap  
 tiuis deducit. et postea nauibz īvūū tollēs occidit. et illa  
 nauis ppter pauorātē hominū igne aburit. Hys itaqz p de  
 actis glōrē dō grās referūt. īmīe caponis ē fīc theodito ad sū  
 et ēp. cū rebus hōīes q. pagani dāns abulāt. mī pōtīfīcē  
 venabili dño andree lūdoenī archiepō remittit. Cū pe  
 gni vylbu dūc. morari nolentes ut īcūpū pagāt. et rī  
 gā vltz pueniūt. De qz aduentu cines. et alij ī piga mo  
 rantes valde gauī obuiā eis exēūt. et cū reliquis tam  
 epm. quā omīem comitatū ipsius honorifice suscipiūt. pōt  
 hēc fīc theoditus cū pegrinus q. panniū illū ī lyuonia sō  
 crūte sua dō mītrant. et theuchoniā abiens. q. dā ī  
 uonē caponē nōie. q. q. rex et senior lyuoniū de chorepā  
 pegni omīs pcollata et victorīa cōpōtēti

senū assumit: et magna pre theudhione pluita: tandē eū po-  
 mā duxit: et aplico exhibet. Quē aplicus benignissime recipi-  
 ens deosclatū: et de statu gentiū circa lyuoniā existētū in-  
 ra p̄rens: p̄cōsione gens lyuonice dō plimū agtulatū  
 Transactis dieb; aliquis idē venabilis p̄mōccū p̄dicto  
 cauponi dona sua videt; centū aures porrigit: et theudho-  
 niā redire volenti magno caritatis affectū valedictēs b̄ndi-  
 cit: et bibliotecā b̄i gregoriū p̄ manu sc̄ptā ep̄o lyuoniensi  
 p̄fēm theodiciū mittit. De expeditōne regis de ploche  
**E**adē citate rex de ploche cū exercitū lyuoniā i rhecola  
 expulso inētis castrū yhetolē i pugnar: cū lyuones tū  
 quā hōies iermes repugnare n̄ audentes: p̄finit si ei pe-  
 cuniā daturus. Quā rex acceptās: cessat ab obsidīe. Por-  
 ro theudhoniū quidā intm mūi ab ep̄o cū balistis et armis  
 castrū holme p̄occupant: et regē veniente: et ip̄m castrū ex-  
 pugnare volenti equos quā plures vniant: et euchenos  
 p̄ter sagittas dūnā mīlire n̄ audētis fugāt. Rex autē de  
 Gerake cū lechoniūz p̄gā p̄cedēs ip̄ascuis perora ciuiū ra-  
 pū: duos sac̄dotes iohēm de vechre: et volchardū de har-  
 penstede iuxta morē antiquū siluā cū p̄gnis succubētē  
 caput: et theodiciū brudegame cū ciuib; eū i sequitē occidit.  
**E**odem de captiuitate sac̄dotū: et petor ablatōe a rege  
 tēpe: quidā monach; nocte sistit i officio sac̄dotali curā  
 atq; sibi omītam i parrochia holme deuotiū pagit:  
 et cū suicio die ac nocte p̄sistēs: sue bone dīlatōis exēplo  
 lyuones i buit. Tandē post mutū labōrē dō se h̄te tūmū  
 vite sue i ponere mouit: cū corpūcūm morē fidelū ad  
 wistwalde cū letonib;

Rex  
 de Gerake  
 cum  
 lechoniis  
 pugnauit



Faksimile III Księgi Cronica Livoniae z Codex Zamoscianus  
 (przechowywanego w Bibliotece Narodowej w Warszawie).

omnipotēis angelis milibz aduenientibz decurritate uix mōtē  
 antiquū cū pagans pugna iēit. ⁊ bello inuālescere eo usq  
 phant. donec sem abūitē separant. lyuones ⁊ quidā na  
 ingio dūā descendūt. ut i absentia poli ciuitatē exaltata  
 pte igrediant. ⁊ dñs suos ptegrē. quidā de ciuitate ob  
 mā eis cū sagittis egredūt. ⁊ ita i fugā vctūtur. His ita  
 qz gentis lechones cū lyuonibz tū tantū eqs cuius optē  
 tis vntedūt. ⁊ theuthonici vmanimes pconseruātōe ho  
 minū ⁊ recuperātōe petqz dñm collaudantes ad ciuitatē  
 leu reuertūt. De reditu pegnōz quidā i theuthonā ⁊ vāriū  
**P**ost hec hyeme itante milites qdā. Arnold⁹ videt denū m  
 pseudope ⁊ dñary⁹ de sehuseu. ⁊ ceti qdā q tē respē  
 ram scō ibi remansant. i theuthonā redire volentes.  
 paratis ad itē necessarijs. nauū suā an ⁊ amicitie bte vgi  
 nis oīe exponūt. ⁊ ipsi dūā exercitibz dō sic agente  
 cū tū nauibz pegnos alios an portū hnt obuios in hys  
 nauibz fē theodicius ⁊ caupo apoma redeuntes. pūges  
 itina positis aduētū suū letificāt. s; q magis auctē  
 leticia pūangr. eo ampli⁹ dñk ⁊ fundit mltitudo pa  
 gangr. flūres siqē pōt mī fluctus maris cū saepis hys  
 vni laborantes. tandē ad ptes estlandie pueniūt. qū  
 res ⁊ vniā estones auferre volentes. cū deē pyranis  
 ⁊ duodetū alijs nauibz i eos inuehūnt. Dō autē suos  
 pseruant. nichil adūstrans. l' dolens ab hostibz patiū

uno vna pyratica xpianis offensa. qda paganor occi-  
 dunt. qda mirabiliter in mari ingit. illam pyraticam vno  
 ferro rapientes ad se the conant. s. pagani magis in  
 mari periclitari. quam a christianis occidi volentes de nauim  
 singillatim exiliunt. et illis in medio mortis occubentibus. alie  
 naues recedentes euadunt. Itz enim opt. ds elcos suos in va-  
 rris tabulatis posuit. q. aurum igne pbare n. desinat.  
 nunq. cu omo desit. imo ex eis malis eos eripies. ma-  
 iore hostibz eoz timore igit. inde pcedetes in laboribz plu-  
 rumis. sapiunt in fame et sit. et frigore multos dies deduce-  
 res. cu paucissima cibaria hrent. quicquid nauis  
 gos pcanos illictores stantes ad se colligunt. cu qbz miscent  
 agentes cibaria sua sumunt. Icu h. solu superet. ut  
 ia fame deficiunt. ecce q. visitauit eos oriens. exal-  
 to. Maus. u. magna mercator adueiens. q. ciba-  
 ria. ta dando eis. qua vendendo refecit. fame  
 licos. et saturati sunt. Pcedetes au. Gussim. u. adhuc  
 periclitum incidunt. Na tepestas eoz in vicinissimos scopulos impulit.  
 int. q. et de qbz magno timore et difficultate veientes in  
 gila andree portu. Wylna attingunt. et inde sparsim  
 malis. varie finibz velificantes appropinquunt. No valentes  
 aut p. gelu. q. inmensu erat nauim lictori applicare.  
 eam in glacie relinquunt. et p. dacia in theuthonia vadunt.  
 rebz suis secuti amant. De bello cu letonibz in rodopyse.

**I**nno septimo circa quadragesimā quā magis ille gētes  
 fines exatē solent expeditōnes: lethones pene duo mi-  
 na equū viroz s̄ estones mouent ī expeditōne: et ipsi sec-  
 undū descendētibz et ciuitatē tūssētibz: quā exipis ho-  
 mines et pōtes suelgate nōie cū suis sodalibz ad ciuita-  
 tē diuit: cū int alios viros decurrate. cū pace obuiā  
 exeunt: vñ exanibz nōie m̄tin. ad bibendū potū  
 mellitū p̄b. De exanibz: exicitū p̄eunt ī seq. et sonos  
 suos sic alloq̄. Nōne theuthomitoz nob̄ medonē p̄ben-  
 cū trepidancū man. viditis: aduētū quē n̄m fama  
 volante agnouānt: et iō timore tūssē. adhuc epidare  
 n̄ cessant. Ad p̄sens ḡ exadū ciuitatis ipi d̄stem: s̄  
 si p̄tes ad quas trūdū vicin. hoibz capris et occis  
 villa ipoz eūrent. Esit enī puluis ciuitatis illi. pu-  
 gillo ipi n̄rī sufficet. Iḡ post dies ū mltos audies  
 quāda. westhardus nōie maior natu de semigallia  
 lethoni. expeditōne cū festinatōe pigā vēiens theu-  
 thomitos p̄monendo alloq̄: eo q̄ hostes fines ipoz  
 pacifice tūssēant: ne forte postq̄ finū loci didicerint.  
 tūssē ciuitatē cū habitatoribz suis destruat. Illi aut  
 aū reditū est ipi suoz paucitatē p̄hari nolentibz. idē  
 westhardus tāquā vir bellicosus. ad pugnā alios eoz  
 iūat: et p̄ntes se illis ī auxilū semigallos quos p̄-  
 res adducturū: rogat s̄ salte aliq̄s s̄ vari viros ut

tas in bello qui exercitū sciunt regē. et ad pugnam īfāre. Theutonici  
 et audientes. stantia animi ipsius. dicit se petitiōe sue velle acce  
 dere: ita dicitur. si de quibus causis semigallie obade vult que ele  
 gunt eis exhibere voluit. De tali responsō plurimū explanat.  
 ad finos cū gaudio reuē. et amicus secū obidib; denotans ex  
 citū colligit sufficientē. Et adducto: obides tōmūt īmanis  
 theutonicoz: et ita satis se exhibentes fideles illos auxilium fi  
 mul et amicitia sequunt. Nam familia epī cū frīb; milicie  
 xpī et comad miles de phescola. cū paucis alijs q̄ ab eis potat  
 ad exercitū foras exeūt. et ī loco emmētū cū semigallis redit  
 lechoniū exprant. Mittunt itēm nūci; theoreydā ydonei  
 qui diligēt hostiū viam explorare valeant et renūciare p̄  
 oēs et duce semigalloz. de singlis domib; īpuga victualia col  
 ligens: exercitū qui de longinquo veniat īspiciat. Rediūt  
 aut lechones tū ī finis captiuis. et īenarrabili p̄da foz et  
 equoz: post ītritu hyūie paulatim de villa ad villam  
 fientes. tandē ad castrū cauponis declināt. et p̄ci  
 uonū aduenies apud eos nocte q̄sūt. Legati aut theu  
 tonicoz. et semigalloz discece rēntū eoz p̄ciētari exercitū  
 suo veniunt. et alia die nūci; ali; p̄ores īsequūt. q̄ lecho  
 nes p̄cipua rodempoy. vbi phescola rebiat velle re  
 dē. et hīs rōmonib; auditis. multū malicia lechone  
 et tōmūtū quib; ad pugnam parat. bellum ē. et hīs  
 nes tū tōmūtū et captiuis

qui millenarii supabant nūmer exercitū suū diuidūt. ī dūā  
 ptes: 3 ī medio captiuos sctinētes. ppter nūmā pfunditatem  
 nūis p viam tū viam gōunt singli: s; mox vt pmi totū  
 vestigia pcedentiū repūt. īndias suspicantes sctinūt: 3 ita post  
 m cū captiuos pmos īsequi: ī vnū colligūt cuneū. Quorū  
 mltitudinem semigalli videntes plures exipis tremefacti  
 e pugnē nō audentes: ad tuctia loca diūte qrit. Constan-  
 tes ī quidā excheurhonicis contradiū aggrōūt milite. Itā  
 despectantes: ut ipi pmi cū hostibz xpi pū īeant assentes  
 magis expedire glōse mortē p xpo sūre. quā ad confusionē  
 gentis sue īhoneste fugam īre. Q' more militari qmā īeq  
 quā īre p bñ locatus cū paucos q aderāt cheurhonicis. lecho-  
 nes aggrōūt: s; ipi nūcō armati istoz abhorretes. dō ī  
 timorē īmudente ab eis exoi pte declināt. Cernēs itaq; se  
 migallor dux lechones de di nūa ita cūctos: hortatur  
 suos viriliter cū illis pū cūctē: 3 ita exercitū ī vnū col-  
 lecto. lechones vndiq; pūā tamē ones vifugunt: 3 exes  
 citatē mille viciū ī ore gladij psterant. De fuga letomii  
**I**uēiens aut quidā ī morte Suelgaren  
 de familia epi cheurhonicis dilling Suellegaren q se  
 ciuitate di sctinūt vīat: qe ī vehicō sedentē videt.  
 lancea letora sua pforat. Hūc semigallor quidā pahn-  
 tate videntes caput ei abscidit: 3 vehicō īmā ī p-  
 nētes. q solo capibus lechoni

onerantur. in senugalliam ducit. Plures q̄ de Estonibz cap-  
 tius cū i ipsi cētur innumeras exētes oī tempe ita xē  
 in nōis cultores ī gladio occiderūt. ita xēam senugallis  
 pagani adiūctis deūq; p̄lo lethoni videlz Estoni.  
 cheuthonia cū senugallis plenā optinet victoriā. p̄t post  
 cedem lethoni Estoni. cheuthonia cū senugallis ad spo-  
 lia gr̄tis vtrūq; reuertit. ita finitā p̄dā tā in cōp̄s i peto-  
 ribz. tam ī nestibz. quā in arimis accipientes. p̄ di gr̄am cō-  
 seruati oīs ad p̄p̄a redeūt sanū i īcolumēs. ita dūm bndicē-  
 tes. p̄stibat sacerdos quidā q̄ cūc i lethonia captiū teneba  
 ē solis nōie qd mulieres quīq̄ginta se obmorte viroz susce-  
 dio mīsererūt. nimirū cū crebant se cū illis morē i alia vi-  
 ta victuros. Signatis itaq; p̄cheuthoniā mltis hoībus  
 signo crucis tandē dñs ep̄c adrianes reuertit. assūpto scđi  
 fr̄e suo rothmario de claustris p̄gebge eo q̄ auctoritate  
 p̄ssimī ap̄lica innocēti. ei donatū dē q̄sibz cenobio vni  
 de fr̄ibz. quē vellz sociū laboris assūme. p̄t eo dūcēte q̄  
 impat ventis i mari pagani p̄uētū est. vbi dñs ep̄c  
 alius diu deſidatus cū oīm militia p̄gnoz honorifice  
 susceptus ē. Erat iteade acie dux belli comes hēnois  
 de stūpenhusen. cono de ysenborch nobilis homo. ita  
 ly tam de ysenfaha quā de saxonia milites qm̄ plēs  
 cū cetis p̄gnis. Volens ḡ ep̄c tantoz victoz. alio i  
 amelio vmeē dñi palmites extendē ī gr̄tibz post īm̄

dunc claustrū cōstitūcū monachoz locauerūt ī dūnenūde?  
q̄bz ēst abbem p̄fector amedcū frēm theodici? multiq; ad  
castrū yhescola conradū de meyzendorpe cui iā dubiū cas-  
trū idem ī bñficio stulār? ut eo mūtate lyuones ep̄m  
cū p̄gus q̄busdā veniurū p̄stauerūt. q̄ ip̄m tāquā filij  
p̄rem benignē recipiant? cū quo disponāt de pace ī se  
habenda? ī fide vltius ap̄aganda. lyuones q̄ q̄ post ar-  
eptam baymū grām ap̄mo lyuonū antistite op̄ernar-  
do fidem xp̄i irridebant. ī hanc ī diuina se lauātes de-  
lere sepe dicebant? audio ep̄i ascensū cū cr̄is adhuc pa-  
gans ad fugam se p̄parant? ī mane sc̄o contrandū p̄no-  
minatū ad se vocantes occide moluit occide. Sed q̄ sc̄a  
sagitta p̄uicta min? ferit? īpe volū sciens eoz armis su-  
iducis cū comitib; suis ad eos foras eḡit? q̄ illis cū eo  
m̄lta cōfabulanti; ad singla q̄q; caturis p̄petet respōdē.  
Intim quidā ep̄m p̄cedentes inueniūt? unde magis  
obstupescē lyuones? ī fugam vñ bñficio nauclārū se  
mūtāt? ī versis castrū lenewārde cū v̄corib; suis ī p̄-  
uulis ascendit? satis hoc euidentē demōstrātes? q̄ lap-  
tismū iam p̄dem susceptū min? curauerūt. P̄grini  
itāq; dū vident neophytos lyuones ī tū exhortitate  
ī tamq̄m canes ad vomitū redire eo q̄ fide olim sus-  
cepte obliuiscant? zelo vñ accensi īsequūt fugientes.  
De expedite apud dūnam. s̄q; mox ut cōspiciunt

eos se alijs pagans de leneworde misisse? relictos villis  
 situarii latebras cū ipso adisse? verū ipse adhibi  
 igne succendit. Deinde pegnis ascendentijs secus  
 nam: ecce hyuones de castro ascrath rem gestā audientes  
 diuersit ad tutia loca nemoris? unde scū est ut eorū  
 castro p̄ di grām ejecto? pacē cū theuthonius dano ob  
 fidibus ieiuit? et breui se pagani venire? et baptizari  
 p̄mittit. Quid et postea ita scū est. De pace ita cū re

**A**rdiens aut rex verche de lukonof se ex verche  
 pegnos latius itam valida manu venire? et sibi  
 vicinos ēē ad tā videh miliana? p̄mittit peti ab  
 ep̄o ducatu? et ita nauigio descendēs ad ipm? cū dan  
 hinc inde de p̄tris saturassent se. pacem ibidē firmam  
 cū theuthonius fecit? et tū postea p̄uo tempore stetit.  
 Pace scā valedicens omibz? let⁹ ad sua reuēsus est. Ipse  
 itaqz pactis redeūtes pegni p̄uā suā in memorie denas  
 fino iux̄ viam memetulle aduax verbi hyuombz  
 lenowarde et yhestole Guntine iustant? qz iustitiam  
 sū magno p̄clo euadentes yhestolam pueniūt. Qm̄  
 urbem firmissimā ēnentes et vacuā quā ab ep̄o  
 meynardo edificatam? vñ est eis idignos ēē tāta  
 munitione hyuones. q̄ licet  
 baptizati tamē ab ip̄  
 rebelles erant

et creduli? et ob hanc causam multos Conradus ibi  
 si tunc emere possessionem ei ex pignus reliquit quod  
 viros fortes et ad bella paratos Instrumeto et ei pignus  
 volentes? et paratione pugne segetes lyuonum iam matras  
 quod falciis quidam gladiis succidit. Non valentes autem fre  
 quentes magnas et fidias sustine armati omnes inueniunt se  
 getes et completa verbe usque ad summum dominus episcopus de talis  
 factio exchylarat? ibi remanentes do mnebat? et cum reliqua  
 pignus militia pignus descendit. De mtrio. xvij. ij  
 P<sup>ost</sup> hec breui tunc factio tempore pignus de castro letcolan  
 yhescola exchylares pcolligenda anona alyuonibus et si  
 diantibus et filius occisi sunt decem et septem ex eis? et quod  
 vix suis imolantes? crudeli marturio iteterunt. flet tunc  
 et hys familia facientes nunti? a pccatone ubi in xpi  
 angz obstruunt voces? versa et pccatone fidi et pccatone  
 eos cotidie tam phando. quia pccatone magis ac  
 magis et valeste. Hinc quod e alio et alii lyuones omnes  
 circa tunc habitantes. et mtrio et fidi? datus obadibus dno  
 episcopo et ceteris theuchonitis retosilant? et quod ad huc ex  
 ipso pagani fuerunt? baptizari se pollicent. Sic ergo et  
 volante gens et domita. et paganorum riuus nimis de  
 vira pederentiam adingit  
 cum ducit? et relictis  
 militans fuit

reuerbis verā lucē qui xp̄c ē p̄ndem īueat. Vnde si ī m̄o  
villas ⁊ agros ⁊ que iuste amisse videbant rehabe p̄m̄t  
tūt? ⁊ c̄structa īp̄ villam p̄hestolam m̄m̄de penit ex  
cludūt? ⁊ tam illi de lenowarde quā de p̄hestola ad p̄p̄ re  
uerantur. De ludo magno qui fuit in paga.

**A**dem hyeme s̄s est ludus p̄phaz ordinatissim⁹ ī me  
dia paga? ut fidei xp̄iane rudm̄ta gētilitas fide m̄  
c̄t oculata. Cui⁹ ludi m̄tia tam neophytis quā paga  
nis qui adierant? p̄ m̄p̄tem diligētissime exponebatur.  
Ubi autē armati gedemonis cū phylitens pugnavāt? pa  
gani timētes occidi fugē ceperūt? si caute sūt reuocati.  
Sic ḡ ad modicū temp⁹ siluit ecclesia? ī pace q̄stendo. Et  
te autē ludus? q̄ p̄ludū ⁊ p̄sagū erat futurorū. Nam  
teodem ludo erant bella v̄pore dauid gedemonis. he  
rodus erat ⁊ doct̄na vetis ⁊ noui testamēti? q̄ m̄m̄rū  
p̄bella pl̄ma q̄ seq̄r̄ cūrenda erat gētilitas ⁊ p̄dot  
nā vetis ac noui testamēti erat īstruenda? q̄l̄r adue  
rū? pacificū ⁊ ad uitā p̄ueiat et̄nam. De anno.

**A**nno octauo id̄o ante. volens d̄s ep̄s octauo.  
Adipisci amicitiam ⁊ familiaritatē volodemari re  
gis de p̄loche. quā antecessor suo oeynaroo exhibuit  
ep̄s. d̄p̄tū cū armatura p̄ abbate theoditū ei tū  
m̄ssit. Vt alatrūcis ledyonū ī uia spohat? t̄p̄e cū sū  
oia q̄ fetū tulerat amittit? corpe tū sanū ⁊ iocūme



# ESSAY WRITING



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## The Mathura School of Art: Insight into Ancient Indian Culture



Fig. 1. Amohassi Bodhisattva, Mathura

Early in the Common Era, in the northern Indian province of Mathura, there thrived an old school of sculpture known as the Mathura School of Art. It is renowned for its unique style and creative accomplishments and is regarded as one of the most significant and influential schools of art in Indian history. The Mathura School of Art was influential in the growth of Indian sculpture, and its influence may still be seen in contemporary art.

### Origins and Development

The Mathura School of Art is believed to have originated in the 2nd century BCE, during the Shunga dynasty. During this time, the Mathura region – which is now part of the state of Uttar Pradesh – was a significant hub for trade and commerce, acting as a nexus for the exchange of concepts, cultural practices, and artistic forms. Mathura consequently became a mingling pot of different artistic influences, encompassing Central Asian, Greek, and Persian styles.

Indian elements are uniquely portrayed in the art of the Mathura School. The sculptures produced by the school are known for their naturalistic depiction of human figures, intricate detailing, and emotional expressiveness. The Mathura School's painters were proficient in a wide range of mediums, including modelling, casting, and carving, and their creations frequently included ornate draperies and embellishments.

The use of red sandstone as a sculpture material was one of the major innovations of the Mathura School of Art. The abundance of this material in the area made it possible for artists to produce highly accurate and detailed large-scale freestanding sculptures. The red sandstone used by the Mathura School of Art had a warm, lustrous quality that gave their sculptures a distinctive appearance.

## Themes and Iconography

The sculptures produced by the Mathura School of Art often depicted scenes from Hindu mythology, as well as Buddhist and Jain themes. The school gained notoriety for its depictions of the Buddha's life as well as those of other Hindu deities, including Durga, Shiva, and Vishnu. The artists of the Mathura School were adept at capturing the essence of these divine figures, infusing their sculptures with a sense of spirituality and grace.

The representation of feminine figures, such as apsaras (heavenly dancers) and yakshis (celestial nymphs), is another significant motif in Mathura School sculpture. These sculptures are well known for their sensual elegance and graceful stances, which showcase the painters' command of form and anatomy. Additionally, the Mathura School of Art created several images of monarchs and nobles that functioned as status and authority markers.

Apart from depicting religious and mythical subjects, the Mathura School of Art also created several secular sculptures featuring scenes from daily life, animals, and the natural world.

These works provide valuable insights into the social and cultural life of ancient India, and showcase the artists' skill in capturing the nuances of human emotion and experience.

## Influence and Legacy

The Mathura School of Art had a profound influence on the development of Indian sculpture, and its legacy can be seen in the work of later schools, such as the Gupta School and the Gandhara School. The naturalistic style and emotional expressiveness of Mathura School sculpture set a new standard for artistic realism in Indian art, and inspired generations of artists to explore new techniques and themes.

The Mathura School of Art also played a role in the spread of Buddhism throughout India and Asia. The school's sculptures of the Buddha and other Buddhist figures helped to popularize the religion and make its teachings accessible to a wider audience. The Mathura School's emphasis

on compassion, forgiveness, and enlightenment resonated with people from all walks of life, and continues to inspire Buddhist practitioners to this day.

## Conclusion

The artistic prowess of ancient Indian artists, who successfully maintained the artistic integrity and style of India, is demonstrated by the Mathura School of Art. In addition to being exquisite works of art, the sculptures at the school provide glimpses into the social and spiritual lives of ancient India. We can appreciate the long-lasting legacy of the Indian subcontinent's artistic traditions and have a fuller appreciation of its rich and diverse cultural heritage by studying the art of the Mathura School.

## List of figures

Fig. 1. Amohassi Bodhisattva, Mathura, end of 1st century CE. Government Museum, Mathura. Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amohaasi\\_Bodhisattva,\\_Mathura.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amohaasi_Bodhisattva,_Mathura.jpg) (accessed 23 July 2025)

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## Il Piazzale delle Corporazioni ad Ostia Antica

L'area archeologica di Ostia Antica è la più importante d'Europa e probabilmente del mondo, sia per estensione che per le sue caratteristiche scientifiche. A differenza di Pompei, cancellata nel 79 d.C. dall'eruzione del Vesuvio insieme alle più raffinate città dell'area vesuviana, ha un arco cronologico molto lungo ben documentato almeno fino al V secolo d.C. Come ben documentato dai recenti rinvenimenti del prof. Massimiliano David con il progetto "Ostia Marittima".

Fondata secondo le fonti (Livio I, 33, 9 e IV, 30, 5-6) nella seconda metà del VII secolo a.C. dal re Anco Marcio per lo sfruttamento del sale e come presidio militare, prima colonia romana, non conserva, a tutt'oggi, nessun resto ascrivibile al periodo regio. Molte le ipotesi avanzate, fra cui la suggestiva tesi di J. Carcopino che qui fosse un centro di culto federale, attorno ad un tempio di Vulcano. Infatti ricollegandomi a quest'ultima tesi a mio avviso la fondazione regia probabilmente fu un semplice agglomerato di capanne simile a quelle di Romolo sul Palatino. Doveva trovarsi in prossimità dell'odierna area sacra di Ercole, nel cui ambito sono conservate testimonianze del II-I secolo a.C. se non precedenti. Ercole e Vulcano erano le principali divinità dei primi tempi di Ostia ed il luogo era reso ancora più sacro da una fonte dell'Acqua Salvia e dalla sua posizione alla fine di via della Foce. Questo settore della città posto fuori dalle mura del *castrum* (accampamento), mantenne fino ad età tarda (restauro di Eugenio imperatore 392-394 a.C.) una grande importanza per la presenza, infatti, del culto oracolare di Ercole testimoniato anche dal rilievo che descrive il prodigioso rinvenimento di una statua di questo dio intrappolato nelle reti dei pescatori. Interessante la sua dedica che sottolinea l'avverarsi della profezia e la conseguente vittoria: *C. Fulvius Salvis haruspex d(onum) d(edit)*. Due considerazioni vengono spontanee, la prima è nell'onomastica del dedicante che sembra originarsi dallo stesso etimo dell'*Acqua Salvia* e la definizione della carica rivestita che è quella di aruspice, dunque sacerdote incaricato di leggere le viscere degli animali, secondo l'antica pratica sacerdotale etrusca dell'aruspicina. Dunque non è il generale a fare

la dedica e il termine aruspice pare qui utilizzato con altre finalità, testimoniando comunque l'antichità dell'area. Del resto via della Foce è un'arteria che esula chiaramente dal piano regolare della città (ve ne sono altre, ma non così evidenti) provando la sua preesistenza in relazione non solo allo sfruttamento delle saline, ma anche al valore sacrale attribuito alla foce del fiume dove era probabilmente il Santuario di Vulcano. Qualunque resto avesse rivestito nell'antichità romana un carattere sacro veniva mantenuto nella sua originaria posizione, anche a costo di stravolgere il piano urbanistico. Il tracciato di questa strada venne mantenuto, purtroppo non rimane traccia del tempio (non si dispera un giorno di ritrovarlo) e dell'abitato monarchico che a differenza delle capanne palatine, non rivestendo la stessa autorità religiosa, venne, probabilmente, ricoperto dalle costruzioni successive. Il ricordo della sua importanza e del collegamento con il santuario federale è nell'aver scelto proprio questa zona per la dedica ad un santuario di Ercole e un'ara con la dedica all'*Aqua Salvia* è stata riutilizzata come altare nel Mitreo della Casa di Diana.

Nel II secolo d.C. Traiano, per opera di Apollodoro di Damasco, costruì il porto più importante del Mediterraneo (come un *kothon* fenicio interno), dopo Alessandria d'Egitto. La città portuale di *Portus* con il suo scalo, ancora oggi visitabile, comprese anche i resti del precedente voluto dall'imperatore Claudio e inaugurato da Nerone. Purtroppo non fu costruito da quest'ultimo geniale imperatore che avrebbe, certamente, ideato un approdo migliore e più congeniale a quel tratto di mare.

In ogni caso le merci dovevano, comunque, raggiungere Ostia e risalire con il sistema dell'alaggio (la *caudicaria* era trainata da una coppia di buoi) fino al sito romano dell'*Emporium* sito dov'è oggi il ponte Testaccio.

Ovviamente prima di risalire il fiume veniva fatto il trasbordo delle merci dalle imbarcazioni più grandi alle chiatte (*caudicarie*) che avrebbero risalito il Tevere. Ciò è rappresentato proprio in uno dei mosaici di una delle *stationes* del Piazzale delle Corporazioni.

Il Piazzale è il simbolo di quello che divenne Ostia nell'Impero romano. In questa città di circa 50.000/ 60.000 abitanti (Roma ne contava all'incirca un milione alla fine del I secolo a.C.) convergevano genti da tutte le regioni dell'Impero sia per commerci e transazioni che come alloggio temporaneo per poi proseguire verso la capitale.

Secondo le prescrizioni del trattato di *Vitruvio*, lo spazio dedicato al teatro seguiva uno schema ben preciso; aveva un piazzale antistante, porticato e un tempio. In questo caso il Teatro pesantemente restaurato negli anni venti del 1900, fu voluto da Agrippa, il celebre genero di Augusto alla fine del I secolo a.C. e poteva contenere 3000 spettatori. Tuttavia i restauri più cospicui furono effettuati da Commodo, che portò il numero dei posti da tremila a quattromila e trasformò gli ambulacri coperti laterali, ma non porticati dell'età augustea, in una sorta di *stationes* (uffici) con mosaico. Nel

196 d.C. dopo l'assassinio di Commodo il complesso fu inaugurato da Settimio Severo che si accaparrò l'onore dell'opera. Altri interventi ci furono con Vincenzo Ragonio Celso nel IV secolo d.C.

La piazza, dunque, presenta sui tre lati (il quarto aperto è relativo alla cavea del Teatro) sessanta *stationes* ognuna con uno spazio musivo e delimitata dalle contigue con tramezzi in muratura.

Le decorazioni sono straordinarie, vere e proprie foto dell'antica Ostia. Sono rappresentate sia le Associazioni consortili della città quali gli *stuppatores* (fabbricanti di cordami), i *pelliones* (conciatori del pellame), *naviculari* (armatori), *codicari* (i proprietari delle chiatte che risalivano il fiume), ma anche molte regioni dell'Impero che con Ostia avevano legami commerciali. Ecco l'elefantino di *Sabratha*, luogo dell'Africa settentrionale specializzato nella cattura degli elefanti per gli orribili spettacoli che avvenivano nell'anfiteatro Flavio e nel commercio dell'avorio. Vorrei sottolineare che un anfiteatro non è mai stato ritrovato, dunque gli animali catturati in Africa ed in Egitto erano qui di passaggio, anche se è certo, da testimonianze epigrafiche e da resti animali, che alcune lussuose ville costiere ebbero i loro giardini zoologici. Troviamo poi le *stationes* di Cagliari e Porto Torres in Sardegna, granaio fondamentale per Roma, l'Egitto, altra fondamentale riserva di grano, con la raffigurazione del delta del Nilo e cervo, cinghiale ed elefante nella cui cattura erano specializzate le associazioni di questo paese. Alcune *stationes* mettono in rilievo l'appartenenza geografica attraverso le iscrizioni, in altre vi è solo la decorazione. E' il caso della scena del trasbordo da parte del *saccarius* (facchino) delle merci (in questo caso un'anfora) dalle grandi navi onerarie o comunque di dimensioni non idonee all'alaggio, su snelle e veloci *codicarie* al cui albero era legata la fune che poi veniva avvolta intorno al collo dei buoi (non credo alla trazione con uomini, se non forse in casi rarissimi). Non mancano Cartagine, uno dei più importanti scali del Mediterraneo, Alessandria d'Egitto e Narbona nelle Gallie (Francia).

In questa sorta di Foro si parlavano i più diversi dialetti e ogni popolo con il suo bagaglio religioso e culturale veniva rispettato.

Non a caso ad Ostia sono presenti 18 Mitrei, il Campus della Magna Mater e di Attis ed un intero isolato dedicato all'iniziazione al culto isiaico. Sulla riva del mare si trova la Sinagoga, mentre gli ambienti con certezza cristiani scarseggiano.

Nell'Impero romano era d'obbligo il bilinguismo greco e latino e Traiano nel suo Foro volle la biblioteca greca e quella latina.

A partire già da Traiano (della *Betica*, regione spagnola) gli imperatori non erano originari di Roma, mentre personaggi delle élite culturali, già in precedenza avevano ascendenze straniere. Pensiamo ai precettori di Nerone, scelti da Agrippina, di cui nessuno era romano.

La loro tolleranza raggiungerà il suo apice quando Caracalla nel 212 d. C. concesse la cittadinanza romana a tutti gli abitanti dell'Impero.

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 Fig. 5. Mosaico in Piazzale delle Corporazioni. Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica, Roma

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Fig. 1. Teatro romano di Ostia, I secolo a.C.



Fig. 2. Ostia Antica pianta



Fig. 3. Ostia Antica panoramica



Fig. 4. Teatro romano di Ostia (2)



Fig. 5. Mosaico in Piazzale delle Corporazioni

Keabetswe Lianna Koorapetse

CFP®, AIISA (MAGriCom, PGDip Financial Planning, BCom Financial Planning)  
Gaborone, Botswana

## Financial Planning Strategies in the African Setswana Culture

Financial Planning is an art that can be expressed in many ways. Traditional financial planning strategies include money management, asset management, and investment management. Within these very strategies, there is also education, goal-setting, savings, financial plans, debt management, and implementation.

These financial planning strategies can be found in many different cultures and traditions around the world, going back centuries. One in particular, is a cultural marital practice in Botswana called “Magadi”.

Marriage can be defined as a legal contract between two consenting adults. In the Setswana culture, much like signing a marital contract, the practice of Magadi involves solidifying this agreement with the delivery of a token of appreciation in the form of cattle (or money) from the husbands family to the wife’s family. But, there is so much more to it.

When two adults (male and female) decide to marry, the male first informs the female. Should the female accept his proposal, he can then proceed to inform his uncles. His uncles will then open the discussion into the husband-to-be’s true financial capabilities. These capabilities include how much he earns and has saved or invested. This approach is similar to a financial status evaluation done by financial planners. In order to move from Point A to Point B, we must first know the location of Point A.

The Setswana culture of Magadi carries similar beliefs as those in religions; that the male has the responsibility to provide for his family. The uncles will note the good marital intentions upon the news and proceed to lay down all the husband-to-be’s financial options, which is where it gets very interesting. These approaches are similar to the goal-setting and product options to consider as vehicles towards the achievement of the goals in financial planning. There are many roads that lead to the same destination.

In order to achieve any goal, we have to understand the goal itself. As Magadi is a long-standing cultural practice, different tribes in Botswana have different marital requirements and demands concerning Magadi. The male's uncles will ask him to verify the tribe of the wife-to-be. This is to assist them in the possible amounts in cattle or money that would be required as Magadi. This approach is similar to the way we set monetary savings targets to be able to afford a new car, a home, or even a retirement salary in financial planning. This illustrates that in moving from Point A to Point B, we also need to know the location of Point B.

Much like exploring financial planning vehicle options to transport us from Point A to Point B, it is after the uncles knowing how much he earns, has saved and has invested, together with how much Magadi can be requested by the female's family, can other options to achieve the goal be discussed. The male's earnings are considered to close the gap between his savings-investments and Magadi. This can be in the form of more savings and investments inclusive of the family home property after Magadi, or donations and credit loans.

However, from a cultural perspective of the use of cattle, the uncles may offer cattle from their own livestock to donate to the male. And uncles further in the genetic pool and friends of the family can also offer what is called "Mafisa". Another cultural practice similar to credit loans which involves loaning a certain number of cattle to the male. This loan of cattle is to assist the male in starting or increasing their livestock from the offspring. After doing so, to return the same cattle or offspring replacements back to the loan owner. This approach is similar to the financial planning concepts of credit, debt management, money management, and asset management.

Dwelling deeper into these discussions, there are many more life concepts that play very big parts in Magadi. It can be observed that over time, culture has indeed adapted to our way of life, and visa versa. The uncles can be seen to use both cultural and recent developments in a unique manner. On one hand the male's goal is to reach Magadi and take his bride. On the other hand, his uncles' goal is to assist him to reach not only this goal but to also sustain the full responsibilities of taking on the important role of being a husband that more than provides for his family and household. Hence, there is placement of great importance on the uncles involved in these discussions to also be husbands themselves.

Much more takes place and is kept with great cultural privacy and protection. It is no wonder that after these internal discussions, the male's uncles then travel to the home of the female to deliver the marriage proposal news to her uncles in a unique way that shows healthy pride. This special delivery is in the form of a cultural presentation of the male's family lineage, permission request to enter the home, and permission request for the

female's hand in marriage. It is then that both counterpart families actually start the talks to finalise the cultural marital union.

Based on the concept of implementation in financial planning, it is more than a one-time transaction presented in our financial plan. Actual implementation includes us as clients to make our first payment into our savings or investment account versus the application and activation of these products. Another key aspect to also note in the delivery of Magadi cattle, is that it does not finalise the marital union. It is the completion of the delivery of marital advice given to the newlyweds that finalises the marital union. The advice is from carefully selected husbands from both families to give advice to the male, and wives from both families to give advice to the female. It truly takes a loving and supportive village.

There is so much more to this interesting relationship between financial planning, agriculture and the Setswana culture. There is more to the cultural and religious beliefs that the man is the head of the household and the wife the neck. And there is more to the great focus of the wife planning more for the wedding and the husband planning more for the marriage. In reality, both parties play different but equally important roles in the planning and implementation of all parts of the journey to becoming one; from dating to the proposal to the wedding and in the marriage. It is always beautiful to explore how culture has shaped and continues to shape us.



# REPORTS /REVIEWS



Maia Sylba

Owner, editor at Musetouch visual arts magazine, Los Angeles, California, USA

## **Musetouch: An Artistic Journey Celebrating Humanity and the Boundless Spirit of Creativity**

In 2010, with nothing but a deep love for art and an enduring belief in humanity, I founded Musetouch. This magazine wasn't born out of a career ambition or a strategic plan, it was an outpouring of love and passion, a personal project to honor the creative spirit that connects us all. Back then, I could not have imagined that Musetouch would grow into the worldwide publication it is today, a bridge between artists and art lovers from every corner of the globe.

Musetouch began as my love letter to the arts, to human expression, and to the incredible diversity that colors our world. At its core, this magazine was and still is a celebration of our shared human experience, crafted to remind us of the beauty and power of art to transcend boundaries.

Every issue of Musetouch is a testament to the idea that art is a universal language, one that brings people together despite differences in nationality, social status, or personal circumstances. I have always believed that art should be open to all, and Musetouch reflects this inclusivity. In our pages, you won't find political divides or exclusivity; here, only the artist's voice and spirit matter. Every creator, regardless of where they come from or who they are, is welcome. Over the years, this dedication has led us to collaborate with galleries, art academies, and cultural institutions worldwide, further expanding our community of artists and thinkers who believe, as I do, in art's profound capacity to unite us.

I take a deeply personal approach to every part of Musetouch's creation. As the editor and owner, I have the privilege of interviewing artists, curating their works, and crafting representations that highlight their journeys and visions. Working alongside my brother Dejan, who manages the technical side, I've been able to focus on the editorial heart of Musetouch. Together, we have built something that feels as much like a family project as it does a professional publication, and this sense of dedication and warmth shines through in every edition.

Our artist community is vast and beautifully diverse, each creator bringing a unique piece of themselves to the magazine. I've had the honor of working with celebrated talents such as Benjamin Shine, Eric Armusik, Gines Serran, Solead Fernandez and many more. Shine's ethereal tulle portraits, Armusik's emotive realism, Serran's sculptures of human connection, and Fernandez's richly layered narratives all bring depth and variety to Musetouch. These artists, and many others, have entrusted me with their stories, and I feel deeply grateful for the opportunity to amplify their voices. But Musetouch isn't only for the established; it is also a haven for emerging voices, giving them a space to be heard and to connect with an audience that understands the value of their creations.

What Musetouch offers, beyond an exhibition of art, is an experience a moment of shared humanity, a feeling of unity. Each interview, each photograph, each work of art that graces our pages holds within it a piece of someone's soul. I treat these contributions with the utmost respect, striving to capture not only their artistic brilliance but also their humanity. Every edition of Musetouch is crafted to let the art breathe and shine, allowing readers to not just observe but to feel and connect. It's a sanctuary, a place where we can step outside the daily noise and into a space that honors beauty, vulnerability, and strength.

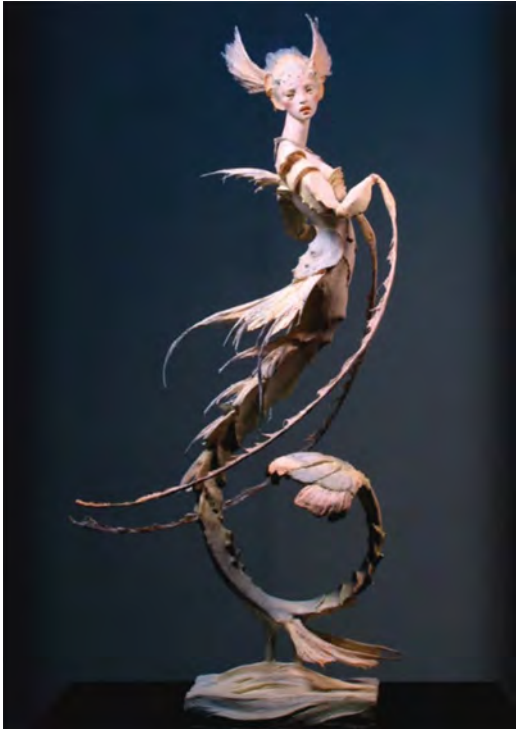
In today's fast-paced world, art reminds us of our shared experiences, our collective dreams, and our innate resilience. With every issue, Musetouch celebrates these moments of connection, inviting readers to see the world through another's eyes. Humanity is at the heart of Musetouch because I believe that art has the capacity to reach the places that words often cannot. Through Musetouch, I hope to create a lasting legacy of empathy, compassion, and creative freedom a reminder that, regardless of where we come from, we are all part of something greater.

As Musetouch continues to grow, I remain as committed as ever to this vision. It may have started as a humble project, a small tribute to the art I love, but it has become something that reaches far and wide, touching lives around the world. Musetouch is, at its core, a celebration of what it means to be human. It is a reminder that art is not merely visual it is emotional, alive, and endlessly transformative.

To every artist who has shared their work, to every reader who has felt a connection, and to every person who believes in the power of art to bridge our divides, Musetouch is for you. I am deeply honored to continue this journey with you all, one page, one story, and one shared vision at a time. Together, we celebrate the beauty and boundlessness of creativity and the humanity that lives within it.



Author: Alex Soldier



Author: Forest Rogers



Author: Benjamin Shine

REPORTS / REVIEWS



Author: Gines Serran



Author: Laurel Long



Author: Luc Martineau



Author: Malgorzata Chodakowska



Author: Michele Carragher



Author: Agnieszka Lorek



NYC Dance Project

REPORTS / REVIEWS



Author: Paola Grizi

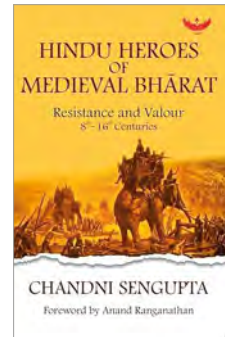
**Mamta Tyagi**

Assistant Professor, Ramanujan College, University of Delhi, India

## Hindu Heroes of Medieval Bhārat: Resistance and Valour (8<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

Much of the scholarly work on medieval India, particularly from the post-independence period onwards, has interpreted Indian history as a glorious period under Muslim rule in which Islamic invasions have been highlighted as a boon and a step towards establishing new and vibrant political, economic, and socio-cultural institutions in the country. This one-sided narrative has kept students of Indian history in the dark for much too long, so much so that most students of history in India have little or no knowledge about the indigenous rulers and the valorous challenge they put forth against the invading armies in the medieval period. Dr Chandni Sengupta's book, *Hindu Heroes of Medieval Bhārat: Resistance and Valour (8<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, aims to put the spotlight on the Hindu kings who fought bravely against the Islamic invaders. The book aims to address the one-sided interpretation of history and throw light on the continuous resistance against foreign invasions, exploitation, and oppression. Dr Sengupta's work marks a shift from the glorification of the invaders to the glorification of the Hindu warriors who have largely been left unrecognized in the annals of Indian history.

A piece of excellent academic writing, the introductory pages of *Hindu Heroes of Medieval Bhārat* provide a thorough review of literature, encompassing an in-depth analysis of the various schools of historiography, including the Colonial, Nationalist, and Marxist schools of thought. Positing a critical analysis of Marxist history writing, Dr Sengupta questions the lopsided view of Indian history presented by historians belonging to this school of thought who viewed Indian history only from the perspective of



**Fig. 1. Cover of Chandni Sengupta's book *Hindu heroes of medieval Bhārat: resistance and valour 8th–16th centuries***

class-caste divide and sought to justify Islamic invasions in the name of upward social mobility.

Centering her argument on the nationalist theorization of Indian history, Dr Sengupta reveals the history of the ruthless expansion of Islam in India. Her meticulous research and lucid style of writing bring to life the history of a distant period in which the Hindus of Bhārat struggled, yet in many cases succeeded, in keeping the Islamic invaders at bay. In her analysis of the Arab conquest of Sind, Dr Sengupta unequivocally states that Muhammad bin Qasim's attack on Sind was an act that not only perpetrated heinous crimes against humanity but also one that was backed by his conviction of converting Bhārat from what the Arabs referred to as "Dar-ul-Harb" (Land of the Infidels) to "Dar-ul-Islam" (Land of Islam), albeit his efforts did not have any far-reaching consequences and barring some conversions and the destruction of numerous temples in the region of Sind, the establishment of Islam-as was the desired consequence of this expansionist endeavour-could not be achieved. Dr Sengupta's work highlights the contribution of Raja Dahir, Prince Jaisiah, and Rani Bai in repulsing the Arab conquest, though Muhammad bin Qasim and his men claimed victory in the prolonged battles owing to their treacherous misdemeanours. The book also underlines the efforts of the Hindu kings of the 8<sup>th</sup> century-King Chandrapida and Lalitaditya Muktapida of the Karkota Dynasty of Kashmir, Kings Siladitya IV and Siladitya V of the Maitraka Dynasty of Valabhi, Avanijanashraya Pulakeshin of the Chalukyas of Navasatika, Nagabhata I of the Gurjara-Pratihara Dynasty of Malwa, Bappa Rawal of the Guhila Dynasty of Mewar, and Krishnaraja I and Agguka I of the Saindhava Dynasty of Saurashtra-who served as effective bulwarks against Islamic invasions.

Presenting a chronologically aligned and comprehensive account of the challenge posed by the Hindu kings in her work, Dr Sengupta goes on to enumerate the invasions mounted by the Ghaznavids of Afghanistan, beginning from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Basing her analysis on primary historical sources as well as archaeological findings, Dr Sengupta questions the accepted scholarship on the unchallenged success of the Ghaznavids in occupying territories in Bhārat. Highlighting the role played by the Hindu Shahi kings-King Bhimadeva, Jayapala, Anandapala, Trilochanapala, and Prince Bhimapala-who successively challenged the Ghaznavids, Dr Sengupta questions the success of the Ghaznavids. Her work also underscores the heroic challenge posed by King Samgramraja and Prime Minister Tunga of the Lohara Dynasty of Kashmir; King Vidyadhara of the Chandela Dynasty of Jejakabhukti; Raja Bhoja of the Paramara Dynasty; Suhalddev, Maharaja of Shrivasthi; and Arnoraja, the Chahamanas King of Shakambhari.

Dr Sengupta's book further challenges the accepted narrative on the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, which according to many scholars was not met with any opposition. Her work throws light on the efforts made by Hindu rulers in denting the Islamic invasions led by the Ghurid armies. The book outlines the role played by Hindu kings like Vighraharaja IV of the Chauhan Dynasty; Mularaja II and Rani Naiki Devi of the Chaulukya Dynasty of Gujarat; the legendary Prithviraj III of the Chauhan Dynasty; Govind Rai Tomar; and Hariraja of the Chauhan Dynasty, who displayed immensely bravery and courage in dealing with the Ghurid armies on the battlefield. The book, therefore, questions the popular narrative on Ghurid invasions. Dr Sengupta also presents an unequivocal critique of the well accepted and oversimplified history of the invasions led by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, infamously known as a destroyer of Nalanda. Focusing on the challenge posed by Hindu kings of the east, such as Lakshmana Sena of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal and Raja Prithu of Kamrup, her work presents an extensive critique of Islamic expansionism in Bhārat. Further, she also highlights the contribution of kings, such as Trailokyavarman of the Chandela Dynasty of Jejakabhukti; Anangabhimha Deva III and Narasimha Deva I of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty; Vagbhata, the Prime Minister of the Chauhan Kingdom; and Rawal Jaitrasimha of the Guhila Dynasty of Chittor, in attempting to oust the Islamic invaders from their respective territories.

Dr Sengupta's *Hindu Heroes of Medieval Bhārat* incontrovertibly questions the narrative set by historians about the Khalji Dynasty and the role played by them in revolutionizing the economy and polity from the late 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Further, she examines the nature of challenge posed by the Hindu kings to Khalji invasions, beginning with the heroic opposition to Alauddin Khalji by Raja Ramchandradeva and Simhana III of the Yadava Dynasty of Deccan, followed by other kings, such as Duda, the Bhati Chief of Jaisalmer; Hammiradeva, the Chauhan ruler of Ranthambore; Ratnasimha, the Guhila king of Chittor; Raja Mahlakdeva and Koka Pradhan of the Paramara Dynasty of Malwa; Sitaladeva, the Paramara Chief of Siwana; Kanhadadeva, the Songara Rajput king of Jalore; and Prataprudradeva, the king of the Kakatiya Dynasty of Warangal. Dr Sengupta's work not only refutes the theories postulated about the "greatness" of the Khaljis, it unambiguously highlights the brilliance of the Hindu kings who fiercely defied the Khaljis.

The book also analyses aspects of Hindu resistance to Islamic hegemony between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the period which coincided with the rule of the Tughluqs, Sayyids, and Lodis. Dr Sengupta critically examines Muhammad bin Tughlaq's failed Karachil campaign – a consequence of the efforts of Prithvi Chand II of the Katoch Dynasty. The challenge posed by Prolaya Nayaka and Kapaya Nayaka, the Musunuri Nayakas of Deccan,

as well as Vir Ballala III of the Hoysala Dynasty to Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the infamous eccentric king, is also analysed thoroughly. The work also accentuates the role of prominent Hindu kings of the Deccan, such as Harihara I and Bukka Raya I as well as the iconic Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagara Empire. The account of the brave resistance posed by the Rajput rulers of the time, including Maharana Hammir Singh of the Sisodia Dynasty, Rana Kumbha of Mewar, Raja Vinayak Deva of Dholpur, Raja Man Singh Tomar of Gwalior, and Rana Sanga of Mewar, is also a significant highlight of this book.

Dr Sengupta's *Hindu Heroes of Medieval Bhārat* is a sincere attempt to showcase the efforts of the Hindu kings who challenged the Islamic invaders. It is a noteworthy contribution to history writing which marks a paradigm shift as far as the history of the medieval period is concerned. This work is a precise and thorough analysis of Indian history between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries—a period that has sadly been viewed from the perspective of the invaders and not the warriors who fought so arduously to safeguard the honour and prestige of their motherland.

## List of figures

Fig. 1. Cover book. Sengupta, Chandni. *Hindu heroes of medieval Bhārat: resistance and valour 8th–16th centuries*. New Delhi: Garuda Prakashan Private Limited, 2024

BIOGRAPHIES  
/INTERVIEWS



**Lech Kościelak**

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## **Noblesse oblige. Interview with Maja Princess von Hohenzollern**

### **BIO HRH Princess Maja von Hohenzollern**

German HRH Princess Maja von Hohenzollern is currently the most internationally renowned member of the royal Hohenzollern family. The House of Hohenzollern/Prussia is one of Europe's oldest and most prominent noble families, including former German emperors. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern is a successful entrepreneur and internationally acclaimed designer who develops sustainable lifestyle and home products as an innovative product developer. Her products and collections are sold in up to 80 countries both in stores and online.

With her brand, „Princess Maja von Hohenzollern,” she has been established on the international market for 20 years, positioning herself as an expert in sustainable living and vegan products. She is recognized as a pioneer in ethical product design and was one of the first designers worldwide to create collections that are vegan and cruelty-free, a groundbreaking move, especially in the non-food sector. She developed the world's first vegan carpet collection, vegan furniture line, and vegan bathroom fixtures, among many other innovations.

HRH Princess Maja von Hohenzollern advocates for respect toward all living beings and insists that no animals are exploited, mistreated, or killed for her products. She designs her collections entirely vegan and cruelty-free, conveying this message globally through her creations. She herself has been vegan for many years.

Her design expertise has been honored with multiple international awards, including the „PETA Vegan Award for Homeware” in 2024, the „Who is Who International Award for Design” in Greece in 2022, the title „Designer of the Year 2020” in the UK, and the „Asia Design Award Gold” in China.

The brand „Princess Maja von Hohenzollern” combines modern design with ethical values, offering products that are both stylish and eco-friendly. Her portfolio includes furniture, bathroom furnishings, fixtures, stand-alone furniture, home textiles,



**Fig. 1. Maja Prinzessin von Hohenzollern**



**Fig. 2. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern speak in front of EU Parliament in Brussels for animal rights**

household items, children's furniture, toys, home decor, porcelain, pet supplies, children's shoes, baby products, carpets, and, most recently, creative stamps for offices, children, and tattoos. The sustainable Modular Homes and Tiny Houses developed by Princess Maja von Hohenzollern mark a new milestone on the market, made from natural and recycled materials, CO<sub>2</sub>-neutral, and the first vegan modular homes worldwide. Currently, she is working on the market launch of a groundbreaking healthcare product that is set to revolutionize both the sanitary industry and digestive health.

In addition to her work as a designer, Princess Maja is a committed animal rights advocate and, through her foundation "Heart For Strays," she is devoted to rescuing stray dogs, particularly in Eastern Europe. Internationally, she fights for animal protection and rights. Her key goals include the abolition of all kill shelters for strays, the legal recognition of animals as sentient beings, and, consequently, harsher penalties for animal cruelty. She also advocates for animal welfare education in schools, teaching children empathy and compassion for all living beings, as education is the most

effective form of animal protection. A milestone of her efforts was the introduction of animal welfare education in Romanian schools, and she hopes many other countries will follow this example.



**Fig. 3. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern lives with 20 adopted pets that she al has rescued from killing centers**



**Fig. 4. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern in killing center in Bucharest, Romania to save dogs**

She lives with about 20 rescued animals, including dogs, cats, a wolf, goats, and a horse. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern has received numerous prestigious awards for her commitment to animal welfare, such as the „European Animal Welfare Award,” the „World Shining Heroine Award” (USA), the „Freedom of Kenmare” (Ireland), and the „PETA Compassionate Award” (Germany), among many others.



**Fig. 5. Princess Maja of Hohenzollern receives the “Who is Who International Award” 2022 in Greece**

A strong advocate for women, Princess Maja von Hohenzollern is committed to enabling women worldwide to lead independent and self-determined lives in freedom and safety. This includes advancing women's equality, improving educational opportunities for girls, and recognizing women's economic potential as valuable and competent assets in every level of corporate leadership.

Her social engagement and dedication to sustainability make her an inspiring figure, recognized globally and appealing to a wide, international audience.

## Interview

**Did the name, so important to the European aristocracy, help you make your life choices or make them more difficult?**

The name alone does not bring success; I always had to work hard and deliver results to be successful. What matters more is the person behind the name who brings it to life and fills it with values.

**To what extent are you interested in history and does it inspire you in any way?**

I am very interested in history. I consider it extremely important to know the history of different peoples and humanity, as this is the only way to understand global connections in a larger context. Many events and constellations from history repeat themselves; it is good to recognize this and, ideally, learn from it.

**Do you travel a lot around the world, or were your trips driven more by personal or professional needs?**

I have traveled to many countries around the world and continue to travel extensively. On the one hand, I am very interested in other countries and cultures, and on the other hand, I travel a lot for work. My collections and products, which I conceptualize and design, are sold internationally. I also present my products at many international trade fairs, from China and Hong Kong to Germany, Spain, Hungary, Italy, the UK, and beyond.

Recently, I was invited by the government of Armenia, the oldest Christian country in the world. It was a fascinating experience and a country that impressed me deeply. Engaging with other people and the customs of their countries allows one to grow as a person.



Fig. 6. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern – Royal Bath Collection, Urban Loft Line



Fig. 7. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern Royal Bath Urban Loft Line

**What are your experiences from encounters with other cultures and the cultural heritage of other countries?**

I have stayed in huts with poor orphans in the jungle, I rescued stray dogs in Ukraine at -32 C and I have met presidents, kings, and many well-known personalities. The range of my experiences is very broad. There are many countries that have impressed and fascinated me. Above all, it is the encounters with the people that shape you. When you understand a country's cultural heritage and history, you gain much more understanding and appreciation for one another. What has impressed me the most are actually poor people. There are so many people in the world who have little, but they often seem happier than we, the people from the wealthy West.

In Thailand, I met orphaned children who owned nothing. I bought them their first shoes, clothes, and toys. But material possessions meant nothing to them. It was impressive to see how kindly they treated each other – no one ever cried, and there were no arguments or fights. This is in stark contrast to what I see in so-called modern industrialized countries, where violence and envy are common.

When I see in Russia or Romania poor grandmothers living in the simplest of conditions with only an old, dented pot containing a little soup to eat, and they still share that soup, spoonful by spoonful, with stray dogs, I consider them heroes. These people impress me because it is worth much more to share when you have little, than to share when you have much.

**You attach great importance to ecology and sustainable development. How do you implement these ideas?**

I am a pioneer in vegan design and have been designing all my collections for furniture, bathroom furniture, faucets, rugs, porcelain, home decorations, pet accessories, and toys to be vegan, free of animal cruelty, and sustainable for many years. I am a big animal lover and have been volunteering in animal protection for 20 years. I mainly rescue street animals in need and live with 20 animals that I have saved from kill shelters, including old and sick animals.

I am vegan because I do not want animals to be exploited, abused, or killed for my lifestyle, and I convey this message through my collections, all of which are free from animal cruelty and animal-derived ingredients. I was the first designer to create a vegan rug collection, the first designer to create the world's first vegan bathroom faucet collection, the first vegan-certified children's furniture collection, the first vegan home collection, and even the first vegan modular homes and tiny houses in the world.



Fig. 8. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern Royal Bath Urban Loft Line



Fig. 9. Stamp Stories: *Princess Maja and Max save the sea animals* – the first stamp story book in the world, written and drawn by Princess Maja von Hohenzollern. The story is about plastic in the sea and that Princess Maja and Max are saving the animals from plastic. The stamps are made from recycled bottle corks, which is also a novelty.

I have been working with sustainable materials for many years. Recently, I developed an exclusive collection of stamps for children made of cork, which is made from recycled bottle corks, for COLOP. This is an innovation that didn't exist before. Additionally, I invented, wrote, and illustrated the first stamp fairy tale book in the world. The fairy tale is called „Princess Maja and Max Save the Sea Animals.” It tells the story of how they find a turtle with a plastic bag over its head and other animals trapped in garbage on the beach. Princess Maja and Max rescue the animals, collect the trash, and tell all their friends not to throw garbage into the sea or on the beach.

Until now, stamps only had individual motifs, but my stamps feature scenes from this fairy tale. The stamp set comes with a small book with the story written by me, and children can stamp and color the matching images. This creates a stamp fairy tale book that parents can read to their children before bed. This is how I implement my values of respectful treatment of animals, nature, and people in my collections.



Fig. 10. Princess Maja von Hohenzollern at protest against dog massacre in Bucharest Romania

## **What philosophy guides you in designing collections of products for children and animals?**

I always focus on the respectful and loving interaction between animals, humans, and the environment. The products should be beautiful, affordable, and practical in use. Above all, I want to teach children to love animals because education is certainly the best form of animal protection.

I also designed an „Adopt-me” plush toy collection featuring 4 dogs and 2 cats, modeled after my own real rescued animals. These animals really exist, and I rescued all of them from kill shelters and off the streets. I wrote their rescue stories in 6 bedtime stories that come with each plush toy. The plush toys sit together in a box with „Adopt me” written on it, because many animals in real life are abandoned in a box.

With this, I want to open the hearts of children and parents to street animals and encourage adopting a pet from animal rescue. I live with 20 adopted animals, including dogs, cats, a wolf, goats, and a horse.

## **What does philanthropy mean to you?**

Philanthropie is very important to me; without it, our society could not function. Philanthropy means that people selflessly dedicate themselves to helping others. It is a shame that these values seem to be fading today, as they are what truly make our world human. Everyone should contribute to a charitable cause within their means. Whether it's visiting elderly, lonely people, listening to a friend in sorrow, holding the hand of a sick person, encouraging a child, or helping an animal off the street – these are the things that define us as human beings.

## **Where do you draw the strength for social involvement, which requires a lot of effort?**

When it comes to animal protection, I draw my strength from the unconditional love that rescued animals give. I also draw strength from the anger I feel when I see how animals are tortured and abused – when they are intentionally run over, have their eyes gouged out, are doused with acid, or are kept chained and beaten. This must stop, and that's why I am committed to rescuing and protecting animals.

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